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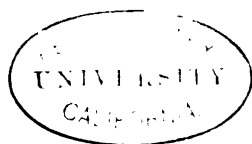
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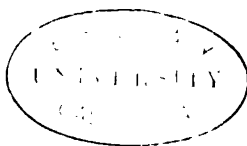
TRANSLATED

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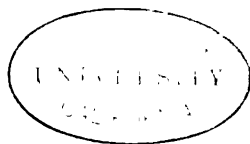
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THE
SADDHARMA-PUNDARÎKA

OR
THE LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW

TRANSLATED BY
H. KERN



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Saddharma-pundarika is one of the nine Dharmas which are known by the titles of—1. Ashṭasahasrikā Pra-gñāpāramitā; 2. Gaṇḍa-vyūha; 3. Daśabhūmīśvara; 4. Sa-mādhi-rāga; 5. Laṅkāvatāra; 6. Saddharma-pundarika; 7. Tathāgata-guhyaka; 8. Lalita-vistara; 9. Suvarṇa-pra-bhāsa.

These nine works, to which divine worship is offered, embrace (to use the words of the first investigator of Nepalese Buddhism¹) 'in the first, an abstract of the philosophy of Buddhism²; in the seventh, a treatise on the esoteric doctrines; and in the seven remaining ones, a full illustration of every point of the ordinary doctrine and discipline, taught in the easy and effective way of example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional instances of dogmatic instruction. With the exception of the first, these works are therefore of a narrative kind; but interwoven with much occasional speculative matter.'

As to the form, it would seem that all the Dharmas may rank as narrative works, which, however, does not exclude in some of them a total difference in style of composition and character. The Lalita-vistara e.g. has the movement of a real epic, the Saddharma-pundarika has not. The latter bears the character of a dramatic performance, an undeveloped mystery play, in which the chief interlocutor, not the only

¹ B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, p. 13; cf. p. 49.

² As the Perfect Praṇā is she who has produced all Tathāgatas, the mother of all Bodhisattvas, Pratyakabuddhas, and Disciples (see Cowell and Eggeling, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, VIII, p. 3), we must infer that the work is chiefly intended to set forth the principia rerum. It begins with chaos (pradhāna or praṇā); and hence its place at the commencement of the list. We may, perhaps, best designate it as an abstract of mystic-natural or materialistic philosophy.

one, is Sâkyamuni, the Lord. It consists of a series of dialogues, brightened by the magic effects of a would-be supernatural scenery. The phantasmagorical parts of the whole are as clearly intended to impress us with the idea of the might and glory of the Buddha, as his speeches are to set forth his all-surpassing wisdom. Some affinity of its technical arrangement with that of the regular Indian drama is visible in the prologue or Nidâna, where Mañgusrî at the end prepares the spectators and auditors—both are the same—for the beginning of the grand drama, by telling them that the Lord is about to awake from his mystic slumber and to display his infinite wisdom and power.

In the book itself we find it termed a Sûtra or Sûtrânta of the class called Mahâvaipulya. In a highly instructive discussion on the peculiar characteristics and comparative age of the different kinds of Sûtras, Burnouf arrives at the conclusion that the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras are posterior to the simple Sûtras in general¹. As there are two categories of simple Sûtras, 1. those in which the events narrated are placed contemporary with the Buddha, 2. those which refer to persons living a considerable time after his reputed period, e.g. Asoka², it follows that the composition of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras must be held to fall in a later time than the production of even the second category of simple Sûtras. Now in one of the latter, the Asoka-Avadâna, we read of Asoka using the word dînâra³, which leads us to the conclusion that the said Avadâna was composed, not only after the introduction of dînâra from the West, in the first century of our era or later, but at a still more modern time, when people had forgotten the foreign origin of the coin in question.

The results arrived at by Burnouf may be right so far as any Mahâvaipulya Sûtra, as a whole, is concerned; they cannot be applied to all the component parts of such a work. Not to go further than the Saddharma-pundarika

¹ Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien, pp. 103-128.

² Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 218 seq.

³ Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 423; cf. p. 431, where Pushyamitra is made to speak of Dînâras; Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. p. 245.

and the Lalita-vistara, it can hardly be questioned that these works contain parts of very different dates, and derived from various sources. The material discrepancies between the version in prose and that in verse are occasionally too great to allow us to suppose them to have been made simultaneously or even by different authors conjointly at work¹. Further it can be shown that the Mahāvaiṣṭya Sūtras are partially made up of such materials as must be referred to the oldest period of Buddhism. Let me adduce some examples to render more clear what I mean.

If we compare Lalita-vistara (Calc. ed.), p. 513, 13-p. 514, 2, with Mahāvagga (ed. Dr. Oldenberg) I, 5, 2, we perceive that the passages are to a great extent literally identical, and that the variations amount to little more than a *varietas lectionis*.

The passage adduced is in prose; now let us take some stanzas. In Mahāvagga I, 5, 3, the Lord utters the following slokas:

*kikkhena me adhigatam halam dāni pakāsītum,
rāgadosaparetehi nāyam dhammo susambudho.
paṇisotagāmi nipunam gambhīram duddasam anum
rāgarattā na dakkhanti tamokhandhena āvutā.*

This does not materially differ from Lalita-vistara, p. 515, 16 seq.:

*pratisrotagāmiko mārgo gambhīro durdriso mama,
na tam drakshya(n)ti² rāgāndhā alam tasmāt prakāsītum.
anusrotam pravāhyante kāmeshu patitāḥ pragāḥ;
krikkhrena me'yam samprāptam(!) alam tasmāt prakāsītum.*

Though there is some difference in the wording and arrangement of the verses, it is of such a kind as to exclude all idea of the compiler of the Lalita-vistara having composed the distichs himself. Even the words *ayam dhammo susambudho* and *nipunam* of the Pāli text were known to him, as appears from the passage in prose immediately preceding the slokas quoted: *gambhīraḥ*

¹ See e.g. the foot-note, p. 413.

² An erroneous Sanskritisation of the present tense *dakkhanti*.

khalv ayam, Mahâbrahman, mayâ dharmo 'bhisambuddha^h sūkshmo nipuna^h. What follows, api ka me, Brahman, ime gâthe abhîkshnam pratibhâsata^h¹, is but a slight, not very felicitous modification of what we read in the Mahâvagga l. c. : api 'ssu bhagavantam imâ anak^hhariyâ gâthâyo patibhamsu pubbe assuta-pubbâ.

Evidently from the same source are the verses in Trishubh uttered by the god Brahma, Mahâvagga I, 5, 7, and those found in Lalita-vistara, p. 517, 3 seq. The former text has :

pâturahosi Magadhesu pubbe
dhammo asuddho samalehi kintito,
apâpur' etam amatassa dvâram
suvantu dhammam vimalenânubuddham².

The other runs thus :

vâdo babhûva samalair vikintito
dharmo hy³ asuddho Magadhesu pûrvam ;
amritam mune tad vivrinîshva dvâram
srinvanti⁴ dharma vipulam⁵ vimalena buddham.

On comparing the two texts we may infer that the Pâli version is purer, that vâdo babhûva is a corruption of pādû babhûva or something like it, answering to a Sanskrit prâdur babhûva, but we cannot deny that the stanzas have the same origin.

In Mahâvagga I, 5, 12, the Lord addresses the god Brahma with the following Trishubh :

apârutâ tesam amatassa dvârâ
ye sotavanto, pamuñkantu⁶ saddham.

¹ Obviously an unhappy attempt to Sanskritise a Pâli or Prâkrit patibhamsu; it ought to have been pratyabhâsishâtâm.

² The text is corrupt; we have either to read vimalânubuddham, a Tatpurusha compound expressing the same as what the text exhibits, or vimalena buddham.

³ Hi is meaningless, and only a clumsy device to satisfy the exigency of Sanskrit phonetical rules, which are not applicable to Prâkrit.

⁴ Read srinvantu.

⁵ Read dharmam vimalena. Vipula probably owes its origin to a dittography.

⁶ I do not understand this pamuñkantu, i. e. let them cast off, loose or emit. Perhaps we have to read payuñgantū, let them practise.

vihiṃsasaññī pagunam na bhāsi
dhammam paṇītam manugesu, Brahma ; iti.

Then in prose: Atha kho Brahmā Sahampati katāvakāso
 kho 'mhi bhagavatā dhammadesanāyā 'ti bhagavantam
 abhivādetvā padakkhinam katvā tatth' ev' antaradhāyi.

The parallel passage in Lalita-vistara, p. 520, 19 seq.,
 has:

apāvṛtās teshām¹ amṛitasya dvārā
 Brahmān iti² satatam ye srotavantaḥ,
 pravasiṃti śraddhā na vihetḥasañgñā
 śrinvanti dharmam Magadheshu sattvāḥ.

Atha khalu Sikhī Mahābrahmā Tathāgatasyādhivāsanām
 viditvā tushṭa udagra āttamanā pramuditāḥ prītisauma-
 nasyagātas Tathāgatasya pādaḥ sirasābhivanditvā tatrai-
 vāntaradhāt.

At the meeting of the Āgīvaka monk Upaka and the
 Buddha, the latter is represented as having pronounced the
 following slokas (Mahāvagga I, 6, 8 and 9):

na me ākariyo atthi, sadiso me na viggati,
 sadevakasmim lokasmim n' atthi me paṭipuggalo.
 aham hi arahā loke, aham satthā anuttaro,
 eko 'mhi sammāsambuddho, sītibhūto 'smi nibbuto.
 mādisā ve Ginā honti ye pattā āsavakkhayam,
 gitā me pāpakā dhammā tasmāham Upaka³ gino.

Materially the same slokas, albeit in somewhat different
 arrangement, occur Lalita-vistara, p. 526, 22 seq., as being
 spoken at the same meeting:

ākāryo nahi me kaskit, sadriṣo me na vidyate,
 eko 'ham asmi sambuddhaḥ, sītibhūto nirāsravaḥ.
 aham evāham⁴ loke sātā hy aham anuttaraḥ,
 sadevāsuraḥ gandharva nāsti me pratipudgalaḥ⁵.

¹ Read tesham, if not tesam, because a contraction of am and a following
 vowel into one syllable is as common as one of ām is unheard of.

² These words do not suit the metre, and have undoubtedly been transposed
 from their original place, which they have kept in the Pāli text.

³ Rather Upakā, a common Prākṛit form of the vocative case. See Sukhā-
 vatī-vyūha, p. xi, in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. i, part ii.

⁴ Read aham evāraham (Sanskrit arhan).

⁵ The Calc. ed. has wrongly °dharvo and °puṅgalaḥ.

Ginā hi mādriśā gñeyā ye prāptā āsraṇakṣayam,
gitā me pāpakā dharmās tenopa(ka) Gino [hy] aham.

The following verses, taken from Mahāvagga and Lalita-vistara l. c., have likewise the same origin, notwithstanding some variations :

dharmakakkam pavattetum gakkhāmi Kāsinam puram,
andhabhūtasmi lokasmim āhañhi amatadudrabhim.

Compare :

Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
andhabhūtasya lokasya kartāsmi asadriśim¹ prabhām.
Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
sadbhāsinasya lokasya tādāyishye² 'mrīṭadundubhim.
Vārānasim gamishyāmi gatvā vai Kāsikām purīm,
dharmakakram pravartishye lokeshv aprativartitam.

An important passage on the divine sight of the Buddha in Lalita-vistara, p. 439 seq., almost literally occurs in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta, as has been pointed out by Burnouf³.

These few examples I have chosen will suffice to prove that the material of a Mahāvaipulya Sūtra is partly as old as that of any other sacred book of the Buddhists. The language of the prose part of those Sūtras does not differ from that used in the simple Sūtras of the Northern canon. Should the Sanskrit text prove to be younger than the Pāli text, then we may say that we do not possess the Northern tradition in its original shape. That result, however, affords no criterion for the distinction between the simple Sūtras and the Mahāvaipulya Sūtras, for both are written in the very same Sanskrit, if we except the Gāthās.

It would lead me too far, were I to enter into the heart of the question which of the three idioms, Sanskrit, Pāli, and the so-called Gāthā dialect, was the oldest scriptural language of the Buddhists, and I will therefore confine myself to a few remarks. In the first place it will be granted

¹ The reading aham sadriśim of the Calc. ed. is clearly a corrupt reading.

² This word, which spoils the metre, has manifestly replaced an older expression, not unlikely āhañhi, or a similar form of the future tense of āhan (Sansk. āhanishye).

³ Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 864.

that the same person cannot have uttered any speech or stanza in two languages at the same time, and, further, that he is not likely to have spoken Sanskrit, when expressing himself in prose, and to have had recourse to a mere dialect, when speaking in poetry. One need not suppose that the common and every-day language of the god Brahma and the Buddha was Pāli or Prākṛit, in order to call it an absurdity that those persons would have spoken prose in Sanskrit and poetry in the Gāthā dialect, such as we find in some passages already quoted and in many others. Nor is it absurd, even if we do not believe that Pāli is the original language of scripture, to contend that the Sanskrit text of the canonical works is at any rate a translation from some dialect. If the Sanskrit text of the Northern Sūtras, in general, were the original one, it would be impossible to account for occasional mistranslations and for the fact that the most palpable dialect forms have been left untouched, whenever the passage by being Sanskritised would have been spoilt. A striking instance is afforded in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 145. There we read that the pronouncing of the letter *tḥa* of the Indian alphabet is to be brought in connection with the word *tḥapanīyaprasna*, i.e. a question that should be avoided, set aside, Pāli *tḥapanīyapañho*. Here the context absolutely opposed itself to the Pāli or Prākṛit *tḥapanīya* being rendered by the Sanskrit *sthāpanīya*, because the initial syllable of this form could not be made to agree with the letter *tḥa*. On the same page of the *Lalita-vistara* we also meet with a word *airapatha*¹, the initial syllable of which must needs harmonise with the diphthong *ai*, so that *airapatha* did not admit of being Sanskritised into *āryapatha*. From the occurrence of this *airapatha* I infer that the original text was composed in some kind of Prākṛit, and not in regular Pāli, because the latter has lost both the primary and secondary diphthong *ai*, though it may be asked whether forms such as *kayira* (Sansk. *kārya*), *payirupāsati*

¹ Written *āirapatha*, for the *Vṛiddhi* vowel denotes the sound of *āi* in Sanskrit, at least originally; from the same diphthong being used in the Asoka edicts in *thaira* (Sansk. *sthavira*), we must infer that the diphthong was, in the then Prākṛit, sounded *ai*, not *āi*.

(Sansk. *pariyupāsati*), and the like are anything else but instances of inaccurate spelling¹. This much is certain that *thaira* occurs in the inscriptions of Asoka, and in these the diphthong cannot but have the value of a short *a* followed by *i*.

If we eliminate the Sanskrit, there remain two dialects, Pāli and the Gāthā idiom. Which of the two can lay claim to being the original language of the Buddhist scriptures or is the nearest approach to it? Pāli is intelligible in its phonetics, the Gāthās are not. Under ordinary circumstances the comparatively greater regularity of Pāli would tend to favour its claims; the case before us is, however, so peculiar that it is not safe to draw inferences from the state in which the Gāthās have come to us. It seems to me that the verses in the Northern books in general, as well as the prose of the *Mahāvastu*², have been Sanskritised to a large extent, so that they ought to be restored, as much as possible, to a more primitive form, before a comparison with Pāli can lead to satisfactory results. When we come across such words as *hesh tḥād* (Sansk. *adhastād*), *gunebhiḥ*, &c., we easily perceive that these forms are more primitive than Pāli *hetṭhā*, *gunehi*; but what warrant have we of such forms being really in use at the time when the Gāthās were composed, if we observe that in a verse, *Lalita-vistara* 53, the syllable *bhiḥ* is reckoned as a short one in the words *gunebhiḥ pratipūrṇa*? In short, in their present state the Gāthās afford no conclusive evidence that the language in which they were composed is older than Pāli.

Whatever may have been the phonetic aspect of the oldest standard dialect of the Buddhists, its vocabulary is unmistakably closely related to that of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. The coincidences are so striking that the

¹ That is, *kayira* was probably pronounced *kāira*, which cannot be exactly expressed by कैर, because those who were acquainted with the rules of Sanskrit grammar would pronounce this and similar words with the sound of *āi*.

² The able editor of this work, M. Senart, makes the following remarks on its language (p. xii): 'Nous sommes ici en présence d'une langue irrégulière et instable, mélange singulier de formes diverses d'âge et d'origine.'

interval separating the younger parts of the Satapatha and the beginnings of Buddhist literature can hardly be supposed to have been very great. Among those coincidences I cite *sarvâvat*, a word which as yet has not been discovered in the whole range of Sanskrit literature except Satap. XIV, 7, 1, 10, and in Northern Buddhist writings, as well as in Pâli (*sabbâvâ*). The *ἑκὸς λεγόμενον* *ekoti* Satap. XII, 2, 2, 4 recurs in *ekoti-bhâva*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 147, 8¹; p. 439, 6; Pâli *ekodi-bhâva*². The expression *saṃrīta* in the sense of 'equipped, furnished with' occurs in Satapatha thrice³, in Atharva-veda once, in *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka* several times, e.g. in *paṭṭaḥantāsa-mīrita*, chap. xxii. We may add the Prākṛitism *iṅg* in *saṃiṅgayati*, *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* VI, 4, 23, the usual form in Buddhist works in Sanskrit, Gāthā dialect, and Pâli; further *maṅku*, Satap. V, 5, 4, 11; *maṇḍa* in the compound *naumaṇḍa*, Satap. II. 3, 3, 15; cf. *bodhi-maṇḍa*. An archaic trait in the stanzas is the expletive use of the particle *u*, e.g. in *teno*, *yeno*, *tasyo*, *adyo*, for *tena*, *yena*, *tasya*, *adya*. Both in prose and poetry⁴ we meet with *no*, sometimes in the sense of Sansk. *no*, which etymologically of course is identical with it, at other times in that of Sansk. *na*. An analogous case is Sansk. *aṭho*, almost imperceptibly differing from *aṭha*. Perhaps the most curious of similar forms in the Gāthās is *ko*, in meaning exactly coinciding with *ka*; this *ko* I take to be the older form of the Māgadhi *ku* in the Asoka edicts.

From the occurrence of peculiar old words and forms we may draw inferences as to the age of certain compositions in ordinary cases; but it is not safe to apply the same test, if there is sufficient reason to suppose that the work, the date

¹ *Ekābhībhāva* of the Calc. text is a clerical blunder.

² See Childers' Pâli Dict. p. 134, where the Thero Subhūti's etymology *eko udeṭi* proves that he does not know the origin of the word; nor is it likely that the writer of the Pâli passage cited by Childers knew more, for had he recognised the word, he would have written *ekoti*, because a Prākṛit *d* between two vowels, if answering to a Sanskrit *t*, usually requires a *t* in Pâli.

³ III, 5, 1, 31; VIII, 2, 6; XIV, 1, 3, 31.

⁴ Also in the inscriptions of Asoka.

of which we wish to determine, has been carefully moulded upon time-honoured models. In such a case new words prove a good deal¹, old ones next to nothing. Therefore it would be an abuse of the argument *ex silentio* to infer from the total absence of such new words in our Saddharma-pundarīka that the bulk of the Sūtra must date from the earlier period of Buddhism.

I had already occasion to notice that the two versions, the prose and the metrical one, in our Sūtra show here and there material discrepancies. The question arises to which of the two we must award the palm of priority. Repeatedly, both in prose and poetry, the Sūtra is spoken of as consisting of stanzas; e. g. chap. vii, st. 82; chapters x and xxii in the prose portion, several times. As the term of stanza (*gāthā*), for aught I know, is never used to denote a certain number of syllables, there is a strong presumption that the ancient text consisted of verses, with an admixture of short prose passages serving as introduction or to connect the more solemn poetical pieces. The idea to expand such passages into a regular prose version would especially recommend itself at a period when the poetical dialect began to become obsolete and obscure. Without being a formal commentary, the prose version would yet tend to elucidate the older holy text.

It will not be objected that, because not all chapters in the Saddharma-pundarīka have a poetical version added, the original cannot have been a poem. For the chapters containing but one version, viz. xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, show decided traces of being later additions; and as to the final chapter, it may be held to be a moderate amplification of a short prose epilogue.

In contending that the original text of our Sūtra was probably, in the main, a work in metrical form, I do not mean to say that the poetical version in all the chapters must be

¹ As e. g. the word *dīnāra* in the Asoka Avadāna; the passage on the Greeks Yonās, in Assalāyana Sutta (ed. Pischel), p. 10; cf. the editor's remark, p. 6; the word *karama* for *kalama*, calamus to write with, in *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* (Calc. ed.), p. 69.

considered to be prior to the prose¹. The Gāthās of the Saddharma-pundarīka are nowhere very brilliant, but in some chapters they are so excessively clumsy and mechanically put together that involuntarily we are led to the assumption of their having been made by persons to whom the old dialect was no longer familiar. The stanzas, e. g. in chapters xi and xiv, are abominable in form, and unusually silly; those in chap. xxiv are a pattern of mechanical verse-making, and give the impression as if they were intended rather to stultify than to edify the credulous reader. Now it is a curious fact that in a Chinese preface to the translation of our Sūtra by Gñānagupta and Dharmagupta, A.D. 601², we meet with the following notice: 'The omission of the Gāthās in No. 134, chaps. 12 and 25³, have since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow⁴.'

Here we have a direct proof that the Gāthās of some chapters have been added in later times. Had we similar notices concerning all the chapters in which the Gāthās are of a comparatively modern date, and could we prove that the prose of such chapters belongs to a later period, then the supposition of the ancient text of the Saddharma-pundarīka having been in the main a metrical one would seem to lose in strength. For, reasoning by analogy, one might say that just as some later chapters have notoriously been enriched with a metrical version in later times, so the ancient parts also will have gradually received their Gāthās. Still the fact remains that those chapters in which the metrical portion is wanting clearly belong to a later period, so that it is questionable whether their case is entirely analogous to that of the more ancient part of the whole work.

¹ Isolated stanzas, as in chapters xxii, xxv, and elsewhere, are wholly left out of question.

² Catalogue of the Tripitaka (Oxford), by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio; Sūtra Piṭaka, col. 45.

³ In the English translation chapters xi and xxiv.

⁴ Another notice in the above-mentioned Catalogue, col. 44, runs thus: 'The portion of prose' (of chap. xxiv) 'was translated by Kumāragīva, of the latter Tshin dynasty, A.D. 384-417; and that of Gāthās by Gñānagupta, of the Northern Kien dynasty, A.D. 557-589.' So it seems that the Gāthās have been added, and, not unlikely, been composed, between 417 and 557 A.D.

At present we are far from the ultimate end which critical research has to reach; we are not able to assign to each part of our Sûtra its proper place in the development of Buddhist literature. We may feel that compositions from different times have been collected into a not very harmonious whole; we may even be able to prove that some passages are as decidedly ancient as others are modern, but any attempt to analyse the compound and lay bare its component parts would seem to be premature. Under these circumstances the inquiry after the date of the work resolves itself into the question at what time the book received its present shape.

There exist, as it is well known, various Chinese translations of the Saddharma-pundarîka, or parts of it, the dates of which are well ascertained. The above-mentioned Catalogue by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio affords some valuable information about the subject, from which I borrow the following particulars¹:

The oldest Chinese translation, known by the title of *Kan-fâ-hwâ-kin*, is from *Ku Fâ-hu* (Dharmaraksha), of the Western Tsin dynasty, A.D. 265-316; in 28 chapters².

Equally old is an incomplete translation entitled *Sâ-thân-fan-tho-li-kin*, of an unknown author.

Next in time comes the *Miào-fâ-lien-hwâ-kin*, by Kumâragîva, of the latter Tshin dynasty, A.D. 384-417³. It agrees with the Tibetan version, and contains 28 chapters. Of one chapter (xxiv in the Nepalese MSS. and the English translation) Kumâragîva translated the prose only; the Gâthas were rendered by *Gñânagupta*, of the Northern Kieu dynasty, A.D. 557-589.

The last translation in order of time, entitled *Thien-phin-miào-fâ-lien-hwâ-kin*, is from *Gñânagupta* and *Dharmagupta*, A.D. 601, of the Sui dynasty; in 27 chapters.

We see that the older translations—and, consequently, their originals—counted one chapter more than our MSS.

¹ Sûtra Pīṭaka, col. 44 seqq.

² In S. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripitaka*, p. 14, the name of the author *Ku Fâ-hu* (*Chu-fa-hu*) is identified with *Dharmagupta*.

³ Cf. Beal, *Buddhist Tripitaka*, p. 15.

The difference, however, does not affect the contents of the whole, because the matter divided over chapters 11 and 12 of the older translations is contained in chap. xi of our texts and the latest Chinese version. The order of the chapters is the same in all the texts, both original and translated, up to chap. xx (=21 older division); the discrepancies first begin at chap. xxi, on *Dhāraṇīs*. The subjoined comparative table, to begin with the chapter on *Dhāraṇīs*, exhibits the order of the last seven chapters in the various texts. The first column refers to the Nepalese MSS. and the Chinese translation by *Gñānagupta* and *Dharmagupta*; the second to the oldest Chinese translation; the third to that of *Kumāragīva*.

1	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	5
2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	2
3	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	3
4	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	4
5	.	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	6
6	.	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	7
7	.	.	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	1

A glance at this table will suffice to convince us that chapters xxi-xxvi (1-6) are of later growth, if we bear in mind that the order of the chapters down to the *Dhāraṇīs* is the same in all sources. This result is quite in harmony with what we would have guessed upon internal grounds. The last chapter, entitled *Dharmaparyāya*, must, from its very nature, have been the close, the epilogue of the whole. In the Chinese translation of *Kumāragīva* it occurs, as the table shows, immediately after chap. xx, by itself a clear indication that xxi-xxvi are later additions. It is somewhat strange that in the older translation of *Ku Fā-hu* the *Dharmaparyāya* has already taken its place after the additional matter, but this may be explained on the supposition that *Kumāragīva*, though living in a later time, made use of ancient manuscripts¹. However that

¹ The preface to the Chinese translation of *Gñānagupta* and *Dharmagupta* says: 'The translations of *Ku Fā-hu* and *Kumāragīva* are most probably made from two different texts.'

may be, I think that the following facts may be held to be established, both from internal and external evidence : 1. The more ancient text of the *Saddharma-pundarīka* contained 21 chapters and an epilogue, i.e. the matter of chaps. i-xx and of chap. xxvii; 2. The later additions, excepting probably some verses, had been connected with the work, in the way of *Parisishtas* or *Addenda*, about 250 A.D. or earlier. As the book, along with the *Parisishtas*, already existed some time before 250 A.D., we may safely conclude that the more ancient text in 21 chapters, the epilogue included, dates some centuries earlier. Greater precision is for the present impossible.

We know that a commentary on the *Saddharma-pundarīka* was composed by Vasubandhu¹. The date of that work, not yet recovered, it seems, must fall between 550 and 600 A.D., or at least not much earlier, for Vasubandhu's pupil Guṇaprabha became the Guru of the famous Śrī-Harsha, alias Śilāditya, king of Kanauj, the friend of Hiouen Tshang². The latter often mentions Vasubandhu and some of that great doctor's writings, as well as Guṇaprabha³. As both worthies at the time of Hiouen Tshang's visiting India had already departed this life, and Vasubandhu must have been at least one generation older than Guṇaprabha, we cannot be far amiss in assigning to Vasubandhu's commentary the date above specified.

It appears from the above-mentioned preface to the Chinese translation of A.D. 601, that the text-differences in the MSS. current in those days were more important than such as we observe in the Nepalese MSS. from 1000 A.D. downward, with which the Tibetan closely agree. The Chinese preface is so interesting that it is worth while to

¹ Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 222. This was written before the publication of my Cambridge Lectures, 'India, what can it teach us?' and affords valuable, because independent, confirmation of the chronological system contained in Note G, 'Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature,' pp. 281-366.—The Editor, F. M. M.

² Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 78; cf. pp. 64 and 219; Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus* (transl. Schiefner), p. 126.

³ See especially *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tshang*, pp. 83, 93, 97, 114; 106.

copy a passage from it as quoted in the Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka¹:

‘The translations of *Ku Fâ-hu*, No. 138, and *Kumâragîva*, No. 134, are most probably made from two different texts. In the repository of the Canon, I (the author of the preface) have seen two texts (or copies of the text, of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka*); one is written on the palm leaves, and the other in the letters of *Kwei-tsz’*, or *Kharakkar*, *Kumâragîva*’s maternal country. The former text exactly agrees with No. 138, and the latter with No. 134. No. 138 omits only the *Gâthâs* of the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chap. 24. But No. 134 omits half of the *Ôshadhi-parivarta*, chap. 5, the beginning of the *Pañkabhikshusavyâkaraṇa-parivarta*, chap. 8, and that of the *Saddharmabhâṇaka-parivarta*, chap. 10, and the *Gâthâs* of the *Devadatta-parivarta*, chap. 12², and those of the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chap. 25. Moreover, No. 134 puts the *Dharmaparyâya-parivarta* (the last chapter of the *Sûtra*) before the *Bhaishagya-râga-parivarta*, chap. 23. Nos. 138 and 134 both place the *Dhâraṇî-parivarta* next to the *Samantamukha-parivarta*, chaps. 24 and 25 respectively. Beside these, there are minor differences between the text and translation. The omission of the *Gâthâs* in No. 134, chaps. 12 and 25, have since been filled in by some wise men, whose example I wish to follow. In the first year of the *Zan-sheu* period, A.D. 601, I, together with *Gñâna-gupta* and *Dharmagupta*, have examined the palm-leaf text, at the request of a *Sramana*, *Shân-hhiñ*, and found that the beginning of two chapters, 8th and 10th, are also wanting in the text (though No. 138 contains them). Nevertheless we have increased a half of the 5th chapter, and put the 12th chapter into the 11th, and restored the *Dhâraṇî-parivarta* and *Dharmaparyâya-parivarta* to their proper order, as chaps. 21 and 27. There are also some words and passages which have been altered (while the greater

¹ *Sûtra Piṭaka*, col. 45.

² In the *Nepalese MSS.* and the European translations the latter part of chap. xi.

part of No. 134 is retained). The reader is requested not to have any suspicion about these differences.'

According to the opinion of an eminent Chinese scholar, the late Stanislas Julien, the translation of Kumâragîva widely differs from Burnouf's. He gives utterance to that opinion in a letter dated June 12, 1866, and addressed to Professor Max Müller, to whose obliging kindness it is due that I am able to publish a specimen of Kumâragîva's version rendered into French by Stanislas Julien. The fragment answers to the stanzas 1-22 of chap. iii. As it is too long to be inserted here, I give it hereafter on page xl.

On comparing the fragment with the corresponding passages in Burnouf's French translation and the English version in this volume, the reader cannot fail to perceive that the discrepancies between the two European versions are fewer and of less consequence than between each of them and Kumâragîva's work. It is hardly to be supposed that the text used by Kumâragîva can have differed so much from ours, and it seems far more probable that he has taken the liberty, for clearness sake, to modify the construction of the verses, a literal rendering whereof, it must be owned, is impossible in any language. It is a pity that Stanislas Julien has chosen for his specimen a fragment exclusively consisting of Gâthâs. A page in prose would have been far more useful as a test of the accuracy of the Chinese version.

Proceeding to treat of the contents of our Sûtra, I begin by quoting the passage where Burnouf, in his usual masterly way, describes the general character of the book and the prominent features of the central figure in it. The illustrious French scholar writes¹:

'Là, comme dans les Sûtras simples, c'est Çâkya qui est le plus important, le premier des êtres; et quoique l'imagination du compilateur l'ait doué de toutes les perfections de science et de vertu admises chez les Buddhistes; quoique Çâkya revête déjà un caractère mythologique, quand il

¹ Introduction, p. 119.

déclare qu'il y a longtemps qu'il remplit les devoirs d'un Buddha, et qu'il doit les remplir longtemps encore, malgré sa mort prochaine, laquelle ne détruit pas son éternité ; quoiqu'enfin on le représente créant de son corps des Buddhas qui sont comme les images et les reproductions idéales de sa personne mortelle, nulle part Çâkyamuni n'est nommé Dieu ; nulle part il ne reçoit le titre d'Âdibuddha.'

To this I have nothing to object, only something to add. It is perfectly true that Sâkya does not receive the simple title of Deva ; why ? Because that title is far too poor for so exalted a personage who is the Devâtideva, the paramount god of gods. So he is called in the Lotus, chap. vii, st. 31¹, and innumerable times in the whole range of Buddhist literature, both in Pâli and Sanskrit². It is further undeniable that the title of Âdibuddha does not occur in the Lotus, but it is intimated that Sâkya is identical with Âdibuddha in the words : 'From the very beginning (âdita eva) have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them (the innumerable Bodhisattvas) to be fit for their Bodhisattva position³.' It is only by accommodation that he is called Âdibuddha, he properly being anâdi, i.e. existing from eternity, having no beginning. The Buddha most solemnly declares (chap. xv) that he reached Bodhi an immense time ago, not as people fancy, first at Gayâ. From the whole manner in which Sâkya speaks of his existence in former times, it is perfectly clear that the author wished to convey the meaning that the Lord had existed from eternity, or, what comes to the same, from the very beginning, from time immemorial, &c.

Sâkya has not only lived an infinite number of Æons in the past, he is to live for ever. Common people fancy that he enters Nirvâna, but in reality he only makes a show of Nirvâna out of regard for the weakness of men. He, the

¹ Burnouf's rendering is 'Déva supérieur aux Dévas.'

² Less frequent than devâtideva is the synonymous devâdhideva, e.g. Lalita-vistara, p. 131 ; essentially the same is the term sarvadevottama, the highest of all gods, ib. p. 144.

³ See chap. xiv, p. 295.

Father of the world¹, the Self-born One, the Chief and Saviour² of creatures, produces a semblance of Nirvāṇa, whenever he sees them given to error and folly³. In reality his being is not subject to complete Nirvāṇa; it is only by a skilful device that he makes a show of it; and repeatedly he appears in the world of the living, though his real abode is on the summit of the *Grīdhra-kūṭa*⁴. All this is, in other words, the teaching of Nārāyaṇa in *Bhagavad-gītā* IV, 6 seqq.:

Ago 'pi sann avyayātmā bhūtānām īśvaro 'pi san,
prakṛitim svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy ātmamāyayā.
yadā-yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati, Bhārata,
abhyutthānam adharmasya tadātmānam sṛjāmy aham.
paritrāṇāya sādḥūnām vināśāya ka dushkrītām,
dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambhavāmi yuge-yuge.

The Buddha is anthropomorphic, of course; what god is not? The Lotus, far from giving prominence to the unavoidable human traits, endeavours as much as possible to represent the Lord and his audience as superhuman beings. In chap. xiv there is a great pause, as in a drama, of no less than fifty intermediate kalpas, during which Sākya-muni and all his hearers keep silence⁵. A second pause of 1000, or according to a various reading, 100,000 years is held in chap. xx. Now it is difficult to conceive that any author, wilfully and ostentatiously, would mention such traits if he wished to impress the reader with the notion that the narrative refers to human beings.

It will not be necessary to multiply examples. There is, to my comprehension, not the slightest doubt that the

¹ Cf. *Krishna* declaring of himself in *Bhagavad-gītā* IX, 17: *Pitāham gāgato mātā dhātā pitāmaha*. Cf. XI, 43. The significant title of *Pitāmaha* is given to Buddha in an inscription found at Dooriya (Bithā); Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey*, vol. iii, pl. xviii; cf. p. 48.

² Like Nārāyaṇa in *Bhagavad-gītā* XII, 7: *Teshām aham samuddhartā-mṛityusamsārasāgarāt*.

³ Chap. xv, st. 21.

⁴ Chap. xv, st. 6, 10.

⁵ One intermediate kalpa is, in the system, equal to 8 yugas. As 4 yugas number 4,320,000 years, it follows that the pause lasted 432 millions of years. Esoterically, kalpa has certainly denoted a short interval of time, but even if we take the 'intermediate kalpa' to mean, in reality, a lapse of time equal to a few hours, the pause would not refer to an historical event.

Saddharma-pundarika intends to represent Sâkya as the supreme being, as the god of gods, almighty and all-wise. But what have we to understand by the words 'god' and 'god of gods?' that is the question. To find the answer let us recall to memory the theosophic notions prevailing in ancient India at certain periods.

In general it may be said that the Upanishads recognise two supreme beings, which in a mystical way are somehow identified; one is the great illuminator of the macrocosm, and is sometimes called the Sun, at other times Ether; the other, the enlightener of the microcosm, is Mind or Reason¹. As soon as the Sun ceased to be considered an animate being or to be represented as such, he might continue, for worship's sake, *honoris causâ*, to be called the highest god; the really remaining deity was Reason, poetically termed the inward light. This idea is expressed by Nīlakantha in his commentary on Bhagavad-gītā V, 14, in the following terms: *Prabhuḥ kīdātmā sūrya ivāsmadā-dīnām prakāśakaḥ*, the Lord (is) the intelligent Self that like a sun is the illuminator of ourselves and others². Now the same author, in his notes on Bhagavad-gītā VI, 30, distinctly states that our inward consciousness, or as he puts it, the *pratyagâtman*, the individual Self, otherwise called *gīva*, is *Nārāyaṇa*, i.e. the supreme being. At IX, 28 he paraphrases *Nārāyaṇa* by *sarveshām pratyagâtman*, the individual consciousness of all (sentient beings); at XII, 14 he identifies *Nārāyaṇa* with *nirguṇam brahma*. Just as here and there *Nārāyaṇa* is represented as clad in all the glory and majesty of a sovereign, as the illuminator, the vivifier of the world, in one word as the sun, so we find Sâkyamuni invested with all the grandeur and all the resources of a ruler of nature. Philosophically, both *Nārāyaṇa* and his counterpart Sâkyamuni are *purushottama*, *paramâtman*, the highest brahman, Mind. Sâkyamuni

¹ See e. g. *Kāândogya-upanishad* III, 18 and 19; cf. *Bhagavad-gītā* XV, 12.

² Cf. *Bhagavad-gītā* XIII, 33: *yathā prakāśayaty ekaḥ kṛtsnam lokam imam raviḥ, kṣhetram kṣhetrī tathā kṛtsnam prakāśayati, Bhārata*. The *kṣhetra* here is the body, the *kṣhetrin* is Mind, Reason, *âtman*. Cf. *Saṅkara* on *Kāândogya-upanishad*, l. c.

is, esoterically, the very same muni, the beholder of good and evil, the *puṇyapāpekṣhitā* muni that is spoken of in Manu VIII, 91. It is acknowledged in Bhagavad-gītā IX, 14 seqq. that the supreme being may be conceived and respected in different ways according to the degree of intelligence of creatures. Some pay their worship by leading a virtuous life, others by pious devotion, others by contemplation, others by confessing a strictly monistic philosophy¹, others by acknowledging a personal god². The Lord in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka admits of being viewed in all these various aspects. Whether the Buddha-theory, such as we find it developed in the Sūtra, not in plain words, indeed, but by circumlocutions and ambiguities, should be called atheistic or not, is a matter of comparatively slight importance, about which opinions may differ. This much, however, may be asserted, that the Lotus and the Bhagavad-gītā are, in this respect, exactly on a par.

The conclusion arrived at is that the Sākyamuni of the Lotus is an ideal, a personification, and not a person. Traits borrowed, or rather surviving, from an older cosmological mythology, and traces of ancient nature-worship abound both in the Lotus and the Bhagavad-gītā, but in the highest sense of the word, *paramārthataḥ*, the Puruṣhotama in both is the centre of mental life. It is just possible that the ancient doctors of the Mahāyāna have believed that such an ideal once walked in the flesh here on earth, but the impression left by the spirit and the letter of the whole work does not favour that supposition. In later times fervent adherents of the Mahāyāna really held that belief, as we know from the example of the pious Hiouen Thsang, who was evidently as earnest in his belief that the Lord once trod the soil of India as he was convinced of Mañgusrī, Maitreya, and Avalokitesvara existing as animated beings. Whether the system of the Lotus can be said to agree with what is supposed to be 'genuine' Bud-

¹ The followers of the Upanishads, Aupanishadas, who say, 'Myself am God,' or as Nīlakantha puts it, 'Myself am the Lord Vāsudeva.'

² According to Nīlakantha the common people, who think, 'He, the Lord, is my Master.'

dhism, it is not here the place to discuss. So far as the Northern Church is concerned, the book must be acknowledged as the very cream of orthodoxy; it is the last, the supreme, the most sublime of the Sûtras exposed by the Lord; it is, so to say, the *siromani*, the crown jewel, of all Sûtras¹.

The contents of the separate chapters into which the Sûtra is divided may be described, summarily, as follows:

1. Prologue.

2. Awakening of the Lord from his mystic trance; display of his transcendent skilfulness, proved by the apparent trinity of vehicles, whereas in reality there is but one vehicle.

3. Prophecy of the Lord regarding the future destiny of Sâriputra, his eldest son. Second turn of the wheel of the law on that occasion, with incidental commemoration of the first turn near Benares. Parable of the burning house, to exemplify the skill of the good father in saving his children from the burning pains of mundane existence.

4. Another parable, exemplifying the skill of the wise father in leading a child that has gone astray and lost all self-respect back to a feeling of his innate nobility and to happiness.

5. Parable of the plants and the rain, to exemplify the impartiality and equal care of the Lord for all creatures². Parable of the blind man, to intimate that the phenomena have but an apparent reality, and that the ultimate goal of all endeavours must be to reach all-knowingness, which in fact is identical with complete nescience.

6. Sundry predictions as proofs of the power of the Sugata to look into the future.

7. He has an equal knowledge of the remotest past; his remembrance of the turning of the wheel by the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû. Edifying history of the sixteen sons of the said Tathâgata.

¹ Chap. xiii, st. 53 seq.

² Cf. Bhagavad-gîtâ IX, 29, where Nârâyana declares: 'I am equal towards all creatures, none is hateful to me, none beloved;' *samo 'ham sarvabhûteshu, na me dveshyo 'sti na priya*.

8. Prophecy regarding five hundred Arhats.
9. Prophecy concerning Ānanda, Rāhula, and the two thousand monks.
10. The Lord teaches how pious preachers of the law, who will come in after-times, ought to be duly honoured, and promises that he will always protect the ministers of religion.
11. Display of the miraculous power of Sākyamuni shown in the appearance of a Stūpa, which, being opened by him, discloses to sight the frame of the expired Tathāgata Pra-bhūtaratna, who is desirous of hearing the exposition of the Lotus of the True Law. How Sākyamuni in a former birth strove to acquire the Lotus. His great obligations to Deva-datta. Episode of the wise daughter of the Ocean and her change of sex.
12. Prediction to Gautamī, Yasodharā, and the nuns in their train. Promise of the host of disciples and Bodhisattvas to take up the difficult task of preaching the holy word in days to come, after the Lord's Nirvāṇa.
13. Vocation of the ministers of religion, and practical rules for their conduct in and out of society. Parable of the king who rewards his valiant warriors; in the same manner the Buddha will reward those who struggle for his sake, by bestowing upon them all kinds of favours, at last the most valuable of his boons—eternal rest.
14. Splendid phantasmagory of innumerable Bodhisattvas evoked by the creative power of the Lord. Long pause, during which the Tathāgata and the four classes of hearers are silent. Perplexity of Maitreya on hearing that the innumerable Bodhisattvas have all been the pupils of the Lord.
15. The Buddha explains the fact by revealing the immense duration of his lifetime, in the past and the future.
16. Meritoriousness of the belief in the immense duration of the Tathāgatas and all those who have once become Buddhas.
17. The Lord details the great merit attending a ready acceptance of the preaching of the law.

18. Exposition of the advantages, worldly and spiritual, enjoyed by the ministers of religion.

19. Story of Sadāparibhūta, exemplifying the superiority of simple-mindedness and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism.

20. Grand show exhibited by the two Tathāgatas Sākya-muni and Prabhūtaratna conjointly¹. Pause after the performance. After the pause a great stir amongst gods, celestial and infernal beings, men, &c.² The Tathāgata extols the Sūtra of the Lotus in which 'all Buddha-laws are succinctly taught,' as well as the keepers of this most eminent of Sūtras.

Immediately after this chapter may have followed, in the oldest version, the epilogue entitled 'Period of the Law ;' the reasons for this opinion have been already stated above. The supposed additional chapters contain the following topics, briefly indicated :

21. Efficacy of talismanic spells (Dhāraṇīs).

22. Self-sacrifice of the Bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana, otherwise called Bhaishagyaṛāga. Glorification of the Lotus as the most eminent of Sūtras.

23. Visit of the Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara to the Saha-world. Extraordinary qualities and achievements of this worthy, incidentally narrated by the Tathāgata. Return of the Bodhisattva to whence he came.

24. Grandeur and ubiquitousness of Avalokitesvara.

25. Wonderful and edifying story of the conversion of the king Subhavyūha through the instrumentality of his two sons Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, al. Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyasamudgata.

26. The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra charges himself with the task of being a protector to the preachers of religion in after-times after the Lord's Nirvāṇa³.

¹ Both stretch their flaming tongues as far as the Brahma-world. In the Bhagavad-gītā XI, 30 it is said of Nārāyaṇa, when at the request of Arjuna he shows himself in his full grandeur: *lelihyase grasamānaḥ samantāl lokān samagrān vadanair gvaladbhiḥ, tegobhir āpūrya gagat samagram bhāsas tavo-grāh prapatanti, Vishṇo !*

² Cf. Bhagavad-gītā XI, 15.

³ There is some incongruity between this chapter and chapter x, because

This summary, however meagre, will be sufficient to show that there is no lack of variety in our Sûtra. We may, indeed, be satisfied that the compilers of it intended giving an exposition of the principal truths of their religion in general, and of the peculiar tenets of their own system¹ in particular, the whole with anxious care arranged in such a form that the Sûtra admitted of an exoterical and esoterical interpretation. It contains a revelation of the state of things in the present, as well as in the past and the future, a revelation derived from a virtually eternal source, so that the doctrine taught in it must be deemed valid not only for a certain spiritual brotherhood or church, but for the human race at large. The highest authority to whom the doctrine is referred, is not a certain individual having lived a short span of time somewhere in India, but the sublime being who has his constant abode on the *Gridhrakûta*, i.e. he who is the terminology of other Indian creeds is called *Kûta*stha.

As a general rule it may be said that in such works of ancient Indian literature as are anonymous, we must distinguish between the authority and the author. In the Lotus we meet after the invocation in some MSS. the following distich :

Vaipulyasûtrârâgam paramârthanayâvatâranirdesam ।

Saddharmapundarikam sattvâya mahâpatham vakshye ॥

I.e. 'I shall proclaim the king of the Vaipulya-sûtras, that teacheth how one arrives at the (right) method of attaining the highest truth ; the Saddharma-pundarîka, the great road (leading) to substantiality (being in abstracto).' The person here speaking is not the Buddha, who is neither the author nor the writer of the work. Have we then to ascribe the distich to one of the ancient copyists? Burnouf² decidedly thinks so, and his opinion is corroborated by the fact that the verses do not occur in all MSS. I must con-

in the latter it is the Lord himself who promises to be in future the protector of the preachers.

¹ I.e. of the Mahâyâna, which according to Târanâtha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 274, stands above the division of the Baudddhas into various schools.

² Lotus, p. 285.

fess that I am not so sure of it. As the Sûtra, like other compositions of the kind, begins with the solemn 'Thus have I heard, &c.,' it is at least possible that the distich belongs to the compiler. I am not aware that the scribes were in the habit of using such expressions as *vaḥ* or synonymous terms instead of *likh*, to write; and as we find in the Mahāvastu similar futures as *vakshye*, viz. *udîrayishyam* and *upavarṇayishyāmi*¹, where they can hardly be imputed to the scribe, it is safer to leave the question, whether the opening distich of the Lotus is the work of a compiler or of a copyist, undecided, the more so because the parallel phrase *athâto—vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*, frequently found immediately after the invocation, in non-Buddhistic writings, must be held to refer to the author or authors, compilers.

The Lotus being one of the standard works of the Mahâyāna, the study of it cannot but be useful for the right appreciation of that remarkable system. A perusal of the book will convince the reader that a statement of Professor Wassiljew's² can only be accepted with some restrictions, when this scholar, so profoundly versed in the history and development of Northern Buddhism, says that the Buddha of the Mahâyāna is 'neither the creator nor the ruler of the world; he remains the same cold, indifferent egoist, absorbed in Nothingness.' The Tathâgata of the Lotus is passionless, indeed, but that does not involve his being an egoist. In general it may be said that the spirit of the Mahâyāna is more universal, its ideal less monastical than the Hīnayāna's. According to Professor Rhys Davids we must not seek the superior vital power which enabled the Great Vehicle to outlive the earlier teaching in certain metaphysical subtleties, but in the idea of a desire to save all living creatures; 'the idea,' to quote his own words³, 'as summarised in the theory of Bodisatship, is the key-note of the later school, just as Arahatsip is the key-note of

¹ Mahāvastu (ed. Senart), p. 1, with the remarks of the editor, and p. 9.

² In his *Buddhismus*, p. 126.

³ In *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 254.

early Buddhism.' The Mahâyâna doctors said in effect: 'We grant you all you say about the bliss of attaining Nirvâna in this life¹. But it produces advantage only to yourselves; and according to your own theory there will be a necessity for Buddhas in the future as much as there has been for Buddhas in the past. Greater, better, nobler then, than the attainment of Arahatsip must be the attainment of Bodhisattship from a desire to save all living creatures in the ages that will come.' The teaching of the Lotus, however, is different, and comes to this, that every one should try to become a Buddha. It admits that from a practical point of view one may distinguish three means, so-called Vehicles, yânas, to attain the summum bonum, Nirvâna, although in a higher sense there is only one Vehicle. These means are, in plain language, piety, philosophy or rather Yogism, and striving for the enlightenment and weal of our fellow-creatures; these means are designated by the terms of Vehicle of (obedient) hearers or disciples, of Pratyekabuddhas, and of Bodhisattvas. Higher than piety is true and self-acquired knowledge of the eternal laws; higher than knowledge is devoting oneself to the spiritual weal of others². The higher unity embracing the three separate Vehicles is the Buddha-vehicle.

The title of Bodhisattva is not always used in the same acceptance. Apart from a broad distinction we can draw

¹ It may be observed that there is nothing peculiarly Buddhistic in the searching for Nirvâna in this life, except in the sound of the word. It is exactly the same as what other Indian enthusiasts or mystics called *Gīvanmukti*, the aim of Yogins in the fourth degree (answering to the Arhats of the Buddhists) and of the Brâhmanas or Dvijas in the fourth Âsrama.

² See chap. iii, p. 80. Something similar in Bhagavad-gîtâ XII, 12: *sreyo hi gñānam abhyāsāḥ gñānād dhyānaṁ viśiṣyate, dhyānāt karmaphalatyaḡas tyāgāt kṣāntir anantaram*; and IV, 5: *labhante brahmanirvānaṁ rishayaḥ kṣhīnakalmashāḥ, kṣīnnadvaidhā yatātmānaḥ sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ*. Neither in these passages of the Bhagavad-gîtâ nor in the three Vehicles is there anything new; *abhyāsa*, study, denotes the period of one's studying under a master, the Brahmatâriship, which the Lotus calls the Vehicle of Disciples; the period of *dhyāna*, alias the Vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, coincides with the third Âsrama, that of Vānaprastha; the *tyāga*, alias Bodhisattvaship, is virtually the same with the life of a Sannyâsin, Yati, or Mukta. *Gñāna* characterises the second Âsrama; in the Lotus it is merged in or combined with *dhyāna*.

between human and superhuman Bodhisattvas¹—the latter are here left out of account—we find sometimes the word applied to those persons who in the passage of our Sûtra alluded to are styled *Srâvakas*, hearers, learners. This appears to be the case at least in Nepâl, as we know from the following passage²: ‘The Buddha is the adept in the wisdom of Buddhism (*Bodhijnâna*), whose first duty, so long as he remains on earth, is to communicate his wisdom to those who are willing to receive it. These willing learners are the “Bodhisattvas,” so called from their hearts being inclined to the wisdom of Buddhism, and “Sanghas,” from their companionship with one another, and with their Buddha or teacher, in the *vihâras* or cœnobitical establishments. The Bodhisattva or Sangha continues to be such until he has surmounted the very last grade of that vast and laborious ascent by which he is instructed that he can “scale the heavens,” and pluck immortal wisdom from its resplendent source: which achievement performed, he becomes a Buddha, that is, an Omniscient Being.’

Here the Bodhisattvas are plainly distinguished from the cœnobitical monks; they are so likewise in the Lotus³, in which we find them also in the function of learned or wise men (*Panditas*), of preachers or ministers of religion. Wassiljew l.c. remarks about the Bodhisattva—the terrestrial one of course—that ‘from one side, he seems to be the substitute of the ancient Bhikshu;’ from which we ought not to infer that the mendicant monks, as such, ceased to exist, for that is notoriously not the case, but that the Bodhisattvas were charged with the office of preaching. They are persons who deserve to be honoured both by mendicant monks and lay devotees⁴, and formed, it would seem, a kind of learned clergy, not to be confounded, however, with the modern *Vagra-Âkâryas* or married clergymen in Nepâl. There is reason to suppose that one of the

¹ Cf. Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 124.

² B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 62. Cf. Stanislas Julien, *Voyages des Pèlerins bouddhistes*, II, p. 436 note.

³ See especially the whole of chapter x.

⁴ Lotus, chap. x, st. 27 seq.

honorific titles given to the preachers or interpreters of the law was 'wise' or 'learned man,' *Pandita*, for the word is so often applied to them that it looks more like a title than a common epithet¹. Târanâtha knows *Pandita* to be a title², and considers it to be the equivalent of the older Mahâbhadanta; he distinguishes 'Bodhisattvas' from 'common *Panditas*' and 'Arhats.' How does this agree with the data in the Lotus? As it has been intimated in a foregoing note, the three Vehicles are imitations of three Âsramas or stages in the model life of an Ârya, in the first place of a Brâhman. The stages are that of a student, of a hermit living in the forest, and of a Sannyâsin, Yati, or Mukta, who has wholly given up the world. The second stage, that of a householder, does not exist, of course, for those who vow themselves to a monastic life. Our Sûtra does not prescribe that the three stages must be gone through by the same persons, no more than the Bhagavad-gîtâ l.c. requires that one should pass the stages of study, knowledge, and meditation before resolving upon complete renunciation (tyâga); what follows from the context is only this, that the Vehicle of Bodhisattvas, alias those who strive for the weal of all creatures, is superior to the two preceding Vehicles. The Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas being the loftiest of the three, they themselves must be considered as occupying the highest rank. Now Târanâtha places the Arhats above them, and with the Nepalese also the first class of the monastic order is that of Arhat³. The question is, how are we to judge of the relation between Arhats and Bodhisattvas in the Lotus? As far as I am able to see, the compiler⁴ of the Sûtra describes facts, or supposed facts, which he knew from oral or literary tradition, as having occurred in the past, whereas the actual state of things in his own time and shortly before is represented as that of the future. His Arhats are sages of the past, canonized saints; his human Bodhisattvas are sages,

¹ E. g. Lotus, chap. x, st. 4, cf. 6; 23, 33; xiii, 13, 16, 24, 26, 30, 32, 39, 44.

² Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 60.

³ Hodgson, Essays, p. 52; cf. p. 30.

⁴ The reader should not lay stress upon this singular.

wise men of the present, most reverend worthies who should live a saintly life and generally do so, but who, however sanctimonious, are not acknowledged saints. Of an antagonism between Arhats and Bodhisattvas there is no trace in the book; the Arhats being dead, they cannot be active; the Bodhisattvas as living persons, can¹. In a certain respect, then, the remark of Professor Rhys Davids holds good; the Bodhisattvas represent the ideal of spiritual activity, the Arhats of inactivity. It must be admitted that the Lotus, as a whole, breathes a less monastic and ascetic² spirit; it does not go the length to speak of ascetism and mortification in such scornful terms as the Bhagavad-gîtâ³ does, but at the same time it never extols it. There are in the book many indications that the art of preaching was made much of and highly developed, and it may be supposed that a greater proficiency in hermeneutics combined with superior mental activity has enabled the Mahâyâna to supplant its rival, the Hînayâna, and to extend its spiritual conquests once from the snows of Siberia to the luxuriant islands of the Indian Archipelago.

After having touched upon such points in the text of the *Saddharma-pundarikâ* as seemed to require more special notice, it behoves me to say a few words about the translation and its resources. In the first place, I must declare that I cannot speak in too warm terms of the benefit I have derived from the French translation by the illustrious Burnouf. I have taken that work throughout for my model, without having been able to reach its excellency. The material discrepancies between his translation are partly due to my having followed other MSS., partly to another interpretation, especially of frequently corrupt and difficult Gâthâs. If some reader not acquainted

¹ Something of contempt for the Arhats is shown in the story communicated by Hiouen Tshang in *Voyages des Pèlerins bouddhistes*, II, p. 176, where the editor inadvertently writes Vasubandhu instead of Vasumitra; his index affords the means of correcting the mistake; cf. Wassiljew in *Târanâtha*, p. 298.

² See chap. xiii, 28, where the eighth commandment of the *Dasasîla*, forbidding the use of ointment, is slighted.

³ See there xvii, 5 seqq., and cf. 14 seqq., where we are taught what the true *tapas* should be.

with the peculiar difficulties of those Gāthās should wonder at the occurrence of numerous discrepancies, I would repeat the words of the preface to the Chinese version from A.D. 601, and request him 'not to have any suspicion about these differences.' Let him compare the fragment from Kumāragīva's rendering on page xl with the corresponding passages in the French and English translations, and he will observe that the difference between the work of the learned Buddhist of the fourth century and the two European versions is far more considerable than between the latter.

The base of my translation has been an old manuscript on palm leaves, belonging to Dr. D. Wright's collection, in the University Library of Cambridge. The manuscript is dated Newar, era 159 (=A.D. 1039), and was written in the reign of the king Kāmādeva (?), in the bright half of the month Vaisākha, on a Thursday¹. It is one of the most ancient Sanskrit MSS. existing in Europe, and therefore I thought that it was advisable to follow its readings as much as possible, except in such passages as were evidently corrupt. A second MS., unfortunately incomplete, from the same collection, is of unknown date, since the latter part of the codex is lost; from the form of the characters it may be inferred that it is not much more modern than the other codex². The difference between both is not very great; yet there can be no doubt that the second MS. belongs to another family. The *varietas lectionis* is strikingly similar in kind to what we find in the different texts of the *Vaṅgrakṣhedikā*, edited by Professor Max Müller.

The former manuscript has much in common with the London codices, from which Burnouf in the notes on his translation has derived numerous various readings; it stands farther off from the Paris MS. that has formed the base of Burnouf's version, but not so far as the second

¹ Samvat 159 Vaisākhasukle (illegible the Tithi) Gurudine, Kāmādevasya vigayarāgye likhitam iti. There seem to be wanting two syllables before kāmā.

² The two Cambridge MSS. are marked Add. 1682 and 1683.

Cambridge MS., which shows the greatest number of peculiar readings. The text of chapter iv in Professor Foucaux's edition of the *Parabole de l'enfant égaré* is comparatively modern and bad. In general it may be said that all the known copies of the *Saddharma-pundarika* are written with a want of care little in harmony with the holy character of the book.

Before closing this preface I beg to offer my sincere thanks to Professors William Wright and E. B. Cowell, at Cambridge, for the generous way in which they have enabled me to use the MSS. I wanted for my translation. My thanks are due also to the Council of Cambridge University and Mr. H. Bradshaw, for their readily complying with my wishes. To Professor Max Müller I owe a debt of gratitude for his kindly assisting me in my task in more than one respect, a debt which I am glad here openly to acknowledge.

H. KERN.

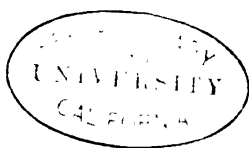
LEIDEN.

KUMÂRAGĪVA'S TRANSLATION OF SADDHARMA-PUNDA-
RĪKA III, STANZAS I-22, RENDERED INTO FRENCH
BY STANISLAS JULIEN.

J'ai entendu le son de cette loi
 J'ai obtenu ce que je n'avais pas encore eu
 Dans mon cœur, j'en ai conçu une grande joie.
 Les filets des doutes ont tous disparu
 Jadis, j'ai reçu les instructions du Buddha
 Je n'ai pas perdu le grand véhicule.
 Le son (la voix) du Buddha existe (s'entend) très rarement.—
 Elle peut détruire les tourments d'esprit de tous les mortels.—
 Moi, j'ai obtenu l'épuisement (la délivrance complète) de mes fautes.
 L'ayant entendue, j'ai été délivré des chagrins et des tourments
 d'esprit
 Moi, lorsque je demeure sur les montagnes (ou dans) les vallées,
 Ou bien au bas des arbres des forêts
 Soit que je sois assis ou que je marche
 Constamment, je pense à cette chose
 Hélas, je m'adresse de sévères reproches
 Je dis : pourquoi me trompé-je moi-même ?
 Nous autres, nous sommes aussi les fils du Bouddha
 Nous sommes entrés ensemble dans la loi exempts d'imperfections.
 Nous ne pourrions dans l'avenir
 Expliquer cette loi sans supérieure (anuttaradharma).
 Les trente deux couleur d'or (signes qui ont la couleur de l'or),
 Les dix forces, les moyens de délivrance,
 Se trouvent ensemble au sein de la loi unique
 Et cependant je n'ai pu obtenir ces choses ;
 Les quatre vingt signes de beauté,
 Les dix huit lois non-communes (à tous),
 Les mérites et les vertus de cette sorte
 Moi, je les ai tous perdus.
 Moi, lorsque je me promenais seul
 J'ai vu le Bouddha au milieu de la grande multitude
 Son nom, sa réputation remplissaient les dix contrées
 Il comblait d'avantages toutes les créatures

Je pense en moi-même que j'ai perdu ce profit
 Moi, parce que je me suis trompé moi-même,
 Constamment, jour et nuit
 Chaque fois, je songe à cette chose
 J'ai voulu demander à l'honorable du siècle
 Louant et glorifiant les bôdhisattvas
 C'est pourquoi jour et nuit
 J'examine mûrement une telle chose
 Exempte d'imperfections et difficile à concevoir
 Qui fait arriver la multitude à l'estrade de l'Intelligence (Bôdhi-
 manda)
 Moi, dans l'origine, j'étais attaché aux vues perverses (à l'hérésie)
 J'étais un maître de Brahmatcharis
 L'honorable du siècle connaissait mon cœur
 Me tira de l'hérésie et me parla du Nirvâna
 Je me débarrassai complètement des vues perverses (de l'hérésie);
 Dans la loi du vide, j'obtins des témoignages, des preuves (J'obtins
 la preuve que je comprenais la loi du vide)
 Alors, je me dis à moi-même
 Que j'avais obtenu d'arriver au Nirvâna.
 Mais maintenant je m'aperçois
 Que ce n'est pas le vrai Nirvâna
 Si, un jour, j'obtiens de devenir Bouddha
 Et que je sois pourvu des trente deux signes de beauté
 Les Dêvas, les Yakchas
 Les dragons, les esprits etc.
 M'honoreront et me vénéreront
 Dans ce temps là, je pourrai dire
 Que pour toujours j'ai obtenu le Nirvâna complet.
 Le Bouddha, dans la grande assemblée
 M'a dit que je devais devenir Bouddha
 Quand j'eus entendu le son de cette loi
 Mes doutes, mes regrets, complètement disparurent.
 Au commencement, lorsque j'eus entendu ce que disait le Bouddha,
 Au fond de mon cœur, je fus remplis d'étonnement et de doutes.
 (Je me dis) Le démon n'aurait pas pris la figure du Bouddha
 Pour troubler mon cœur?
 Le Bouddha ayant employé toute sorte de moyens
 De comparaisons, de paroles et de discours habiles
 Mon cœur devint calme comme la mer.
 Quand je l'eus entendu, le filet de mes doutes se déchira
 Le Bouddha dit que dans les siècles passés

Des bouddhas sans nombre, qui ont obtenu le Nirvâṇa
Reposaient en paix au milieu des moyens habiles
Et que tous avaient expliqué cette loi
Que des bouddhas présents et futurs
Dont le nombre est infini
A l'aide de toute sorte de moyens habiles
Avaient expliqué et développé une telle loi
Maintenant, Honorable du siècle
Depuis que tu es né et que tu es sorti de la famille
Tu as obtenu de tourner la roue de la loi
Et de l'expliquer par des moyens habiles
L'Honorable du siècle a exposé la vraie voie.
Le Mâra n'a pas fait cette chose (n'a pas pris la figure du Bouddha)
C'est pourquoi je sais fermement
Que le Mâra ne s'est pas déguisé en Bouddha (litt. ne s'est pas
fait Bouddha).
Moi, à cause du filet des doutes auxquels je m'étais abandonné
Je m'étais dit que c'était une chose faite par le Mâra (c. à. d. que
le Mâra avait pris la figure du Bouddha)
Mais quand j'eus entendu sa voix douce et souple
Profonde, éloignée, extrêmement déliée
Expliquant la loi pure
Mon cœur a été grandement rejoui.
Mes doutes ont pour toujours disparu
Je réside en paix au sein de la vraie science
Décidément, je dois devenir Bouddha.
Je serai respecté des Dêvas
Je tournerai la roue de la loi sans-supérieure
J'instruirai et je convertirai les Bôdhisattvas.



SADDHARMA-PUNÐARÎKA

OR

THE LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.

HOMAGE TO
ALL THE BUDDHAS AND BODHISATTVAS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Râgagriha, on the Grîdhrakûta¹ mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of them Arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled², thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal; in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts; who were possessed of the transcendent faculties³;

¹ I. e. Vulture Peak.

² Vasîbhûta. Like vasin, it likewise means, 'having subdued others or the world.'

³ The five Abhigñâs, viz. the magical powers, the divine ear,

eminent disciples, such as the venerable Āgñāta-Kaundīnya, the venerable Asvagit, the venerable Vāshpa, the venerable Mahānāman, the venerable Bhadrīka¹, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, the venerable Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā, the venerable Kāśyapa of Nadi, the venerable Kāśyapa of Gayā², the venerable Sāriputra, the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana³, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana⁴, the venerable Aniruddha⁵, the venerable Revata, the venerable Kapphina⁶, the venerable Gavāmpati, the venerable Pilindavatsa, the venerable Vakula, the venerable Bhāradvāja⁷, the venerable Mahā-Kaushīla⁸, the venerable Nanda (alias Mahānanda), the venerable

knowledge of the thoughts of others, knowledge of former existences, the divine eye. Sometimes a sixth Abhiññā is added, viz. the knowledge which causes the destruction of human passion; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 820 sqq.; Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 284.

¹ These are known as the Five Bhadravargīyas, or, in Pāli, *Pañkavaggīyas*; they were the first five disciples.

² The conversion of Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā and the two following is told in *Buddhist Birth Stories* (translated by Rhys Davids), I, 114; *Mahāvagga* (ed. Oldenberg) I, 15.

³ Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are termed the foremost or chief disciples (*agrasāvaka*) of the Lord. About their conversion, see *Birth Stories*, I, 118; *Mahāvagga* I, 23.

⁴ About him, see *Mahāvagga* V, 13.

⁵ In Pāli, Anuruddha; the story of his conversion is told *Kullavagga* (ed. Oldenberg) I, 8.

⁶ The name is variously spelt Kapphina, Kasphina, Kashphina, Kapphilla, Kāmphilla. The Tibetan form Kapina (in *Lotus*, p. 294) agrees with Mahā-Kappina in Pāli writings; *Mahāvagga* II, 5; X, 5. I cannot help guessing that the name is identical with Σφίης, the proper name of Kalanos, in Plutarch's *Alexander*, chap. 65; one would expect Κασφίης.

⁷ The same with Pindola-Bhāradvāja, *Kullavagga* V, 8.

⁸ In Pāli Mahā-Koṭṭhita; *Mahāvagga* X, 5.

Upananda¹, the venerable Sundara-Nanda², the venerable Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, the venerable Subhūti, the venerable Rāhula ; with them yet other great disciples, as the venerable Ānanda, still under training, and two thousand other monks, some of whom still under training, the others masters ; with six thousand nuns having at their head Mahāpragāpatī³, and the nun Yasodharā, the mother of Rāhula, along with her train ; (further) with eighty thousand Bōdhisattvas, all unable to slide back⁴, endowed with the spells of supreme, perfect enlightenment, firmly standing in wisdom ; who moved onward the never deviating⁵ wheel of the law ; who had propitiated many hundred thousands of Buddhas ; who under many hundred thousands of Buddhas had planted the roots of goodness, had been intimate with many hundred thousands of Buddhas, were in body and mind fully penetrated with the feeling of charity ; able in communicating the wisdom of the Tathāgatas ; very wise, having reached the perfection of wisdom ; renowned in many hundred thousands of worlds ; having saved many hundred thousand myriads⁶ of koṭis⁷ of beings ; such as the Bodhisattva Mahā-

¹ Surnamed Sākyaputra ; Mahāvagga I, 52.

² Known from Lalita-vistara, p. 164 ; Burnouf has Sunanda.

³ Gautamī, the aunt of Gautama Buddha.

⁴ Or, to swerve from their course.

⁵ Or, never rolling back.

⁶ I have followed Burnouf in translating nayuta by ten thousand ; this being the value of the Sanskrit term ayuta. According to the Petersburg Dictionary the Northern Buddhists attach to nayuta the value of 100,000 millions. The Pāli nahuta is said to be a vast number, one followed by twenty-eight ciphers ; but in Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 193, its worth is put down at a myriad.

⁷ I. e. ten millions.

sattva¹ Mañgusrī, as prince royal²; the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas Avalokitesvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvārthanāman, Nityodyukta, Anikshiptadhura, Ratnapāni, Bhaishagyarāga, Pradānasūra, Ratnakāndra, Ratnaprabha, Pūrnakāndra, Mahāvīkrāmin, Trailokavīkrāmin, Anantavīkrāmin, Mahāpratibhāna, Sata-samitābhīyukta, Dharaṇīdhara³, Akshayamati, Padmasrī, Nakshatrarāga, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Simha.

With them were also the sixteen virtuous men to begin with Bhādrapāla, to wit, Bhādrapāla, Ratnakāra, Susārthavāha, Naradatta⁴, Guhagupta, Varunadatta, Indradatta, Uttaramati, Viśeshamati, Vardhamānamati, Amoghādarsin, Susamsthita, Suvīkrāntavīkrāmin, Anupamamati, Sūryagarbha, and Dharaṇīdhara; besides eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, among whom the fore-mentioned were the chiefs; further Sakra, the ruler of the celestials, with twenty thousand gods, his followers, such as the god Kāndra (the Moon), the god Sūrya (the Sun), the god Samantagandha (the Wind), the god Ratnaprabha, the god Avabhāsaprabha, and others; further, the four great rulers of the cardinal points with thirty thousand gods in their train, viz. the great ruler Virūdhaka, the great ruler Virūpāksha, the great ruler Dhṛitarāshṭra, and the great ruler Vaisravaṇa; the god Īsvara and the god Mahesvara⁵, each followed by thirty thousand gods; further,

¹ I. e. a great being.

² Or, 'still a youth,' kumārabhūta.

³ In chap. XXIV he occurs as Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Dharaṇīdhara.

⁴ Burnouf has Ratnadatta.

⁵ The distinction between Īsvara and Mahesvara, both mere

Brahma Sahâmpati¹ and his twelve thousand followers, the Brahmakâyika gods, amongst whom Brahma Sikhin² and Brahma Gyotishprabha, with the other twelve thousand Brahmakâyika gods³; together with the eight Nâga kings and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Nâgas in their train, viz. the Nâga king Nanda, the Nâga king Upananda, Sâgara, Vâsuki, Takshaka, Manasvin, Anavatapta, and Utpalaka; further, the four Kinnara kings with many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of followers, viz. the Kinnara king Druma, the Kinnara king Mahâdharma, the Kinnara king Sudharma, and the Kinnara king Dharmadhara; besides, the four divine beings (called) Gandharvakâyikas with many hundred thousand Gandharvas in their suite, viz. the Gandharva Manogñâ, the Gandharva Manogñâsvara, the Gandharva Madhura, and the Gandharva Madhurasvara; further, the four chiefs of the demons

epithets of Siva, has its counterpart in the equally fanciful difference between Tishya and Pushya, Meru and Sumeru, which occurs in Buddhist writings. In Mahâvastu, p. 355 (ed. Senart), we even find Mâyâ distinguished from Mahâmâyâ.

¹ On comparing Lalita-vistara, p. 515, l. 3, with the parallel passage Mahâvagga I, 5, 4, it appears that Sahâmpati and Sikhin are synonymous terms. As Sikhin is a common term for Agni and as to the latter in Rig-veda I, 97, 5; 127, 10; III, 14, 2, is applied the epithet of sahasvat, it may be inferred that Sahâmpati and the collateral form Sahapati answer to a Sanskrit sahasâmpati or sahaspati.

² Another instance of a fanciful distinction.

³ It may be remarked that in the enumeration of gods, between Siva and Brahma, Vishnu is wanting. Those who adopt the view that Sâkyamuni is an Avatâra of Vishnu, consequently a mythical being, will readily account for that omission by saying that Vishnu and the Lord Buddha are identical, so that Vishnu is present in the gathering, under the disguise of Buddha.

followed by many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of demons, viz. the chief of the demons Bali, Kharaskandha¹, Vemaṣṭitri², and Rāhu; along with the four Garuḍa chiefs followed by many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Garuḍas, viz. the Garuḍa chiefs Mahātegas, Mahākāya, Mahāpūrṇa, and Maharddhiprāpta, and with Agātasatru, king of Magadha, the son of Vaidehī.

Now at that time it was that the Lord surrounded, attended, honoured, revered, venerated, worshipped by the four classes of hearers, after expounding the Dharmaparyāya³ called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, sat cross-legged on the seat of the law and entered upon the meditation termed 'the station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon his meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandāravas⁴ and great Mandāravas, Mañgūshakas and great Mañgūshakas⁴, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha field shook in six ways: it moved,

¹ Burnouf has Suraskandha.

² This is a wrong Sanskritisation of a Prākṛit Vemaṣṭitti, Pāli Vepaṣṭitti; the proper Sanskrit equivalent is Vipraṣṭitti.

³ I. e. turn, period, or roll of the law; it may often be rendered by 'a discourse on the law.' In the sense of period, term, end, it is used as the title of the closing chapter of the whole work.

⁴ Mandārava, or rather Māndārava, derived from mandāru = mandāra, Erythrina, is here a heavenly flower, or, as the Indians say, 'a cloud-flower,' meghapushpa, i. e. raindrop and hailstone. Mañgūsha is a name of the Rubia Manjista; the word is also said to mean, 'a stone;' in this case perhaps a hailstone or dewdrop.

removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together in that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers, gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord¹. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, down to the great hell Avīci and up to the limit of existence. And the beings in any of the six states² of existence became visible, all without exception. Likewise the Lords Buddhas staying, living, and existing in those Buddha-fields became all visible, and the law preached by them could be entirely heard by all beings. And the monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, Yogins and students of Yoga, those who had obtained the fruition (of the Paths of sanctification) and those who had not, they, too, became visible. And the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in those

¹ This reminds one of Wordsworth's lines :

‘Bright apparition suddenly put forth
The Rainbow, smiling on the faded storm ;
The mild assemblage of the starry heavens ;
And the great Sun, earth's universal Lord.’

² Viz. hell, the brute creation, the world of ghosts, of demons, of men, and of gods or angels.

Buddha-fields who plied the Bodhisattva-course with ability, due to their earnest belief in numerous and various lessons and the fundamental ideas, they, too, became all visible. Likewise the Lords Buddhas in those Buddha-fields who had reached final Nirvāṇa became visible, all of them. And the Stûpas made of jewels and containing the relics of the extinct Buddhas became all visible in those Buddha-fields¹.

Then rose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya this thought: 'O how great a wonder does the Tathāgata display! What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord producing so great a wonder as this? And such astonishing, prodigious, inconceivable, powerful miracles now appear, although the Lord is absorbed in meditation! Why, let me inquire about this matter; who would be able here to explain it to me?' He then thought: 'Here is Mañgusrī, the prince royal, who has plied his office under former Ginas and planted the roots of goodness, while worshipping many Buddhas. This Mañgusrī, the prince royal, must have witnessed before such signs of the former Tathāgatas, those Arhats, those perfectly enlightened Buddhas; of yore he must have enjoyed the grand conversations on the law. Therefore will I inquire about this matter with Mañgusrī, the prince royal.'

And the four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, numerous gods, Nāgas,

¹ It is sufficiently clear, I think, that the Buddha-fields are the heavens, and that we have in the text a description of the aspect of heaven when the stars are twinkling at dawn, shortly after or before. A Stûpa denotes the spot where a luminary, for the time being extinct, once stood; in more general acceptation it must have been synonymous with *dhishnya*, a fire-place, or with *βωμός*.

goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, on seeing the magnificence of this great miracle of the Lord, were struck with astonishment, amazement and curiosity, and thought: Let us inquire why this magnificent miracle has been produced by the great power of the Lord.

At the same moment, at that very instant, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya knew in his mind the thoughts arising in the minds of the four classes of hearers and he spoke to Mañgusrī, the prince royal: [What, O Mañgusrī, is the cause, what is the reason of this wonderful, prodigious, miraculous shine having been produced by the Lord? Look, how these eighteen thousand Buddha-fields appear variegated, extremely beautiful, directed by Tathāgatas and superintended by Tathāgatas.

Then it was that Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, addressed Mañgusrī, the prince royal, in the following stanzas:

1. Why, Mañgusrī, does this ray darted by the guide of men shine forth from between his brows? this single ray issuing from the circle of hair? and why this abundant rain of Mandāravas?

2. The gods, overjoyed, let drop Mañgūshakas and sandal powder, divine, fragrant, and delicious.

3. This earth is, on every side, replete with splendour, and all the four classes of the assembly are filled with delight, while the whole field shakes in six different ways, frightfully.

4. And that ray in the eastern quarter illuminates the whole of eighteen thousand Buddha-fields, simultaneously, so that those fields appear as gold-coloured.

5. (The universe) as far as the (hell) Avīṭi (and) the extreme limit of existence, with all beings of those fields living in any of the six states of existence, those who are leaving one state¹ to be born in another;

6. Their various and different actions in those states have become visible; whether they are in a happy, unhappy, low, eminent, or intermediate position, all that I see from this place.

7. I see also the Buddhas, those lions of kings, revealing and showing the essence of the law, comforting² many koṭis of creatures and emitting sweet-sounding voices.

8. They let go forth, each in his own field, a deep, sublime, wonderful voice, while proclaiming the Buddha-laws by means of myriads of koṭis of illustrations and proofs.

9. And to the ignorant creatures who are oppressed with toils and distressed in mind by birth and old age, they announce the bliss of Rest, saying: This is the end of trouble, O monks.

10. And to those who are possessed of strength and vigour and who have acquired merit by virtue or earnest belief in the Buddhas, they show the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, by observing this rule of the law.

11. And the other sons of the Sugata who, striving after superior knowledge, have constantly accom-

¹ The word for state, *gati*, also means 'the position, place,' e. g. of a star.

² *Prasvâsamânân*, var. lect. *prakâsamânân*; Burnouf must have followed the latter reading, his translation having 'instruisent.'

plished their various tasks, them also they admonish to enlightenment.

12. From this place, O Mañgughosha, I see and hear such things and thousands of koṭis of other particulars besides; I will only describe some of them.

13. I see in many fields Bodhisattvas by many thousands of koṭis, like sands of the Ganges, who are producing enlightenment according to the different degree of their power.

14. There are some who charitably bestow wealth, gold, silver, gold money, pearls, jewels, conch shells, stones¹, coral, male and female slaves, horses, and sheep;

15. As well as litters adorned with jewels. They are spending gifts with glad hearts, developing themselves for superior enlightenment, in the hope of gaining the vehicle.

16. (Thus they think): 'The best and most excellent vehicle in the whole of the threefold world is the Buddha-vehicle magnified by the Sugatas. May I, forsooth, soon gain it after my spending such gifts.'

17. Some give carriages yoked with four horses and furnished with benches, flowers, banners, and flags; others give objects made of precious substances.

18. Some, again, give their children and wives;

¹ The text has *saṅkhasilâ*; according to the Tibetan version this would mean crystal, but that is impossible because *saṅkha* is well known to be a conch shell. Burnouf hesitatingly renders it by 'des conques, du cristal'; see, however, Lotus, p. 314. I have been unable to find out what meaning the compound, be it a *Dvandva* or a *Tatpurusha*, is intended to convey.

others their own flesh ; (or) offer, when bidden, their hands and feet, striving to gain supreme enlightenment.

19. Some give their heads, others their eyes, others their dear own body, and after cheerfully bestowing their gifts they aspire to the knowledge of the Tathâgatas.

20. Here and there, O Mañgusrî, I behold beings who have abandoned their flourishing kingdoms, harems, and continents, left all their counsellors and kinsmen,

21. And betaken themselves to the guides of the world to ask for the most excellent law, for the sake of bliss ; they put on reddish-yellow robes, and shave hair and beard.

22. I see also many Bodhisattvas like monks, living in the forest, and others inhabiting the empty wilderness, engaged in reciting and reading.

23. And some Bodhisattvas I see, who, full of wisdom (or constancy), betake themselves to mountain caves, where by cultivating and meditating the Buddha-knowledge they arrive at its perception.

24. Others who have renounced all sensual desires, by purifying their own self, have cleared their sphere and obtained the five transcendent faculties, live in the wilderness, as (true) sons of the Sugata.

25. Some are standing firm, the feet put together and the hands joined in token of respect towards the leaders, and are praising joyfully the king of the leading Gînas in thousands of stanzas.

26. Some thoughtful, meek, and tranquil, who have mastered the niceties of the course of duty, question the highest of men about the law, and retain in their memory what they have learnt.

27. And I see here and there some sons of the principal *Gina* who, after completely developing their own self, are preaching the law to many *koṭis* of living beings with many myriads of illustrations and reasons.

28. Joyfully they proclaim the law, rousing many *Bodhisattvas*; after conquering the Evil One with his hosts and vehicles, they strike the drum of the law.

29. I see some sons of the *Sugata*, humble, calm, and quiet in conduct, living under the command of the *Sugatas*, and honoured by men, gods, goblins, and Titans.

30. Others, again, who have retired to woody thickets, are saving the creatures in the hells by emitting radiance from their body, and rouse them to enlightenment.

31. There are some sons of the *Gina* who dwell in the forest, abiding in vigour, completely renouncing sloth, and actively engaged in walking; it is by energy that they are striving for supreme enlightenment.

32. Others complete their course by keeping a constant purity and an unbroken morality like precious stones and jewels; by morality do these strive for supreme enlightenment.

33. Some sons of the *Gina*, whose strength consists in forbearance, patiently endure abuse, censure, and threats from proud monks. They try to attain enlightenment by dint of forbearance.

34. Further, I see *Bodhisattvas*, who have forsaken all wanton pleasures, shun unwise companions and delight in having intercourse with genteel men (*âryas*);

35. Who, with avoidance of any distraction of thoughts and with attentive mind, during thousands of koṭis of years have meditated in the caves of the wilderness; these strive for enlightenment by dint of meditation.

36. Some, again, offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples gifts (consisting) in food hard and soft, meat and drink, medicaments for the sick, in plenty and abundance.

37. Others offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples hundreds of koṭis of clothes, worth thousands of koṭis, and garments of priceless value.

38. They bestow in presence of the Sugatas hundreds of koṭis of monasteries which they have caused to be built of precious substances and sandal-wood, and which are furnished with numerous lodgings (or couches):

39. Some present the leaders of men and their disciples with neat and lovely gardens abounding with fruits and beautiful flowers, to serve as places of daily recreation.

40. When they have, with joyful feelings, made such various and splendid donations, they rouse their energy in order to obtain enlightenment; these are those who try to reach supreme enlightenment by means of charitableness.

41. Others set forth the law of quietness, by many myriads of illustrations and proofs; they preach it to thousands of koṭis of living beings; these are tending to supreme enlightenment by science.

42. (There are) sons of the Sugata who try to reach enlightenment by wisdom; they understand the law of indifference and avoid acting at the

antinomy (of things), unattached like birds in the sky.

43. Further, I see, O Mañgughosha, many Bodhi-sattvas who have displayed steadiness under the rule of the departed Sugatas, and now are worshipping the relics of the *Ginas*.

44. I see thousands of *koṭis* of *Stûpas*, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, which have been raised by these sons of the *Gina* and now adorn *koṭis* of grounds.

45. Those magnificent *Stûpas*, made of seven precious substances, with their thousands of *koṭis* of umbrellas and banners, measure in height no less than 5000 *yoganas* and 2000 in circumference¹.

46. They are always decorated with flags; a multitude of bells is constantly heard sounding; men, gods, goblins, and Titans pay their worship with flowers, perfumes, and music.

47. Such honour do the sons of the *Sugata* render to the relics of the *Ginas*, so that all directions of space are brightened as by the celestial coral trees in full blossom.

48. From this spot I behold all this; those numerous *koṭis* of creatures; both this world and heaven covered with flowers, owing to the single ray shot forth by the *Gina*.

49. O how powerful is the Leader of men! how extensive and bright is his knowledge! that a single beam darted by him over the world renders visible so many thousands of fields!

50. We are astonished at seeing this sign and

¹ It is evident that there is no question of earthly *Stûpas*, nor of hyperbolic phrases.

this wonder, so great, so incomprehensible. Explain me the matter, O Mañgusvara! the sons of Buddha are anxious to know it.

51. The four classes of the congregation in joyful expectation gaze on thee, O hero, and on me; gladden (their hearts); remove their doubts; grant a revelation, O son of Sugata!

52. Why is it that the Sugata has now emitted such a light? O how great is the power of the Leader of men! O how extensive and holy is his knowledge!

53. That one ray extending from him all over the world makes visible many thousands of fields. It must be for some purpose that this great ray has been emitted.

54. Is the Lord of men to show the primordial laws which he, the Highest of men, discovered on the terrace of enlightenment? Or is he to prophesy the Bodhisattvas their future destiny?

55. There must be a weighty reason why so many thousands of fields have been rendered visible, variegated, splendid, and shining with gems, while Buddhas of infinite sight are appearing.

56. Maitreya asks the son of Gina; men, gods, goblins, and Titans, the four classes of the congregation, are eagerly awaiting what answer Mañgusvara shall give in explanation.

Whereupon Mañgusri, the prince royal, addressed Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, and the whole assembly of Bodhisattvas (in these words): It is the intention of the Tathāgata, young men of good family, to begin a grand discourse for the teaching of the law, to pour the great rain of the law, to make resound the great drum of the law, to raise the great

banner of the law, to kindle the great torch of the law, to blow the great conch trumpet of the law, and to strike the great tymbal of the law. Again, it is the intention of the Tathâgata, young men of good family, to make a grand exposition of the law this very day. Thus it appears to me, young men of good family, as I have witnessed a similar sign of the former Tathâgatas¹, the Arhats, the perfectly enlightened. Those former Tathâgatas, &c., they, too, emitted a lustrous ray, and I am convinced that the Tathâgata is about to deliver a grand discourse for the teaching of the law and make his grand speech on the law everywhere heard, he having shown such a fore-token. And because the Tathâgata, &c., wishes that this Dharmaparyâya meeting opposition in all the world² be heard everywhere, therefore does he display so great a miracle and this fore-token consisting in the lustre occasioned by the emission of a ray.

¹ Hence it follows that Mañgusrî is eternally young, like the rising sun, like Mithra, and like the Arhatâm deva, the latest, or youngest, of the Arhats or Ġinas.

² The rendering of vipratyanîka, var. lect. vipratyanîyaka, is doubtful. Burnouf, who translates it by 'avec laquelle (le monde entier) doit être en désaccord,' remarks in his comment (Lotus, p. 323) that the Tibetan version assigns to pratyānîyaka the meaning of 'accordance, concord.' It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such a word as pratyānîyaka exists at all, and if pratyānîka should really be used in the sense of 'concord,' notwithstanding its generally occurring in the sense of 'opposition,' we must suppose that from the notion of 'an opposite party' has developed that of a party, paksha, in general. On that assumption we can account for vipratyanîka being used in the sense of vipaksha, repugnant, contrary, belonging to a different party. As to vipratyanîyaka, also Lalita-vistara, p. 513, this may be a wrongly Sanskritised vipaṭṭhanîyaka, to which would answer a Sanskrit vipratyanîkaka.

I remember, young men of good family, that in the days of yore, many immeasurable, inconceivable, immense, infinite, countless Æons, more than countless Æons ago, nay, long and very long before, there was born a Tathâgata called *Kandrasûryapradîpa*¹, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct², a Sugata, knower of the world, an incomparable tamer of men, a teacher (and ruler) of gods and men, a Buddha and Lord. He showed the law; he revealed the duteous course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, good in substance and form, complete and perfect, correct and pure. That is to say, to the disciples he preached the law containing the four Noble Truths, and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvâṇa; and to the Bodhisattvas he preached the law connected with the six Perfections³, and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment.

[Now, young men of good family, long before the time of that Tathâgata *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Arhat, &c., there had appeared a Tathâgata, &c., likewise called *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, after whom, O Agita⁴, there were twenty thousand Tathâgatas,

¹ I. e. having the shine of moon and sun.

² Otherwise, with light and motion.

³ The six Pâramitâs, viz. of almsgiving, morality, patience, zeal or energy, meditation, and wisdom.

⁴ I. e. invincible, invictus. The palpable connection between Maitreya Agita and Mithras Invictus is no proof of the Buddhists having borrowed the figure from the Persians; the coincidence

&c., all of them bearing the name of *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, of the same lineage and family name, to wit, of *Bharadvâga*¹. All those twenty thousand *Tathâgatas*, O *Agita*, from the first to the last, showed the law, revealed the course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, &c. &c.²]

The aforesaid Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., when a young prince and not yet having left home (to embrace the ascetic life), had eight sons, viz. the young princes *Sumati*, *Anantamati*, *Ratnamati*, *Viśeshamati*, *Vimatisamudghâtin*, *Ghoshamati*, and *Dharmamati*. These eight young princes, *Agita*, sons to the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the *Tathâgata*, had an immense fortune³. Each of them was in possession of four great continents, where they exercised the kingly sway. When they saw that the Lord had left his home to become an ascetic, and heard that he had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, they forsook all of them the pleasures of royalty and followed the example of the Lord by resigning the world; all of them strove to

being perfectly explainable if we consider the narrow relationship of Indian and Iranian mythology. *Maitreya* is not strictly identical with *Mitra*, but a younger edition, so to speak, of him; he is the future saviour.

¹ It is clear that *Bharadvâga*, a well-known progenitor of one of the Brahmanic families, existed long before the creation, i.e. of the last creation of the world. There can be no question of his being a man, at least in the system of the Lotus.

² The words in brackets are wanting in one of the MSS.

³ *Riddhi* is the word used in the text. As an ecclesiastical term it denotes 'magic power,' but that artificial meaning does not suit here.

reach superior enlightenment and became preachers of the law. While constantly leading a holy life, those young princes planted roots of goodness under many thousands of Buddhas.

It was at that time, *Agita*, that the Lord *Kandra-sūryapradīpa*, the *Tathāgata*, &c., after expounding the *Dharmaparyāya* called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great extension, serving to instruct *Bodhi-sattvas* and proper to all Buddhas, at the same moment and instant, at the same gathering of the classes of hearers, sat cross-legged on the same seat of the law, and entered upon the meditation termed 'the Station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless, and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, *Mandāravas* and great *Mandāravas*, *Mañgūshakas* and great *Mañgūshakas*, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha-field shook in six ways; it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together at that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, *Nāgas*, goblins, *Gandharvas*, demons, *Garuḍas*, *Kinnaras*, great serpents, men and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred

thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, just like the Buddha-fields do now, O Agita.

[At that juncture, Agita, there were twenty koṭis of Bodhisattvas following the Lord. All hearers of the law in that assembly, on seeing how the world was illuminated by the lustre of that ray, felt astonishment, amazement, ecstasy, and curiosity¹.]

Now it happened, Agita, that under the rule of the aforesaid Lord there was a Bodhisattva called Varaprabha, who had eight hundred pupils. It was to this Bodhisattva Varaprabha that the Lord, on rising from his meditation, revealed the Dharmaparyāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.' He spoke during fully sixty intermediate kalpas, always sitting on the same seat, with immovable body and tranquil mind. And the whole assembly continued sitting on the same seats, listening to the preaching of the Lord for sixty intermediate kalpas, there being not a single creature in that assembly who felt fatigue of body or mind.

As the Lord *Kāndrasūryapradīpa*, the Tathāgata, &c., during sixty intermediate kalpas had been expounding the Dharmaparyāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, he instantly announced his complete Nirvāṇa to the world, including the gods, Māras and Brahmas, to all creatures, including ascetics, Brahmans, gods, men and demons, saying: To-day, O monks, this very

¹ The passage in brackets is wanting in one of the MSS.

night, in the middle watch, will the Tathâgata, by entering the element of absolute Nirvâṇa, become wholly extinct.

Thereupon, Agita, the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Tathâgata, &c., predestinated the Bodhisattva called *Srigarbha* to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and then spoke thus to the whole assembly: O monks, this Bodhisattva *Srigarbha* here shall immediately after me attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become *Vimalanetra*, the Tathâgata, &c.

Thereafter, Agita, that very night, at that very watch, the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, the Tathâgata, &c., became extinct by entering the element of absolute Nirvâṇa. And the afore-mentioned *Dharmaparyâya*, termed 'the Lotus of the True Law,' was kept in memory by the Bodhisattva *Mahâsattva Varaprabha*; during eighty intermediate kalpas did the Bodhisattva *Varaprabha* keep and reveal the commandment of the Lord who had entered Nirvâṇa. Now it so happened, Agita, that the eight sons of the Lord *Kandrasûryapradîpa*, *Mati* and the rest, were pupils to that very Bodhisattva *Varaprabha*. They were by him made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, and in after times they saw and worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Buddhas, all of whom had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, the last of them being *Dîpaṅkara*, the Tathâgata, &c.

Amongst those eight pupils there was one Bodhisattva who attached an extreme value to gain, honour and praise, and was fond of glory, but all the words and letters one taught him faded (from his memory), did not stick. So he got the appella-

tion of Yasaskâma¹. He had propitiated many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas by that root of goodness, and afterwards esteemed, honoured, respected, revered, venerated, worshipped them. Perhaps, Agita, thou feelest some doubt, perplexity or misgiving that in those days, at that time, there was another Bodhisvattva Mahâsattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law. But do not think so. Why? because it is myself who in those days, at that time, was the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law; and that Bodhisattva named Yasaskâma, the lazy one, it is thyself, Agita, who in those days, at that time, wert the Bodhisattva named Yasaskâma, the lazy one.

And so, Agita, having once seen a similar foretoken of the Lord, I infer from a similar ray being emitted just now, that the Lord is about to expound the Dharmaparyâya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.'

And on that occasion, in order to treat the subject more copiously, Mañgusri, the prince royal, uttered the following stanzas :

57. I remember a past period, inconceivable, illimited kalpas ago, when the highest of beings, the Gîna of the name of Kândrasûryapradîpa, was in existence.

58. He preached the true law, he, the leader of creatures; he educated an infinite number of koṭis of beings, and roused inconceivably many Bodhisattvas to acquiring supreme Buddha-knowledge.

59. And the eight sons born to him, the leader, when he was prince royal, no sooner saw that the

¹ I. e. desirous of glory.

great sage had embraced ascetic life, than they resigned worldly pleasures and became monks.

60. And the Lord of the world proclaimed the law, and revealed to thousands of koṭis of living beings the Sûtra, the development, which by name is called 'the excellent Exposition of Infinity.'

61. Immediately after delivering his speech, the leader crossed his legs and entered upon the meditation of 'the excellent Exposition of the Infinite.' There on his seat of the law the eminent seer continued absorbed in meditation.

62. And there fell a celestial rain of Mandâravas, while the drums (of heaven) resounded without being struck; the gods and elves in the sky paid honour to the highest of men.

63. And simultaneously all the fields (of Buddha) began trembling. A wonder it was, a great prodigy. Then the chief emitted from between his brows one extremely beautiful ray,

64. Which moving to the eastern quarter glittered, illuminating the world all over the extent of eighteen thousand fields. It manifested the 'vanishing and appearing of beings.

65. Some of the fields then seemed jewelled, others showed the hue of lapis lazuli, all splendid, extremely beautiful, owing to the radiance of the ray from the leader.

66. Gods and men, as well as Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, nymphs, Kinnaras, and those occupied with serving the Sugata became visible in the spheres and paid their devotion.

67. The Buddhas also, those self-born beings, appeared of their own accord, resembling golden columns; like unto a golden disk (within lapis

lazuli), they revealed the law in the midst of the assembly.

68. The disciples, indeed, are not to be counted : the disciples of Sugata are numberless. Yet the lustre of the ray renders them all visible in every field.

69. Energetic, without breach or flaw in their course, similar to gems and jewels, the sons of the leaders of men are visible in the mountain caves where they are dwelling.

70. Numerous Bodhisattvas, like the sand of the Ganges, who are spending all their wealth in giving alms, who have the strength of patience, are devoted to contemplation and wise, become all of them visible by that ray.

71. Immovable, unshaken, firm in patience, devoted to contemplation, and absorbed in meditation are seen the true sons of the Sugatas while they are striving for supreme enlightenment by dint of meditation.

72. They preach the law in many spheres, and point to the true, quiet, spotless state they know. Such is the effect produced by the power of the Sugata.

73. And all the four classes of hearers on seeing the power of the mighty¹ *Kandrârka*-

¹ The text has *tâyin*, a word frequently occurring in the Lotus. I assume that the form *tâpin*, given in the dictionaries as an epithet of Buddha, is but a misread *tâyin*, and further that this is radically the same with the Pâli *tâdî* (*tâdin*). As *tâyana*, Pâini I, 3, 38, is explained to have the meaning of thriving, prospering, it may be supposed that *tâyin* on the strength of its derivation denotes thriving, prosperous, mighty, holy, as well as making prosperous, blessing, sanctifying. Burnouf derives it from a supposed Sanskrit *trâyin*, and translates it by 'protector.' It is, indeed, by no means unlikely

dīpa¹ were filled with joy and asked one another :
How is this ?

74. And soon afterwards, as the Leader of the world, worshipped by men, gods, and goblins, rose from his meditation, he addressed his son Varaprabha, the wise Bodhisattva and preacher of the law :

75. 'Thou art wise, the eye and refuge of the world ; thou art the trustworthy keeper of my law, and canst bear witness as to the treasure of laws which I am to lay bare to the weal of living beings.'

76. Then, after rousing and stimulating, praising and lauding many Bodhisattvas, did the Gina proclaim the supreme laws during fully sixty intermediate kalpas.

77. And whatever excellent supreme law was proclaimed by the Lord of the world while continuing sitting on the very same seat, was kept in memory by Varaprabha, the son of Gina, the preacher of the law.

78. And after the Gina and Leader had manifested the supreme law and stimulated the numerous crowd, he spoke, that day, towards the world including the gods (as follows) :

79. 'I have manifested the rule of the law ; I have shown the nature of the law ; now, O monks, it is the time of my Nirvâṇa ; this very night, in the middle watch.

80. 'Be zealous and strong in persuasion ; apply yourselves to my lessons ; (for) the Ginas, the great

that tâyin was used synonymously with nâtha or nâyaka, but it seems not necessary to derive it from trâyate.

¹ This name is synonymous with *Kandrasūryapradīpa* ; one of the MSS. has *Kandrapradīpa*.

seers, are but rarely met with in the lapse of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*.'

81. The many sons of Buddha were struck with grief and filled with extreme sorrow when they heard the voice of the highest of men announcing that his *Nirvâṇa* was near at hand.

82. To comfort so inconceivably many *koṭis* of living beings the king of kings said: 'Be not afraid, O monks; after my *Nirvâṇa* there shall be another Buddha.

83. 'The wise Bodhisattva *Sṛīgarbha*, after finishing his course in faultless knowledge, shall reach highest, supreme enlightenment, and become a *Gina* under the name of *Vimalâgranetra*.'

84. That very night, in the middle watch, he met complete extinction, like a lamp when the cause (of its burning) is exhausted. His relics were distributed, and of his *Stûpas* there was an infinite number of myriads of *koṭis*.

85. The monks and nuns at the time being, who strove after supreme, highest enlightenment, numerous as sand of the Ganges, applied themselves to the commandment of the *Sugata*.

86. And the monk who then was the preacher of the law and the keeper of the law, *Varaprabha*, expounded for fully eighty intermediate kalpas the highest laws according to the commandment (of the *Sugata*).

87. He had eight hundred pupils, who all of them were by him brought to full development. They saw many *koṭis* of Buddhas, great sages, whom they worshipped.

88. By following the regular course they became Buddhas in several spheres, and as they followed

one another in immediate succession they successively foretold each other's future destiny to Buddhahship.

89. The last of these Buddhas following one another was Dīpaṅkara. He, the supreme god of gods, honoured by crowds of sages, educated thousands of koṭis of living beings.

90. Among the pupils of Varaprabha, the son of Gina, at the time of his teaching the law, was one slothful, covetous, greedy of gain and cleverness.

91. He was also excessively desirous of glory, but very fickle, so that the lessons dictated to him and his own reading faded from his memory as soon as learnt.

92. His name was Yasaskāma, by which he was known everywhere. By the accumulated merit¹ of that good action, spotted as it was,

93. He propitiated thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, whom he rendered ample honour. He went through the regular course of duties and saw the present Buddha Śākyasiṃha.

94. He shall be the last to reach superior enlightenment and become a Lord known by the family name of Maitreya, who shall educate thousands of koṭis of creatures.

¹ The MSS. have *tenākusalena karmaṇā*, *tenokusalena karmaṇā*. As *teno* and *tenā* in the stanzas are occasionally used instead of *tena*, it is uncertain whether *tenāk.* is to be separated into *tena* and *akusala*. This much is clear, that the author of the foregoing prose text has taken the words as *tenā* (Vedic the same) or *teno*, and *kusala*. The good in Yasaskāma was his love of renown, of good fame. Maitreya, by his very nature, holds a middle position between black night and bright daylight; Mithra also is represented as a *μεσίτης*.

95. He who then, under the rule of the extinct Sugata, was so slothful, was thyself, and it was I who then was the preacher of the law.

96. As on seeing a foretoken of this kind I recognise a sign such as I have seen manifested of yore, therefore and on that account I know,

97. That decidedly the chief of Ginas, the supreme king of the Sâkyas, the All-seeing, who knows the highest truth, is about to pronounce the excellent Sûtra which I have heard before.

98. That very sign displayed at present is a proof of the skilfulness of the leaders; the Lion of the Sâkyas is to make an exhortation, to declare the fixed nature of the law.

99. Be well prepared and well minded; join your hands: he who is affectionate and merciful to the world is going to speak, is going to pour the endless rain of the law and refresh those that are waiting for enlightenment.

100. And if some should feel doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving in any respect, then the Wise One shall remove it for his children, the Bodhisattvas here striving after enlightenment.



CHAPTER II.

SKILFULNESS¹.

The Lord then rose with recollection and consciousness from his meditation, and forthwith addressed the venerable Sâriputra: The Buddha knowledge, Sâriputra, is profound, difficult to understand, difficult to comprehend. It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to fathom the knowledge arrived at by the Tathâgatas, &c., and that, Sâriputra, because the Tathâgatas have worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas; because they have fulfilled their course for supreme, complete enlightenment, during many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Æons; because they have wandered far, displaying energy and possessed of wonderful and marvellous properties; possessed of properties difficult to understand; because they have found out things difficult to understand.

The mystery² of the Tathâgatas, &c., is difficult to understand, Sâriputra, because when they explain the laws (or phenomena, things) that have their

¹ Or, able management, diplomacy, upâyakausalya. Upâya means an expedient, but with the Prâgñikas it denotes the energy of Pragñâ, the latter being Nature, otherwise called Mâyâ; see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepâl and Tibet*, p. 104; cf. pp. 72, 78, 89. From the atheistic point of view the possessor of upâyakausalya can hardly be anything else but all-ruling Time; regarded from the theistic view he must be the Almighty Spirit.

² Sandhâ-bhâshya; on this term more in the sequel.

causes in themselves they do so by means of skilfulness, by the display of knowledge, by arguments, reasons, fundamental ideas, interpretations, and suggestions. By a variety of skilfulness they are able to release creatures that are attached to one point or another. The Tathâgatas, &c., Sâriputra, have acquired the highest perfection in skilfulness and the display of knowledge; they are endowed with wonderful properties, such as the display of free and unchecked knowledge; the powers¹; the absence of hesitation; (the independent conditions²); the strength of the organs; the constituents of Bodhi³; the contemplations; emancipations⁴; meditations; the degrees of concentration of mind. The Tathâgatas, &c., Sâriputra, are able to expound various things and have something wonderful and marvellous. Enough, Sâriputra, let it suffice to say, that the Tathâgatas, &c., have something extremely

¹ Here will be meant the ten powers, whence the epithet of *Dasa-bala* applied to a Buddha; they are enumerated in S. Hardy's *Manual*, p. 379. Other enumerations count four, five, or seven powers.

² Or rather, the uncommon, not vulgar properties which distinguish the saints from the vulgar; these *âvenikadharmas*, also called *buddhadharmas*, are eighteen in number; S. Hardy's *Manual*, p. 381.

³ The seven *Bodhyaṅgas*, viz. recollection, investigation, energy, joyfulness, calm, contemplation, and equanimity.

⁴ *Vimoksha*, *vimukti*, for which see Burnouf's Appendix to the *Lotus*, p. 824 sqq. According to the view there expressed the eight *Vimokshas* are as many states of intellect which the thinking sage is going through in his effort to emancipate himself from the versatile world; cf. *Lotus*, p. 543. There is also a threefold *Vimoksha*, mentioned by Childers, *Pāli Dict.*, p. 270; it may be compared with the threefold *kitta-vimukti* in the *Yoga* system; see *Comm. on Yogasāstra*, 2, 27.

wonderful, Sâriputra. None but a Tathâgata, Sâriputra, can impart to a Tathâgata those laws which the Tathâgata knows. And all laws, Sâriputra, are taught by the Tathâgata, and by him alone ; no one but he knows all laws, what they are, how they are, like what they are, of what characteristics and of what nature they are.

And on that occasion, to set forth the same subject more copiously, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. Innumerable are the great heroes in the world that embraces gods and men ; the totality of creatures is unable to completely know the leaders.
2. None can know their powers and states of emancipation, their absence of hesitation and Buddha properties, such as they are.
3. Of yore have I followed in presence of kotis of Buddhas the good course which is profound, subtle, difficult to understand, and most difficult to find.
4. After pursuing that career during an inconceivable number of kotis of Æons, I have on the terrace of enlightenment discovered the fruit thereof.
5. And therefore I recognise, like the other chiefs of the world, how it is, like what it is, and what are its characteristics.
6. It is impossible to explain it ; it is unutterable ; nor is there such a being in the world
7. To whom this law could be explained or who would be able to understand it when explained, with exception of the Bodhisattvas, those who are firm in resolve.
8. As to the disciples of the Knower of the world, those who have done their duty and received praise

from the Sugatas, who are freed from faults and have arrived at the last stage of bodily existence, the *Gina*-knowledge lies beyond their sphere.

9. If this whole sphere were full of beings like *Sârisuta*, and if they were to investigate with combined efforts, they would be unable to comprehend the knowledge of the Sugata.

10. Even if the ten points of space were full of sages like thee, ay, if they were full of such as the rest of my disciples,

11. And if those beings combined were to investigate the knowledge of the Sugata, they would, all together, not be able to comprehend the Buddha-knowledge in its whole immensity.

12. If the ten points of space were filled with *Pratyekabuddhas*, free from faults, gifted with acute faculties, and standing in the last stage of their existence, as numerous as reeds and bamboos in the woods;

13. And if combined for an endless number of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, they were to investigate a part only of my superior laws, they would never find out its real meaning.

14. If the ten points of space were full of *Bodhi-sattvas* who, after having done their duty under many *koṭis* of *Buddhas*, investigated all things and preached many sermons, after entering a new vehicle¹;

15. If the whole world were full of them, as of dense reeds and bamboos, without any interstices, and if all combined were to investigate the law which the Sugata has realised;

¹ Or rather, a new career.

16. If they were going on investigating for many kotis of Æons, as incalculable as the sand of the Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that (knowledge) would be beyond their ken.

17. If such Bodhisattvas as are unable to fall back, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, were to investigate it with undivided attention, it would prove to lie beyond their ken.

18. Profound are the laws of the Buddhas, and subtle; all inscrutable and faultless. I myself know them as well as the Ginas do in the ten directions of the world.

19. Thou, Sâriputra, be full of trust in what the Sugata declares. The Gina speaks no falsehood, the great Seer who has so long preached the highest truth.

20. I address all disciples here, those who have set out to reach the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, those who are roused to activity at my Nirvâna¹, and those who have been released from the series of evils.

21. It is by my superior skilfulness that I explain the law at great length to the world at large. I deliver whosoever are attached to one point or another, and show the three vehicles².

The eminent disciples in the assembly headed by Āgñâta-Kaundinya, the twelve hundred Arhats faultless and self-controlled, the other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees using the vehicle of disciples, and those who had entered the vehicle of Pratyeka-

¹ Or, who by me are established in Nirvâna.

² The word yâna in the text also means 'a career, course.'

buddhas, all of them made this reflection: What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord so extremely extolling the skilfulness of the Tathâgatas? of his extolling it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered;' of his extolling it by saying, 'It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to understand it.' But as yet the Lord has declared no more than one kind of emancipation, and therefore we also should acquire the Buddha-laws on reaching Nirvâṇa. We do not catch the meaning of this utterance of the Lord.

And the venerable Sâriputra, who apprehended the doubt and uncertainty of the four classes of the audience and guessed their thoughts from what was passing in his own mind, himself being in doubt about the law, then said to the Lord: What, O Lord, is the cause, what the reason of the Lord so repeatedly and extremely extolling the skilfulness, knowledge, and preaching of the Tathâgata? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered; it is difficult to understand the mystery of the Tathâgatas.' Never before have I heard from the Lord such a discourse on the law. These four classes of the audience, O Lord, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. Therefore may the Lord be pleased to explain what the Tathâgata is alluding to, when repeatedly extolling the profound law of the Tathâgatas.

On that occasion the venerable Sâriputra uttered the following stanzas:

22. Now first does the Sun of men utter such a speech: 'I have acquired the powers, emancipations, and numberless meditations.'

23. And thou mentionest the terrace of enlighten-

ment without any one asking thee ; thou mentionest the mystery, although no one asks thee.

24. Thou speakest unasked and laudest thine own course ; thou mentionest thy having obtained knowledge and pronouncest profound words.

25. To-day a question rises in my mind and of these self-controlled, faultless beings striving after Nirvâṇa : Why does the *Gina* speak in this manner ?

26. Those who aspire to the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, the nuns and monks, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, and great serpents, are talking together, while looking up to the highest of men,

27. And ponder in perplexity. Give an elucidation, great Sage, to all the disciples of Sugata here assembled.

28. Myself have reached the perfection (of virtue), have been taught by the supreme Sage ; still, O highest of men ! even in my position I feel some doubt whether the course (of duty) shown to me shall receive its final sanction by Nirvâṇa.

29. Let thy voice be heard, O thou whose voice resounds like an egregious kettle-drum ! proclaim thy law such as it is. The legitimate sons of *Gina* here standing and gazing at the *Gina*, with joined hands ;

30. As well as the gods, Nâgas, goblins, Titans, numbering thousands of *koṭis*, like sand of the Ganges ; and those that aspire to superior enlightenment, here standing, fully eighty thousand in number ;

31. Further, the kings, rulers of provinces and paramount monarchs, who have flocked hither from thousands of *koṭis* of countries, are now standing with joined hands, and respectful, thinking : How are we to fulfil the course of duty ?

The venerable Sâriputra having spoken, the Lord said to him: Enough, Sâriputra; it is of no use explaining this matter. Why? Because, Sâriputra, the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded.

But the venerable Sâriputra entreated the Lord a second time, saying: Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter, for in this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings who have seen former Buddhas, who are intelligent, and will believe, value, and accept the words of the Lord.

The venerable Sâriputra addressed the Lord with this stanza:

32. Speak clearly, O most eminent of Ginas! in this assembly there are thousands of living beings trustful, affectionate, and respectful towards the Sugata; they will understand the law by thee expounded.

And the Lord said a second time to the venerable Sâriputra: Enough, Sâriputra; it is of no use explaining this matter, for the world, including the gods, would be frightened, Sâriputra, if this matter were expounded, and some monks might be proud and come to a heavy fall¹.

And on that occasion uttered the Lord the following stanza:

33. Speak no more of it that I should declare this law! This knowledge is too subtle, inscrutable, and there are so many unwise men who in their conceit and foolishness would scoff at the law revealed.

¹ Or, commit a great offence.

A third time the venerable Sâriputra entreated the Lord, saying : Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter. In this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds of living beings my equals, and many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of other living beings more, who in former births have been brought by the Lord to full ripeness. They will believe, value, and accept what the Lord declares, which shall tend to their advantage, weal, and happiness in length of time.

On that occasion the venerable Sâriputra uttered the following stanzas :

34. Explain the law, O thou most high of men ! I, thine eldest son, beseech thee. Here are thousands of koṭis of beings who are to believe in the law by thee revealed.

35. And those beings that in former births so long and constantly have by thee been brought to full maturity and now are all standing here with joined hands, they, too, are to believe in this law.

36. Let the Sugata, seeing the twelve hundred, my equals, and those who are striving after superior enlightenment, speak to them and produce in them an extreme joy.

When the Lord for the third time heard the entreaty of the venerable Sâriputra, he spoke to him as follows : Now that thou entreatest the Tathâgata a third time, Sâriputra, I will answer thee. Listen then, Sâriputra, take well and duly to heart what I am saying ; I am going to speak.

Now it happened that five thousand proud monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes in the congregation rose from their seats and, after saluting with

their heads the Lord's feet, went to leave the assembly. Owing to the principle of good which there is in pride they imagined having attained what they had not, and having understood what they had not. Therefore, thinking themselves aggrieved, they went to leave the assembly, to which the Lord by his silence showed assent.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Sâriputra : My congregation, Sâriputra, has been cleared from the chaff¹, freed from the trash ; it is firmly established in the strength of faith. It is good, Sâriputra, that those proud ones are gone away. Now I am going to expound the matter, Sâriputra. 'Very well, Lord,' replied the venerable Sâriputra. The Lord then began and said :

It is but now and then, Sâriputra, that the Tathâgata preaches such a discourse on the law as this. Just as but now and then is seen the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree, Sâriputra, so does the Tathâgata but now and then preach such a discourse on the law. Believe me, Sâriputra ; I speak what is real, I speak what is truthful, I speak what is right. It is difficult to understand the exposition of the mystery of the Tathâgata, Sâriputra ; for in elucidating the law, Sâriputra, I use hundred thousands of various skilful means, such as different interpretations, indications, explanations, illustrations. It is not by reasoning, Sâriputra, that the law is to be found : it is beyond the pale of reasoning, and must be

¹ One of the MSS. has nishpralâva, which ought to be nishpalâva ; another has nishpudgalâva. Both imaginary words are no doubt the result of an unhappy attempt to Sanskritise a Prâkrit nippalâva by scribes unacquainted with the Sanskrit palâva (Pâli palâpa). The right form occurs below, stanza 40.

learnt from the Tathâgata. For, Sâriputra, it is for a sole object, a sole aim, verily a lofty object, a lofty aim that the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appears in the world. And what is that sole object, that sole aim, that lofty object, that lofty aim of the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appearing in the world? To show all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge¹ does the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appear in the world; to open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge does the Buddha, the Tathâgata, &c., appear in the world. This, O Sâriputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the sole purpose of his appearance in the world. Such then, Sâriputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the lofty object, the lofty aim of the Tathâgata. And it is achieved by the Tathâgata. For, Sâriputra, I do show all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; I do open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge, Sâriputra; I do firmly establish the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge, Sâriputra; I do lead the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge on the right path, Sâriputra. By means of one sole vehicle², to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Sâriputra, do I teach creatures the law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the law, Sâriputra, universally in the world, in all directions. For, Sâriputra, all the Tathâgatas, &c., who in times past existed in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures,

¹ Or, to rouse all creatures by the display of Tathâgata-knowledge.

² Rather and properly, one sole course.

and who preached the law to gods and men with able means, such as several directions and indications, various arguments, reasons, illustrations, fundamental ideas, interpretations, paying regard to the dispositions of creatures whose inclinations and temperaments are so manifold, all those Buddhas and Lords, Sâriputra, have preached the law to creatures by means of only one vehicle, the Buddha-vehicle, which finally leads to omniscience; it is identical with showing all creatures the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; with opening the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathâgata-knowledge; with the awakening (or admonishing) by the display (or sight) of Tathâgata-knowledge¹; with leading the teaching of Tathâgata-knowledge on the right path. Such is the law they have preached to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who have heard the law from the past Tathâgatas, &c., have all of them reached supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathâgatas, &c., who shall exist in future, Sâriputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who shall preach the law to gods and men (&c., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they shall preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who shall hear the law from the future Tathâgatas, &c., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathâgatas, &c., who now at present are

¹ One MS. has Tathâgatagñânadesanapratibodhana; the other °darsana° instead of °desana°.

staying, living, existing, Sâriputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions, &c., and who are preaching the law to gods and men (&c., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they are preaching to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who are hearing the law from the present Tathâgatas, &c., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

I myself also, Sâriputra, am at the present period a Tathâgata, &c., for the weal of many (&c., till) manifold; I myself also, Sâriputra, am preaching the law to creatures (&c., till) the right path. Such is the law I preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sâriputra, who now are hearing the law from me, shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment. In this sense, Sâriputra, it must be understood that nowhere in the world a second vehicle is taught, far less a third.

Yet, Sâriputra, when the Tathâgatas, &c., happen to appear at the decay¹ of the epoch, the decay of creatures, the decay of besetting sins², the decay of views, or the decay of lifetime; when they appear amid such signs of decay at the disturbance of the epoch; when creatures are much tainted, full of greed and poor in roots of goodness; then, Sâriputra, the Tathâgatas, &c., use, skilfully, to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by the appellation of the threefold vehicle. Now, Sâriputra, such disciples, Arhats, or Pratyekabuddhas

¹ One MS. has °kashâyesu in the plural, literally 'the dregs.'

² Klesakashâya, which Burnouf renders by 'la corruption du mal.' I think we might paraphrase the term used in the text by saying, the time when the besetting sins or natural depravities show themselves at their very worst.

who do not hear their actually being called to the Buddha-vehicle by the Tathâgata, who do not perceive, nor heed it, those, Sâriputra, should not be acknowledged as disciples of the Tathâgata, nor as Arhats, nor as Pratyekabuddhas.

Again, Sâriputra, if there be some monk or nun pretending to Arhatship without an earnest vow to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment and saying, 'I am standing too high¹ for the Buddha-vehicle, I am in my last appearance in the body before complete Nirvâna,' then, Sâriputra, consider such a one to be conceited. For, Sâriputra, it is unfit, it is improper that a monk, a faultless Arhat, should not believe in the law which he hears from the Tathâgata in his presence. I leave out of question when the Tathâgata shall have reached complete Nirvâna; for at that period, that time, Sâriputra, when the Tathâgata shall be wholly extinct, there shall be none who either knows by heart or preaches such Sûtras as this. It will be under other Tathâgatas, &c., that they are to be freed from doubts. In respect to these things believe my words, Sâriputra, value them, take them to heart; for there is no falsehood in the Tathâgatas, Sâriputra. There is but one vehicle, Sâriputra, and that the Buddha-vehicle.

And on that occasion to set forth this matter more copiously the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

¹ According to the reading *utsanna*; another MS. has *uḷḷhīna*, the reading followed by Burnouf, for he renders it by 'exclu.' The form *uḷḷhīna* could the more easily creep in, because instead of *utsanna* we often find *uḷḷhanna*, which, in fact, I believe to be the true form, for the word may be derived from *śad*, akin to Latin *cedo*, Greek *κέκασμαι*; the usual spelling, however, is *utsanna*.

37. No less than five thousand monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes, full of unbelief and conceit,

38. Remarking this slight, went, defective in training and foolish as they were, away in order to beware of damage.

39. The Lord, who knew them to be the dregs of the congregation, exclaimed¹: They have no sufficient merit to hear this law.

40. My congregation is now pure², freed from chaff; the trash is removed and the pith only remains.

41. Hear from me, Sâriputra, how this law has been discovered by the highest man³, and how the mighty Buddhas are preaching it with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

42. I know the disposition and conduct, the various inclinations of *koṭis* of living beings in this world; I know their various actions and the good they have done before.

43. Those living beings I initiate in this (law) by the aid of manifold interpretations and reasons; and by hundreds of arguments and illustrations have I, in one way or another, gladdened all creatures.

44. I utter both Sûtras and stanzas; legends,

¹ The two preceding stanzas and the half of this stanza make no part of the Lord's speech. It appears that the maker of the prose text has worked upon the older text in poetry, and on this occasion has been at a loss how to connect the latter with the former. The matter is easily explained on the assumption that the verses contained the ancient text, and therefore were treated with the greatest scruples.

² *Suddhâ*; Burnouf rendering 'ayant de la foi' has followed another reading, *sraddhâ*.

³ The term used is *Purushottama*, a well-known epithet of *Vishnu*.

*Gâtakas*¹, and prodigies, besides hundreds of introductions and curious parables.

45. I show *Nirvâna* to the ignorant with low dispositions, who have followed no course of duty under many *koṭis* of Buddhas, are bound to continued existence and wretched.

46. The self-born one uses such means to manifest Buddha-knowledge, but he shall never say to them, Ye also are to become Buddhas².

47. Why should not the mighty³ one, after having waited for the right time, speak, now that he perceives the right moment is come? This is the fit opportunity, met somehow, of commencing the exposition of what really is.

48. Now the word of my commandment, as contained in nine divisions⁴, has been published according to the varying degree of strength of creatures. Such is the device I have shown in order to introduce (creatures) to the knowledge of the giver of boons.

49. And to those in the world who have always been pure, wise, good-minded, compassionate sons

¹ Moralising tales and fables, so-called birth stories. Of the Pâli version of those tales a part has been edited by Professor Fausböll and translated by Dr. Rhys Davids.

² The reading is uncertain; one MS. has *yushme pi buddheka* (!) *bhavishyatheti*; another *yushmaipi buddhehi bhavishati* (!).

³ *Tâyin*; here one might translate the word by 'able, clever.'

⁴ The nine divisions, according to the matter, of Scripture, are with the Southern Buddhists, *Sutta*, *Geya*, *Veyyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Gātaka*, *Abbhutadhamma*, and *Vedalla*, to which answer in the Northern enumeration *Sūtra*, *Geya*, *Vaiyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itiyukta* (or *Itivṛttika*), *Gātaka*, *Abbhutadharma*, and *Vaipulya*; see Burnouf, Introduction, p. 51 sqq.

of Buddha and done their duty under many kotis of Buddhas will I make known amplified Sûtras.

50. For they are endowed with such gifts of mental disposition and such advantages of a blameless outward form¹ that I can announce to them : in future ye shall become Buddhas benevolent and compassionate.

51. Hearing which, all of them will be pervaded with delight (at the thought) : We shall become Buddhas pre-eminent in the world. And I, perceiving their conduct, will again reveal amplified Sûtras.

52. And those are the disciples of the Leader, who have listened to my word of command. One single stanza learnt or kept in memory suffices, no doubt of it, to lead all of them to enlightenment.

53. There is, indeed, but one vehicle ; there is no second, nor a third anywhere in the world, apart from the case of the Purushottamas using an expedient to show that there is a diversity of vehicles.

54. The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge. He has but one aim, indeed, no second ; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle.

55. There where the self-born one has established himself, and where the object of knowledge is, of whatever form or kind ; (where) the powers, the stages of meditation, the emancipations, the perfected faculties (are) ; there the beings also shall be established.

56. I should be guilty of envy, should I, after

¹ The text has : tathâhi te âsayasampadâhi visuddharûpâ-yasamanvitâ 'bhût. This abhût is rather an unhappy attempt at Sanskritising a Prâkrit *ahum* or *ahu*, than a singular used for a plural. *Sampad* and *âya* are nearly synonymous terms.

reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish any one in the inferior vehicle. That would not beseem me.

57. There is no envy whatever in me; no jealousy, no desire, nor passion. Therefore I am the Buddha, because the world follows my teaching¹.

58. When, splendidly marked with (the thirty-two) characteristics, I am illuminating this whole world, and, worshipped by many hundreds of beings, I show the (unmistakable) stamp of the nature of the law;

59. Then, Sâriputra, I think thus: How will all beings by the thirty-two characteristics mark the self-born Seer, who of his own accord sheds his lustre all over the world?

60. And while I am thinking and pondering, when my wish has been fulfilled and my vow accomplished, I no more² reveal Buddha-knowledge.

61. If, O son of Sâri³, I spoke to the creatures, 'Vivify in your minds the wish for enlightenment,' they would in their ignorance all go astray and never catch the meaning of my good words.

62. And considering them to be such, and that they have not accomplished their course of duty in previous existences, (I see how) they are attached and devoted to sensual pleasures, infatuated by desire and blind with delusion.

¹ Anubodhât, which may be rendered otherwise, '(because the world) perceives me.'

² One MS. reads *ka*, 'and,' for *na*, 'not.'

³ Sârisuta, otherwise Sâriputra. Sârikâ or sârikâ is the *Turdus Salica*, one of whose other names is *dûtî*, masc. *dûta*. It is hardly a mere play of chance that Sâriputra in *Kullavagga* VII, 4 is praised as being an excellent *dûta*.

63. From lust they run into distress ; they are tormented in the six states of existence and people the cemetery¹ again and again ; they are overwhelmed with misfortune, as they possess little virtue.

64. They are continually entangled in the thickets of (sectarian) theories, such as, 'It is and it is not ; it is thus and it is not thus.' In trying to get a decided opinion on what is found in the sixty-two (heretical) theories they come to embrace falsehood and continue in it.

65. They are hard to correct, proud, hypocritical, crooked, malignant, ignorant, dull ; hence they do not hear the good Buddha-call, not once in kotis of births.

66. To those, son of Sâri, I show a device and say : Put an end to your trouble. When I perceive creatures vexed with mishap I make them see Nirvâna.

67. And so do I reveal all those laws that are ever holy and correct from the very first. And the son of Buddha who has completed his course shall once be a Gina.

68. It is but my skilfulness which prompts me to manifest three vehicles ; for there is but one vehicle and one track² ; there is also but one instruction by the leaders.

69. Remove all doubt and uncertainty ; and should

¹ Ka/âmsi vardhenti. This is a strangely altered ka/asîm vardhenti, Pâli ka/asim vaddhenti ; see *Kullavagga* XII, 1, 3, and cf. the expression ka/asivaddhano in *Gâtaka* (ed. Fausböll) I, p. 146, and the passage of *Âpastamba* II, 9, 23, 4 (in Bühler's transl. p. 156), where cemeteries, Smaśânâni, by the commentator Haradatta, are said to denote 'fresh births.'

² Or, method.

there be any who feel doubts, (let them know that) the Lords of the world speak the truth ; this is the only vehicle, a second there is not.

70. The former Tathâgatas also, living in the past for innumerable Æons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,

71. Those highest of men¹ have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons, and arguments, with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.

72. And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth ; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness inconceivably many thousands of kotis of beings.

73. Yet the Ginas possess various and manifold means through which the Tathâgata reveals to the world, including the gods, superior enlightenment, in consideration of the inclinations and dispositions (of the different beings).

74. And all in the world who are hearing or have heard the law from the mouth of the Tathâgatas, given alms, followed the moral precepts, and patiently accomplished the whole of their religious duties ;

75. Who have acquitted themselves in point of zeal and meditation, with wisdom reflected on those laws, and performed several meritorious actions, have all of them reached enlightenment.

76. And such beings as were living patient, subdued, and disciplined, under the rule of the Ginas of those times, have all of them reached enlightenment.

¹ Purushottamâh.

77. Others also, who paid worship to the relics of the departed Ginas, erected many thousands of Stûpas made of gems, gold, silver, or crystal,

78. Or built Stûpas of emerald, cat's eye¹, pearls, egregious lapis lazuli, or sapphire; they have all of them reached enlightenment.

79. And those who erected Stûpas from marble, sandal-wood, or eagle-wood; constructed Stûpas from Deodar or a combination of different sorts of timber;

80. And who in gladness of heart built for the Ginas Stûpas of bricks or clay; or caused mounds of earth to be raised in forests and wildernesses in dedication to the Ginas;

81. The little boys even, who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as Stûpas to the Ginas, they have all of them reached enlightenment.

82. Likewise have all who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment.

83. Others who had images of Sugatas made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment.

84. Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay, or plaster have &c.

85. Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs, whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have &c.

¹ Karketana, a certain precious stone, which, according to the dictionaries, is a kind of cat's eye. It rather looks as if it were the Greek χαλκηδόμιος.

86. Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood,

87. Have all of them reached enlightenment; they have become compassionate, and, by rousing many Bodhisattvas, have saved *koṭis* of creatures.

88. Those who offered flowers and perfumes to the relics of the Tathâgatas, to Stûpas, a mound of earth, images of clay or drawn on a wall;

89. Who caused musical instruments, drums, conch trumpets, and noisy great drums to be played, and raised the rattle of tymbals at such places in order to celebrate the highest enlightenment;

90. Who caused sweet lutes, cymbals, tabors, small drums, reed-pipes, flutes of —¹ or sugar-cane to be made, have all of them reached enlightenment.

91. Those who to celebrate the Sugatas made iron cymbals resound, — (?) or small drums²; who sang a song sweet and lovely;

92. They have all of them reached enlightenment. By paying various kinds of worship to the relics of the Sugatas, by doing but a little for the relics, by making resound were it but a single musical instrument;

93. Or by worshipping were it but with a single

¹ The MSS. have *ekonnada*, which I do not understand; Burnouf, it would seem, has read *ekotsava*, for his translation has 'ceux qui ne servent que pour une fête.'

² Two words are doubtful; one MS. has *galamamdukâ vâ* — *mamdukâ vâ*; another *gâlamaddrakâ vâ* — *maddrakâ vâ*. It is not impossible that *maddraka* is essentially the same with Sanskrit *mandra*, which is said to be a kind of drum. Burnouf renders the words by 'qui ont battu l'eau, frappé dans leurs mains.'

flower, by drawing on a wall the images of the Sugatas, by doing worship were it even with distracted thoughts, one shall in course of time see koṭis of Buddhas.

94. Those who, when in presence of a Stûpa, have offered their reverential salutation, be it in a complete form or by merely joining the hands; who, were it but for a single moment, bent their head or body;

95. And who at Stûpas containing relics have one single time said: Homage be to Buddha! albeit they did it with distracted thoughts, all have attained superior enlightenment.

96. The creatures who in the days of those Sugatas, whether already extinct¹ or still in existence, have heard no more than the name of the law, have all of them reached enlightenment.

97. Many koṭis of future Buddhas beyond imagination and measure shall likewise reveal this device as Ginas and supreme Lords.

→ 98. Endless shall be the skilfulness of these leaders of the world, by which they shall educate² koṭis of beings to that Buddha-knowledge which is free from imperfection³.

¹ Or, expired, and more grandly entered Nirvâna. The real meaning of the contents of stanza 74 seq. will be that all men who lived under past Sugatas, i.e. in past days, after doing acts of piety, have finished with reaching enlightenment, i.e. with dying.

² Vinayati, to train, educate, also means to carry away, remove.

³ I.e. death. Such terms as perfect enlightenment, Buddha-knowledge, &c., when they are veiled or euphemistic expressions for death, may be compared with the phrase 'to see the truth,' which in some parts of Europe is quite common, especially among

99. Never has there been any being who, after hearing the law of those (leaders), shall not become Buddha¹; for this is the fixed vow of the Tathâ-gatas: Let me, by accomplishing my course of duty, lead others to enlightenment.

100. They are to expound in future days many thousand koṭis of heads of the law; in their Tathâ-gataship they shall teach the law by showing the sole vehicle before-mentioned.

101. The line of the law forms an unbroken continuity and the nature of its properties is always manifest. Knowing this, the Buddhas, the highest of men, shall reveal this single vehicle².

102. They shall reveal the stability of the law, its being subjected to fixed rules, its unshakeable perpetuity in the world, the awaking of the Buddhas on the elevated terrace of the earth, their skilfulness.

103. In all directions of space are standing Buddhas, like sand of the Ganges, honoured by gods and men; these also do, for the weal of all beings in the world, expound superior enlightenment.

104. Those Buddhas while manifesting skilfulness display various vehicles though, at the same time, indicating the one single vehicle³: the supreme place of blessed rest.

country people, as synonymous with dying. No less common is the expression *nirvâṇam paryati*, to see *Nirvâṇa*.

¹ The text has *eko 'pi satvo na kadâki teshâm*, *Srutvâna dhamam na bhaveta buddhaḥ*. *Srutvâna* answers, of course, to a *Prâkrit* *sutvâna*; cf. *Vedic pîtvânam*, *Pânini VII, 1, 48*.

² *Viditva Buddhâ dvipadânam uttamâ, prakâśayishyanti 'mam ekayânam*. The elision of *i* is an example of *Prâkrit* or *Pâli* Sandhi, frequent in the stanzas.

³ *Yâna* here properly denotes way, or place where one is going to.

105. Acquainted as they are with the conduct of all mortals, with their peculiar dispositions and previous actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.

106. By dint of knowledge the leaders produce many illustrations, arguments, and reasons; and considering how the creatures have various inclinations they impart various directions.

107. And myself also, the leader of the chief *Ginas*, am now manifesting, for the weal of creatures now living, this Buddha enlightenment by thousands of *koṭis* of various directions.

108. I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge.

109. I likewise see the poor wretches, deficient in wisdom and conduct, lapsed into the mundane whirl, retained in dismal places, plunged in affliction incessantly renewed.

110. Fettered as they are by desire like the yak by its tail, continually blinded by sensual pleasure, they do not seek the Buddha, the mighty one; they do not seek the law that leads to the end of pain.

111. Staying in the six states of existence, they are benumbed in their senses, stick unmoved to the low views, and suffer pain on pain. For those I feel a great compassion.

112. On the terrace of enlightenment I have remained three weeks in full, searching and pondering on such a matter, steadily looking up to the tree there (standing).

113. Keeping in view that king of trees with an

unwavering gaze I walked round at its foot¹ (thinking): This law is wonderful and lofty, whereas creatures are blind with dulness and ignorance.

114. Then it was that Brahma entreated me, and so did Indra, the four rulers of the cardinal points, Mahesvara, Îsvara, and the hosts of Maruts by thousands of koṭis².

115. All stood with joined hands and respectful, while myself was revolving the matter in my mind (and thought): What shall I do? At the very time that I am uttering syllables³, beings are oppressed with evils.

116. In their ignorance they will not heed the law I announce, and in consequence of it they will incur some penalty. It would be better were I never to speak. May my quiet extinction take place this very day!

117. But on remembering the former Buddhas and their skilfulness, (I thought): Nay, I also will manifest this tripartite Buddha-enlightenment.

118. When I was thus meditating on the law, the other Buddhas in all the directions of space appeared to me in their own body and raised their voice, crying 'Amen.

119. 'Amen, Solitary, first Leader of the world! now that thou hast come to unsurpassed knowledge,

¹ Tasyaiva hesh/ke, i.e. Prâkrit he//ke, Sanskrit adhastât.

² The story slightly differs from what is found in the Mahâvagga, Lalita-vistara, and other works, in so far as the number of weeks is generally reckoned as seven. There are, however, other discrepancies between the relations in the various sources, for which I must refer to Mahâvagga I, 5; Lalita-vistara, p. 511; cf. Bigandet, Legend, p. 112.

³ The text has varṇân, i.e. colours, letters.

and art meditating on the skilfulness of the leaders of the world, thou repeatest their teaching.

120. 'We also, being Buddhas, will make clear the highest word¹, divided into three parts; for men (occasionally) have low inclinations, and might perchance from ignorance not believe (us, when we say), Ye shall become Buddhas.

121. 'Hence we will rouse many Bodhisattvas by the display of skilfulness and the encouraging of the wish of obtaining fruits.'

122. And I was delighted to hear the sweet voice of the leaders of men; in the exultation of my heart I said to the blessed saints, 'The words of the eminent sages are not spoken in vain.

123. 'I, too, will act according to the indications of the wise leaders of the world; having myself been born in the midst of the degradation of creatures, I have known agitation in this dreadful world.'

124. When I had come to that conviction, O son of Sâri, I instantly went to Benares, where I skilfully preached the law to the five Solitaries², that law which is the base of final beatitude.

125. From that moment the wheel of my law has been moving³, and the name of Nirvâṇa made its appearance in the world, as well as the name of Arhat, of Dharma, and Saṅgha.

126. Many years have I preached and pointed to the

¹ Properly, the most lofty place; the word *pada* in the text means place, spot, word, subject, &c.

² *Āgñāta-Kaundīnya* and the four others mentioned in the opening chapter.

³ In chap. VII we shall see that the wheel was put in motion at an inconceivably long period before, by the Tathâgata Mahâ-bhigñâgñânâbhibhû.

stage of Nirvâna, the end of wretchedness and mundane existence. Thus I used to speak at all times.

127. And when I saw, Sâriputra, the children of the highest of men by many thousands of kotis, numberless, striving after the supreme, the highest enlightenment;

128. And when such as had heard the law of the Ginas, owing to the many-sidedness of (their) skilfulness, had approached me and stood before my face, all of them with joined hands, and respectful;

129. Then I conceived the idea that the time had come for me to announce the excellent law and to reveal supreme enlightenment, for which task I had been born in the world.

130. This (event) to-day will be hard to be understood by the ignorant who imagine they see¹ here a sign, as they are proud and dull. But the Bodhi-sattvas, they will listen to me.

131. And I felt free from hesitation and highly cheered; putting aside all timidity, I began speaking in the assembly of the sons of Sugata, and roused them to enlightenment.

132. On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, will all of them become Buddhas.

133. Even as the nature of the law of the former² mighty saints and the future Ginas is, so is my law

¹ One would rather expect 'who imagine not to see, fail to see,' but the words of the text do not admit of such an interpretation.

² Yathaiva teshâm purimâna Tâyinâm, anâgatânâm ka Ginâna dharmatâ, mamâpi eshâ vikalpavargitâ, tathaiva 'ham desayi adya tubhyam.

free from any doubtfulness, and it is such as I to-day preach it to thee.

134. At certain times, at certain places, somehow do the leaders appear in the world, and after their appearance will they, whose view is boundless, at one time or another preach¹ a similar law.

135. It is most difficult to meet with this superior law, even in myriads of ko^{ti}s of Æons; very rare are the beings who will adhere to the superior law which they have heard from me.

136. Just as the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree is rare, albeit sometimes, at some places, and somehow it is met with, as something pleasant to see for everybody, as a wonder to the world including the gods;

137. (So wonderful) and far more wonderful is the law I proclaim. Any one who, on hearing a good exposition of it, shall cheerfully accept it and recite but one word of it, will have done honour to all Buddhas.

138. Give up all doubt and uncertainty in this respect; I declare that I am the king of the law (Dharmarâga); I am urging others to enlightenment, but I am here without disciples.

139. Let this mystery be for thee, Sâriputra, for all disciples of mine, and for the eminent Bodhisattvas, who are to keep this mystery.

140. For the creatures, when at the period of the five depravities², are vile and bad; they are blinded

¹ *Desayuh*, plural; Burnouf seems to have read the singular.

² The five *kashâyas* are summarily indicated in *Dhammapada* 115 by 'râgâdi.' As the list of *klesas*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 348 seq., commences with *râga*, there can be no doubt that Burnouf was right in supposing the five *kashâyas* to be synonymous with the corresponding number of *klesas*. The items of the list are variously given.

by sensual desires, the fools, and never turn their minds to enlightenment.

141. (Some) beings, having heard this one and sole vehicle¹ manifested by the Gina, will in days to come swerve from it, reject the Sûtra, and go down to hell.

142. But those beings who shall be modest and pure, striving after the supreme and the highest enlightenment, to them shall I unhesitatingly set forth the endless forms of this one and sole vehicle.

143. Such is the mastership of the leaders; that is, their skilfulness. They have spoken in many mysteries²; hence it is difficult to understand (them).

144. Therefore try to understand the mystery³ of the Buddhas, the holy masters of the world; forsake all doubt and uncertainty: you shall become Buddhas; rejoice! λ

¹ Or, rather, learnt this way.

² The word in the text is sandhâva~~ka~~nai~~h~~, evidently synonymous with sandhâbhâshya.

³ Sandhâ, by Burnouf rendered 'langage énigmatique.' On comparing the different meanings of sandhâ and sandhâya, both in Sanskrit and in Pâli, I am led to suppose that sandhâ- (and sandhâya-) bhâshita (bhâshya) was a term used in the sense of 'speaking (speech) in council, a counsel,' scarcely differing from mantra. In both words secrecy is implied, though not expressed. If we take the term as synonymous with mantra, the connection between upâyakausalya, diplomacy, skilfulness, and sandhâbhâshita is clear. Cf. the Gothic word rūna, both βουλή and μυστήριον; garûni, συμβούλιον. The theistical sect have taken it in the sense of 'God's counsel,' but I cannot produce a warrant for this guess. By Hiouen Thsang, the term sandhâya is translated by 'in a hidden sense,' as we know from Professor Max Müller's note, in his edition of the Vagarakkhedikâ, p. 23.

CHAPTER III.

A PARABLE.

Then the venerable Sâriputra, pleased, glad, charmed, cheerful, thrilling with delight and joy, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and, looking up to the Lord with a steady gaze, addressed him in this strain : I am astonished, amazed, O Lord ! I am in ecstasy to hear such a call from the Lord. For when, before I had heard of this law from the Lord, I saw other Bodhisattvas, and heard that the Bodhisattvas would in future get the name of Buddhas, I felt extremely sorry, extremely vexed to be deprived from so grand a sight as the Tathâgata-knowledge. And whenever, O Lord, for my daily recreation I was visiting the caves of rocks or mountains, wood thickets, lovely gardens, rivers, and roots of trees, I always was occupied with the same and ever-recurring thought : 'Whereas the entrance into the fixed points¹ of the law is nominally² equal, we have been dismissed by the Lord with the inferior vehicle.' Instantly, however, O Lord, I felt that it

¹ Or, elements.

² Tulye nâma dharmadhâtupraveśe vāyam—niryâtītāḥ. The terms are ambiguous, and open to various interpretations. The Tibetan version has, according to Burnouf, 'in an equal introduction to the domain of the law,' from which at least thus much results, that the text had tulye, not tulya, as Burnouf reads. Tulye praveśe I take to be a so-called absolute locative case. As to the plural 'we,' it refers to Sâriputra.

was our own fault, not the Lord's. For had we regarded the Lord at the time of his giving the all-surpassing demonstration of the law, that is, the exposition of supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Lord, we should have become adepts in those laws. But because, without understanding the mystery of the Lord, we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled, heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the first lessons pronounced on the law, therefore, O Lord, I used to pass day and night in self-reproach. (But) to-day, O Lord, I have reached complete extinction; to-day, O Lord, I have become calm; to-day, O Lord, I am wholly come to rest; to-day, O Lord, I have reached Arhatship; to-day, O Lord, I am the Lord's eldest son, born from his law, sprung into existence by the law, made by the law, inheriting from the law, accomplished by the law. My burning has left me, O Lord, now that I have heard this wonderful law, which I had not learnt before, announced by the voice from the mouth of the Lord.

And on that occasion the venerable Sāriputra addressed the Lord in the following stanzas:

1. I am astonished, great Leader, I am charmed to hear this voice; I feel no doubt any more; now am I fully ripe for the superior vehicle.

2. Wonderful is the voice¹ of the Sugatas; it dispels the doubt and pain of living beings; my pain also is all gone now that I, freed from imperfections, have heard that voice (or, call).

3. When I was taking my daily recreation or was

¹ Rather, call.

walking in woody thickets, when betaking myself to the roots of trees or to mountain caves, I indulged in no other thought but this :

4. 'O how am I deluded by vain thoughts ! whereas the faultless laws are, nominally, equal, shall I in future not preach the superior law in the world ?

5. 'The thirty-two characteristic signs have failed me, and the gold colour of the skin has vanished ; all the (ten) powers and emancipations have likewise been lost. O how have I gone astray at the equal laws !

6. 'The secondary signs also of the great Seers, the eighty excellent specific signs, and the eighteen uncommon properties have failed me. O how am I deluded !'

7. And when I had perceived thee, so benign and merciful to the world, and was lonely walking to take my daily recreation, I thought : 'I am excluded from that inconceivable, unbounded knowledge !'

8. Days and nights, O Lord, I passed always thinking of the same subject ; I would ask the Lord whether I had lost my rank or not.

9. In such reflections, O Chief of Gīnas, I constantly passed my days and nights ; and on seeing many other Bodhisattvas praised by the Leader of the world,

10. And on hearing this Buddha-law, I thought : 'To be sure, this is expounded mysteriously¹ ; it is an inscrutable, subtle, and faultless science, which is announced by the Gīnas on the terrace of enlightenment.'

¹ Sandhāya ; the Chinese translation by Kumārā-gīva, according to Stan. Julien's version, has 'suivant la convenance.'

11. Formerly I was attached to (heretical) theories, being a wandering monk and in high honour (or, of the same opinions) with the heretics¹; afterwards has the Lord, regarding my disposition, taught me *Nirvâna*, to detach me from perverted views.

12. After having completely freed myself from all (heretical) views and reached the laws of void, (I conceive) that I have become extinct; yet this is not deemed to be extinction.

13. But when one becomes Buddha, a superior being, honoured by men, gods, goblins, Titans, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, then one will be completely extinct.

14. All those (former) cares² have now been dispelled, since I have heard the voice. Now am I extinct, as thou announcest my destination (to *Nirvâna*) before the world including the gods.

15. When I first heard the voice of the Lord, I had a great terror lest it might be *Mâra*, the evil one, who on this occasion had adopted the disguise of Buddha.

16. But when the unsurpassed Buddha-wisdom had been displayed in and established with argu-

¹ *Parivrâgakas Tîrthikasammata*s &c. The term *parivrâgaka* or *parivrâg* is occasionally applied to Buddhist monks, but here it would seem that the Brahmanistic monks are meant, the *brahmasamsthās* of *Saṅkara* in his commentary on *Brahma-Sûtra* III, 4, 20. They are to be distinguished from the *Tîrthika*'s.

² Or, thoughts; one MS. has *vyapanîta sarvâni 'mi* (read *ni 'mi*) *manyitâni*; another reads, *vy. sarvâni 'mi makṣitâni*. *Manyita* is a participle derived from the present tense of *manyate*, to mean, to mind, in the manner of *gahita* from *gahâti*. *Makṣitâni* is hardly correct; it is, however, just possible that it is intended to stand for *makṣitâni*.

ments, reasons, and illustrations, by myriads of koṭis, then I lost all doubt about the law I heard.

17. And when thou hadst mentioned to me¹ the thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, the past Ginas who have come to final rest, and how they preached this law by firmly establishing it through skilfulness ;

18. How the many future Buddhas and those who are now existing, as knowers of the real truth, shall expound or are expounding this law by hundreds of able devices ;

19. And when thou wert mentioning thine own course after leaving home, how the idea of the wheel of the law presented itself to thy mind and how thou decidest upon preaching the law ;

20. Then I was convinced : This is not Māra ; it is the Lord of the world, who has shown the true course ; no Māras can here abide. So then my mind (for a moment) was overcome with perplexity ;

21. But when the sweet, deep, and lovely voice of Buddha gladdened me, all doubts were scattered, my perplexity vanished, and I stood firm in knowledge.

22. I shall become a Tathāgata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods ; I shall manifest Buddha-wisdom, mysteriously² rousing many Bodhisattvas.

After this speech of the venerable Sāriputra, the Lord said to him : I declare to thee, Sāriputra, I announce to thee, in presence of this world including the gods, Māras, and Brahmas, in presence of this

¹ *Yadā ka me Buddhasahasrakōṭyaḥ, kīrteshy (var. lect. kīrtishy) atītān parinirvṛtām Ginān. Kīrteshi is Sanskrit aṅikīrtas.*

² *Sandhāya. Burnouf's rendering 'aux créatures' points to satvāya, which is nothing but a misread sandhāya. Cf. stanza 37, below.*

people, including ascetics and Brahmans, that thou, Sâriputra, hast been by me made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, in presence of twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, and that thou, Sâriputra, hast for a long time followed my commandments. Thou, Sâriputra, art, by the counsel of the Bodhisattva, by the decree of the Bodhisattva, reborn here under my rule. Owing to the mighty will of the Bodhisattva thou, Sâriputra, hast no recollection of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course; of the counsel of the Bodhisattva, the decree of the Bodhisattva. Thou thinkest that thou hast reached final rest. I, wishing to revive and renew in thee the knowledge of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course, will reveal to the disciples the Dharmaparyâya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' this Sûtrânta, &c.

Again, Sâriputra, at a future period, after innumerable, inconceivable, immeasurable Æons, when thou shalt have learnt the true law of hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Tathâgatas, showed devotion in various ways, and achieved the present Bodhisattva-course, thou shalt become in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Padmaprabha¹, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed tamer of men, a master of gods and men², a Lord Buddha.

¹ Padma, *Nelumbium Speciosum*, having a rosy hue, we must infer that Sâriputra will be reborn at twilight.

² The supreme tamer of men is, in reality, Yama, personified Twilight, and as evening twilight the god of death and the ruler of the infernal regions. The word yama itself means both 'twin' (cf. *twi-light*) and 'tamer.' Owing to the fact that in mythology many beings are denoted by the name of 'the twins,' e. g. morning and evening, the Arvins, Castor and Pollux, it is often

At that time then, Sâriputra, the Buddha-field of that Lord, the Tathâgata Padmaprabha, to be called Viraga, will be level, pleasant, delightful, extremely beautiful to see, pure, prosperous, rich, quiet, abounding with food, replete with many races of men¹; it will consist of lapis lazuli, and contain a checker-board of eight compartments distinguished by gold threads, each compartment having its jewel tree always and perpetually filled with blossoms and fruits of seven precious substances.

Now that Tathâgata Padmaprabha, &c., Sâriputra, will preach the law by the instrumentality of three vehicles². Further, Sâriputra, that Tathâgata will not appear at the decay of the Æon, but preach the law by virtue of a vow.

That Æon, Sâriputra, will be named Mahâratnapratimandîta (i. e. ornamented with magnificent jewels). Knowest thou, Sâriputra, why that Æon is named Mahâratnapratimandîta? The Bodhisattvas of a Buddha-field, Sâriputra, are called ratnas (jewels), and at that time there will be many Bodhisattvas in that sphere (called) Viraga; innumerable, incalculable, beyond computation, abstraction made from their being computed by the Tathâgatas. On that account is that Æon called Mahâratnapratimandîta.

Now, to proceed, Sâriputra, at that period the

difficult to make out which pair of twins is meant in any particular case. The sun himself appears in the function of Yama, because it is he who makes twilight.

¹ One MS. reads bahuganamanushyâkîrṇa, the other bahunamaruprakîrṇa.

² Cf. the threefold vehicle, trivṛtī ratha, of the Asvins, Rîg-veda I, 34, 9. 12, 47, 2.

Bodhisattvas of that field will in walking step on jewel lotuses¹. And these Bodhisattvas will not be plying their work for the first time, they having accumulated roots of goodness and observed the course of duty under many hundred thousand Buddhas; they are praised by the Tathâgatas for their zealous application to Buddha-knowledge; are perfected in the rites preparatory to transcendent knowledge; accomplished in the direction of all true laws; mild, thoughtful. Generally, Sâriputra, will that Buddha-region teem with such Bodhisattvas.

As to the lifetime, Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata Padmaprabha, it will last twelve intermediate kalpas, if we leave out of account the time of his being a young prince. And the lifetime of the creatures then living will measure eight intermediate kalpas. At the expiration of twelve intermediate kalpas, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata Padmaprabha, after announcing the future destiny of the Bodhisattva called *Dhṛtiparipûrṇa*² to superior perfect enlightenment, is to enter complete Nirvâṇa. 'This Bodhisattva Mahâsattva *Dhṛtiparipûrṇa*, O monks, shall immediately after me come to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He shall become in the world a Tathâgata named Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c.'

Now the Tathâgata Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin, Sâriputra, will have a Buddha-field of quite the same description. The true law, Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata Padmavṛishabhavikrâmin will, after his

¹ We may express the same idea thus: roses are springing up under their feet at every step.

² *Dhṛti*, perseverance, endurance. *Dhṛtiparipûrṇa* is, full of perseverance or endurance.

extinction, last thirty-two intermediate kalpas, and the counterfeit of his true law will last as many intermediate kalpas¹.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

23. Thou also, son of Sâri, shalt in future be a Gina, a Tathâgata named Padmaprabha, of illimited sight ; thou shalt educate thousands of koṭis of living beings².

24. After paying honour to many koṭis of Buddhas, making³ strenuous efforts in the course of duty, and after having produced in thyself the ten powers, thou shalt reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

25. Within a period inconceivable and immense there shall be an Æon rich in jewels (or, the Æon jewel-rich), and a sphere named Viraga, the pure field of the highest of men ;

26. And its ground will consist of lapis lazuli, and be set off with gold threads ; it will have hundreds of jewel trees, very beautiful, and covered with blossoms and fruits.

27. Bodhisattvas of good memory, able in showing

¹ This counterfeit, pratirûpaka, of the true law, reminds one of the counterfeit, paitiyâro, produced by Ariman in opposition to the creation of Ormazd ; mythologically it is the dark side of nature. That there is some connection between the Buddhistical pratirûpaka and the Iranian paitiyâro can hardly be doubted.

² A striking example of how the original Prâkrit of the verse has been adulterated in order to give it a more Sanskrit colouring is afforded by this stanza. One MS. has bhavishyasî Sârisutâ tuhampi ; another bhavishyase Sârisutânukampî, with marginal correction tvayampi.

³ Upâdayitvâ, i.e. Pâli upâdiyitvâ, synonymous with ârabhya (vîryam) ; the var. lect. upârgayitvâ, having acquired, is an innovation, at first sight specious enough.

the course of duty which they have been taught under hundreds of Buddhas, will come to be born in that field.

28. And the afore-mentioned Gina, then in his last bodily existence, shall, after passing the state of prince royal, renounce sensual pleasures, leave home (to become a wandering ascetic), and thereafter reach the supreme and the highest enlightenment.

29. The lifetime of that Gina will be precisely twelve intermediate kalpas, and the life of men will then last eight intermediate kalpas.

30. After the extinction of the Tathâgata the true law will continue thirty-two Æons in full, for the benefit of the world, including the gods.

31. When the true law shall have come to an end, its counterfeit will stand for thirty-two intermediate kalpas. The dispersed relics of the holy one will always be honoured by men and gods.

32. Such will be the fate of that Lord. Rejoice, O son of Sâri, for it is thou who shalt be that most excellent of men, so unsurpassed.

The four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, on hearing the announcement of the venerable Sâriputra's destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, were so pleased, glad, charmed, thrilling with delight and joy, that they covered the Lord severally with their own robes, while Indra the chief of gods, Brahma Sahâmpati, besides hundred thousands of koṭis of other divine beings, covered him with heavenly garments and bestrewed him with flowers of heaven, Mandâravas and great Mandâravas. High aloft they

whirled celestial clothes and struck hundred thousands of celestial musical instruments and cymbals, high in the sky; and after pouring a great rain of flowers they uttered these words: The wheel of the law has been put in motion by the Lord, the first time at Benares at *Rīshipatana* in the Deer-park; to-day has the Lord again put in motion the supreme wheel of the law.

And on that occasion those divine beings uttered the following stanzas:

✓ 33. The wheel of the law was put in motion by thee, O thou that art unrivalled in the world, at Benares, O great hero! (that wheel which is the rotation of) the rise and decay of all aggregates.

34. There it was put in motion for the first time; now, a second time, is it turned here, O Lord. To-day, O Master, thou hast preached this law, which is hard to be received with faith¹.

35. Many laws have we heard near the Lord of the world, but never before did we hear a law like this.

36. We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the mysterious speech of the great Sages, such as this prediction regarding the self-possessed *Ārya Sāriputra*.

37. May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world, who by mysterious speech announce supreme Buddha-enlightenment.

38. May we also, by the good we have done in this world and in the next, and by our having

¹ *Duḥsraddheyo yas te 'yam*, var. lect. *duḥsraddheyo 'yan teshām*. It may be remarked that *saddhā* not only means faith, belief, but also liking, approval. Cf. the passage in *Mahāvagga* I, 5, 2 sq.; the verses in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 515.

propitiated the Buddha, be allowed to make a vow for Buddhaship.

Thereupon the venerable Sâriputra thus spoke to the Lord: My doubt is gone, O Lord, my uncertainty is at an end on hearing from the mouth of the Lord my destiny to supreme enlightenment. But these twelve hundred self-controlled (disciples), O Lord, who have been placed by thee on the stage of Saikshas¹, have been thus admonished and instructed: 'My preaching of the law, O monks, comes to this, that deliverance from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death is inseparably connected with Nirvâna;' and these two thousand monks, O Lord, thy disciples, both those who are still under training and adepts, who all of them are free from false views about the soul, false views about existence, false views about cessation of existence, free, in short, from all false views, who are fancying themselves to have reached the stage of Nirvâna, these have fallen into uncertainty by hearing from the mouth of the Lord this law which they had not heard before. Therefore, O Lord, please speak to these monks, to dispel their uneasiness, so that the four classes of the audience, O Lord, may be relieved from their doubt and perplexity.

On this speech of the venerable Sâriputra the Lord

¹ I. e. of those who are under training, Pâli sekho. The term is applied to the first seven degrees of persons striving for sanctification, the eighth, or Arhat, being Asaiksha (Asekha). It implies that they still have a remainder of human passion to eradicate, still duties to perform, still a probation to be passed through; see Childers, Pâli Dict. p. 472. The seven degrees of Saiksha answer to the sevenfold preparatory wisdom in the Yoga system; see Yoga-âstra 2, 27.

said to him the following: Have I not told thee before, Sâriputra, that the Tathâgata, &c., preaches the law by able devices, varying directions and indications, fundamental ideas, interpretations, with due regard to the different dispositions and inclinations of creatures whose temperaments¹ are so various? All his preachings of the law have no other end but supreme and perfect enlightenment, for which he is rousing beings to the Bodhisattva-course. But, Sâriputra, to elucidate this matter more at large, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

Let us suppose the following case, Sâriputra. In a certain village, town, borough, province, kingdom, or capital, there was a certain housekeeper, old, aged, decrepit, very advanced in years, rich, wealthy, opulent; he had a great house, high, spacious, built a long time ago and old, inhabited by some two, three, four, or five hundred living beings. The house had but one door, and a thatch; its terraces were tottering, the bases of its pillars rotten, the coverings² and plaster of the walls loose. On a sudden the whole house was from every side put in conflagration by a mass of fire. Let us suppose that the man had many little boys, say five, or ten, or even twenty, and that he himself had come out of the house.

Now, Sâriputra, that man, on seeing the house from every side wrapt in a blaze by a great mass of

¹ Dhâtuvâsaya, properly the disposition of the constitutive elements of the body.

² Or, boards.

fire, got afraid, frightened, anxious in his mind, and made the following reflection : I myself am able to come out from the burning house through the door, quickly and safely, without being touched or scorched by that great mass of fire ; but my children, those young boys, are staying in the burning house, playing, amusing, and diverting themselves with all sorts of sports. They do not perceive, nor know, nor understand, nor mind that the house is on fire, and do not get afraid. Though scorched by that great mass of fire, and affected with such a mass of pain, they do not mind the pain, nor do they conceive the idea of escaping.

The man, Sâriputra, is strong, has powerful arms, and (so) he makes this reflection : I am strong, and have powerful arms ; why, let me gather all my little boys and take them to my breast to effect their escape from the house. A second reflection then presented itself to his mind : This house has but one opening ; the door is shut ; and those boys, fickle, unsteady, and childlike as they are, will, it is to be feared, run hither and thither, and come to grief and disaster in this mass of fire. Therefore I will warn them. So resolved, he calls to the boys : Come, my children ; the house is burning with a mass of fire ; come, lest ye be burnt in that mass of fire, and come to grief and disaster. But the ignorant boys do not heed the words of him who is their well-wisher ; they are not afraid, not alarmed, and feel no misgiving ; they do not care, nor fly, nor even know nor understand the purport of the word 'burning ;' on the contrary, they run hither and thither, walk about, and repeatedly look at their father ; all, because they are so ignorant.

Then the man is going to reflect thus: The house is burning, is blazing by a mass of fire. It is to be feared that myself as well as my children will come to grief and disaster. Let me therefore by some skilful means get the boys out of the house. The man knows the disposition of the boys, and has a clear perception of their inclinations. Now these boys happen to have many and manifold toys to play with, pretty, nice, pleasant, dear, amusing, and precious. The man, knowing the disposition of the boys, says to them: My children, your toys, which are so pretty, precious, and admirable, which you are so loth to miss, which are so various and multifarious, (such as) bullock-carts, goat-carts, deer-carts, which are so pretty, nice, dear, and precious to you, have all been put by me outside the house-door for you to play with. Come, run out, leave the house; to each of you I shall give what he wants. Come soon; come out for the sake of these toys. And the boys, on hearing the names mentioned of such playthings as they like and desire, so agreeable to their taste, so pretty, dear, and delightful, quickly rush out from the burning house, with eager effort and great alacrity, one having no time to wait for the other, and pushing each other on with the cry of 'Who shall arrive first, the very first?'

The man, seeing that his children have safely and happily escaped, and knowing that they are free from danger, goes and sits down in the open air on the square of the village, his heart filled with joy and delight, released from trouble and hindrance, quite at ease. The boys go up to the place where their father is sitting, and say: 'Father, give us those toys to play with, those bullock-carts, goat-carts, and

deer-carts.^{१७१} Then, Sâriputra, the man gives to his sons, who run swift as the wind, bullock-carts only, made of seven precious substances, provided with benches, hung with a multitude of small bells, lofty, adorned with rare and wonderful jewels, embellished with jewel wreaths, decorated with garlands of flowers, carpeted with cotton mattresses and woollen coverlets, covered with white cloth and silk, having on both sides rosy cushions, yoked with white, very fair and fleet bullocks, led by a multitude of men. To each of his children he gives several bullock-carts of one appearance and one kind, provided with flags, and swift as the wind. That man does so, Sâriputra, because being rich, wealthy, and in possession of many treasures and granaries, he rightly thinks : Why should I give these boys inferior carts, all these boys being my own children, dear and precious ? I have got such great vehicles, and ought to treat all the boys equally and without partiality. As I own many treasures and granaries, I could give such great vehicles to all beings, how much more then to my own children. Meanwhile the boys are mounting the vehicles with feelings of astonishment and wonder. Now, Sâriputra, what is thy opinion ? Has that man made himself guilty of a falsehood by first holding out to his children the prospect of three vehicles and afterwards giving to each of them the greatest vehicles only, the most magnificent vehicles ?

Sâriputra answered : By no means, Lord ; by no means, Sugata. That is not sufficient, O Lord, to qualify the man as a speaker of falsehood, since it only was a skilful device to persuade his children to go out of the burning house and save their

lives. Nay, besides recovering their very body, O Lord, they have received all those toys. If that man, O Lord, had given no single cart, even then he would not have been a speaker of falsehood, for he had previously been meditating on saving the little boys from a great mass of pain by some able device. Even in this case, O Lord, the man would not have been guilty of falsehood, and far less now that he, considering his having plenty of treasures and prompted by no other motive but the love of his children, gives to all, to coax¹ them, vehicles of one kind, and those the greatest vehicles. That man, Lord, is not guilty of falsehood.

The venerable Sâriputra having thus spoken, the Lord said to him : Very well, very well, Sâriputra, quite so ; it is even as thou sayest. So, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, &c., is free from all dangers, wholly exempt from all misfortune, despondency, calamity, pain, grief, the thick enveloping dark mists of ignorance. He, the Tathâgata, endowed with Buddha-knowledge, forces, absence of hesitation, uncommon properties, and mighty by magical power, is the father of the world², who has reached the highest perfection in the knowledge of skilful means, who is most merciful, long-suffering, benevolent, compassionate. He appears in this triple

¹ *Slâghamâna*.

² Here the Buddha is represented as a wise and benevolent father ; he is the heavenly father, Brahma. As such he was represented as sitting on a 'lotus seat.' How common this representation was in India, at least in the sixth century of our era, appears from Varâha-Mihira's *Brâhat-Samhitâ*, chap. 58, 44, where the following rule is laid down for the Buddha idols : 'Buddha shall be (represented) sitting on a lotus seat, like the father of the world.'

world, which is like a house the roof¹ and shelter whereof are decayed, (a house) burning by a mass of misery, in order to deliver from affection, hatred, and delusion the beings subject to birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, the dark enveloping mists of ignorance, in order to rouse them to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Once born, he sees how the creatures are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed by birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency; how for the sake of enjoyments, and prompted by sensual desires, they severally suffer various pains. In consequence both of what in this world they are seeking and what they have acquired, they will in a future state suffer various pains, in hell, in the brute creation, in the realm of Yama; suffer such pains as poverty in the world of gods or men, union with hateful persons or things, and separation from the beloved ones. And whilst incessantly whirling in that mass of evils they are sporting, playing, diverting themselves; they do not fear, nor dread, nor are they seized with terror; they do not know, nor mind; they are not startled, do not try to escape, but are enjoying themselves in that triple world which is like unto a burning house, and run hither and thither. Though overwhelmed by that mass of evil, they do not conceive the idea that they must beware of it.

Under such circumstances, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata reflects thus: Verily, I am the father of these beings; I must save them from this mass of evil, and bestow on them the immense, inconceivable bliss of

¹ Or, coping.

Buddha-knowledge, wherewith they shall sport, play, and divert themselves, wherein they shall find their rest.

Then, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata reflects thus : If, in the conviction of my possessing the power of knowledge and magical faculties, I manifest to these beings the knowledge, forces, and absence of hesitation of the Tathâgata, without availing myself of some device, these beings will not escape. For they are attached to the pleasures of the five senses, to worldly pleasures ; they will not be freed from birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, by which they are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed. Unless they are forced to leave the triple world which is like a house the shelter and roof whereof is in a blaze, how are they to get acquainted with¹ Buddha-knowledge ?

Now, Sâriputra, even as that man with powerful arms, without using the strength of his arms, attracts his children out of the burning house by an able device, and afterwards gives them magnificent, great carts, so, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., possessed of knowledge and freedom from all hesitation, without using them, in order to attract the creatures out of the triple world which is like a burning house with decayed roof and shelter, shows, by his knowledge of able devices, three vehicles, viz. the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, and the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. By means of these three vehicles he attracts the creatures and speaks to them thus : Do not

¹ Paribhotsyante; Burnouf's rendering, 'pourront jouir,' points to a reading paribhokshyante.

delight in this triple world, which is like a burning house, in these miserable forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts¹. For in delighting in this triple world ye are burnt, heated, inflamed with the thirst inseparable from the pleasures of the five senses. Fly from this triple world; betake yourselves to the three vehicles: the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. I give you my pledge for it, that I shall give you these three vehicles; make an effort to run out of this triple world. And to attract them I say: These vehicles are grand, praised by the Âryas, and provided with most pleasant things; with such you are to sport, play, and divert yourselves in a noble² manner. Ye will feel the great delight of the faculties³, powers⁴, constituents of Bodhi, meditations, the (eight) degrees of emancipation, self-concentration, and the results of self-concentration, and ye will become greatly happy and cheerful.

¹ The same idea and the same moral form the warp and woof of the sermon on the hill of Gayâsîrsha, the Âditta-pariyâya, Mahâvagga I, 21. This sermon was the second in course of time, if we leave out of account the repetitions of the first, preached near Benares. The parable also is propounded at the time when the Master moves the wheel of the law for the second time; see above, st. 34. Hence we may conclude that the sermon and parable are variations of one and the same monkish moralization on the base of a more primitive cosmological legend.

² *Akrîpanam*, properly, not miserably.

³ *Indriya*; here apparently the five moral faculties of faith, energy, recollection, contemplation, and wisdom or prescience; cf. Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 498; *Lalita-vistara*, p. 37.

⁴ *Bala*, the same as the *indriya*, with this difference, it would seem, that the *balas* are the faculties in action or more developed; cf. Spence Hardy, l. c., and *Lalita-vistara*, l. c.

Now, Sâriputra, the beings who have become wise have faith in the Tathâgata, the father of the world, and consequently apply themselves to his commandments. Amongst them there are some who, wishing to follow the dictate of an authoritative voice, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to acquire the knowledge of the four great truths, for the sake of their own complete Nirvâna. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the disciples, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys will fly from that burning house, prompted by a desire of getting a cart yoked with deer. Other beings desirous of the science without a master, of self-restraint and tranquillity, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to learn to understand causes and effects, for the sake of their own complete Nirvâna. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys fly from the burning house, prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with goats. Others again desirous of the knowledge of the all-knowing, the knowledge of Buddha, the knowledge of the self-born one, the science without a master, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathâgata to learn to understand the knowledge, powers, and freedom from hesitation of the Tathâgata, for the sake of the common weal and happiness, out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men, for the sake of the complete Nirvâna of all beings. These one may say to be those who, coveting the great vehicle, fly from the triple world. Therefore they are called Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. They

may be likened to those among the boys who have fled from the burning house prompted by the desire of getting a cart yoked with bullocks.

In the same manner, Sâriputra, as that man, on seeing his children escaped from the burning house and knowing them safely and happily rescued and out of danger, in the consciousness of his great wealth, gives the boys one single grand cart; so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., on seeing many *koṭis* of beings recovered¹ from the triple world, released from sorrow, fear, terror, and calamity, having escaped owing to the command of the Tathâgata, delivered from all fears, calamities, and difficulties, and having reached the bliss of Nirvâṇa, so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle but the Buddha-vehicle to full development². But he does not teach a particular Nirvâṇa for each being; he causes all beings to reach complete Nirvâṇa by means of the complete Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgata. And those beings, Sâriputra, who are delivered from the triple world, to them the Tathâgata gives, as toys to amuse themselves with, the lofty pleasures of the Âryas, the pleasures

¹ Paripûrṇân; in one MS. there is a second-hand reading, parimuktân. I suppose that paripûrṇa is the original reading, but that we have to take it in the sense of 'recovered, healed.'

² Time, Siva or Viṣṇu *ekapâd*, the One-footed, who at the same time is *tripâd*, three-footed, leads all living beings to final rest. The Buddha-vehicle is the *ratha ekaśakra*, the one-wheeled carriage, each wheel being *trinâbhi*, three-naved, as in *Rig-veda* I, 164, 2.

of meditation, emancipation, self-concentration, and its results; (toys) all of the same kind. Even as that man, Sâriputra, cannot be said to have told a falsehood for having held out to those boys the prospect of three vehicles and given to all of them but one great vehicle, a magnificent vehicle made of seven precious substances, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, a vehicle of one kind, the most egregious of all, so, too, Sâriputra, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., tells no falsehood when by an able device he first holds forth three vehicles and afterwards leads all to complete Nirvâna by the one great vehicle. For the Tathâgata, Sâriputra, who is rich in treasures and storehouses of abundant knowledge, powers, and absence of hesitation, is able to teach all beings the law which is connected with the knowledge of the all-knowing. In this way, Sâriputra, one has to understand how the Tathâgata by an able device and direction shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

39. A man has¹ an old house, large, but very infirm; its terraces are decaying and the columns rotten at their bases.

40. The windows and balconies are partly ruined, the wall as well as its coverings and plaster decaying; the coping shows rents from age; the thatch is everywhere pierced with holes.

41. It is inhabited by no less than five hundred beings; containing many cells and closets filled with excrements and disgusting.

¹ The original has 'as if a man had,' &c. I have changed the construction to render it less wearisome.

42. Its roof-rafters are wholly ruined; the walls and partitions crumbling away; *koʻis* of vultures nestle in it, as well as doves, owls, and other birds.

43. There are in every corner dreadful snakes, most venomous and horrible; scorpions and mice of all sorts; it is the abode of very wicked creatures of every description.

44. Further, one may meet in it here and there beings not belonging to the human race. It is defiled with excrement and urine, and teeming with worms, insects, and fire-flies; it resounds from the howling of dogs and jackals.

45. In it are horrible hyenas that are wont to devour human carcasses; many dogs and jackals greedily seeking the matter of corpses.

46. Those animals weak from perpetual hunger go about in several places to feed upon their prey, and quarrelling fill the spot with their cries. Such is that most horrible house.

47. There are also very malign goblins, who violate human corpses; in several spots there are centipedes, huge snakes, and vipers.

48. Those animals creep into all corners, where they make nests to deposit their brood, which is often devoured by the goblins.

49. And when those cruel-minded goblins are satiated with feeding upon the flesh of other creatures, so that their bodies are big, then they commence sharply fighting on the spot.

50. In the wasted retreats are dreadful, malign urchins, some of them measuring one span, others one cubit or two cubits, all nimble in their movements.

51. They are in the habit of seizing dogs by the

feet, throwing them upside down upon the floor, pinching their necks and using them ill.

52. There also live yelling ghosts naked, black, wan, tall, and high, who, hungry and in quest of food, are here and there emitting cries of distress.

53. Some have a mouth like a needle, others have a face like a cow's; they are of the size of men or dogs, go with entangled hair, and utter plaintive cries from want of food.

54. Those goblins, ghosts, imps, like vultures, are always looking out through the windows and loop-holes, in all directions in search of food.

55. Such is that dreadful house, spacious and high, but very infirm, full of holes, frail and dreary. (Let us suppose that) it is the property of a certain man,

56. And that while he is out of doors the house is reached by a conflagration, so that on a sudden it is wrapt in a blazing mass of fire on every side.

57. The beams and rafters consumed by the fire, the columns and partitions in flame are crackling most dreadfully, whilst goblins and ghosts are yelling.

58. Vultures are driven out by hundreds; urchins withdraw with parched faces; hundreds of mischievous beasts of prey¹ run, scorched, on every side, crying and shouting².

59. Many poor devils move about, burnt by the fire; while burning they tear one another with the teeth, and bespatter each other with their blood.

¹ Vyâda.

² Krosanti, var. lect. kroshanti. Burnouf's version, 'sont en fureur,' points to a reading roshanti, which, however, is not appropriate, for the would-be conflagration is a description of the time of twilight.

60. Hyenas also perish there, in the act of eating one another. The excrements burn, and a loathsome stench spreads in all directions.

61. The centipedes, trying to fly, are devoured by the urchins. The ghosts, with burning hair, hover about, equally vexed with hunger and heat.

62. In such a state is that awful house, where thousands of flames are breaking out on every side. But the man who is the master of the house looks on from without.

63. And he hears his own children, whose minds are engaged in playing with their toys, in their fondness of which they amuse themselves, as fools do in their ignorance.

64. And as he hears them he quickly steps in¹ to save his children, lest his ignorant children might perish in the flames.

65. He tells them the defect of the house, and says: This, young man² of good family, is a miserable house, a dreadful one; the various creatures in it, and this fire to boot, form a series of evils.

66. In it are snakes, mischievous goblins, urchins, and ghosts in great number; hyenas, troops of dogs and jackals, as well as vultures, seeking their prey.

67. Such beings live in this house, which, apart

¹ This trait is wanting in the prose relation. The explanation, I fancy, is this: If the description of the glowing house refers to morning twilight, the father (Pitâmaha, or Day-god) will needs step in afterwards; if, on the other hand, the evening twilight is meant, he will already have left the house. In the former case he calls his children to activity, to their daily work; in the latter he admonishes them to take their rest, exhorts them to think of the end of life.

² In addressing more persons it is not uncommon that only one is addressed as representing the whole company.

from the fire, is extremely dreadful, and miserable enough; and now comes to it this fire blazing on all sides.

68. The foolish boys, however, though admonished, do not mind their father's words, deluded as they are by their toys; they do not even understand him.

69. Then the man thinks: I am now in anxiety on account of my children. What is the use of my having sons if I lose them? No, they shall not perish by this fire.

70. Instantly a device occurred to his mind: These young (and ignorant) children are fond of toys, and have none just now to play with. Oh, they are so foolish!

71. He then says to them: Listen, my sons, I have carts of different sorts, yoked with deer, goats, and excellent bullocks, lofty, great, and completely furnished.

72. They are outside the house; run out, do with them what you like; for your sake have I caused them to be made. Run out all together, and rejoice to have them.

73. All the boys, on hearing of such carts, exert themselves, immediately rush out hastily, and reach, free from harm, the open air.

74. On seeing that the children have come out, the man betakes himself to the square in the centre of the village¹, and there from the throne he is sitting on he says: Good people, now I feel at ease.

¹ The sun reaches the meridian point. The poetic version which makes the father enter the blazing house is consistent; the prose version has effaced a necessary trait of the story. Therefore

75. These poor sons of mine, whom I have recovered with difficulty, my own dear twenty young children, were in a dreadful, wretched, horrible house, full of many animals.

76. As it was burning and wrapt in thousands of flames, they were amusing themselves in it with playing, but now I have rescued them all. Therefore I now feel most happy.

77. The children, seeing their father happy, approached him, and said: Dear father, give us, as you have promised¹, those nice vehicles of three kinds;

78. And make true all that you promised us in the house when saying, 'I will give you three sorts of vehicles.' Do give them; it is now the right time.

79. Now the man (as we have supposed) had a mighty treasure of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls; he possessed bullion, numerous slaves, domestics, and vehicles of various kinds;

80. Carts made of precious substances, yoked with bullocks, most excellent, with benches² and a row of tinkling bells, decorated with umbrellas and flags, and adorned with a network of gems and pearls.

81. They are embellished with gold, and artificial wreaths hanging down here and there; covered all around with excellent cloth and fine white muslin.

82. Those carts are moreover furnished with choice mattresses of fine silk, serving for cushions,

it is posterior to the version in metre, and apparently belongs to a much later period.

¹ Yathâbhibhâshitam, var. lect. °bhâvitam.

² Vedikâs.

and covered with choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans, and worth thousands of koṭis.

83. The carts are yoked with white bullocks, well fed, strong, of great size, very fine, who are tended by numerous persons.

84. Such excellent carts that man gives to all his sons, who, overjoyed and charmed, go and play with them in all directions.

85. In the same manner, Śâriputra, I, the great Seer, am the protector and father of all beings, and all creatures who, childlike, are captivated by the pleasures of the triple world, are my sons.

86. This triple world is as dreadful as that house, overwhelmed with a number of evils, entirely inflamed on every side by a hundred different sorts of birth, old age, and disease.

87. But I, who am detached from the triple world and serene, am living in absolute retirement¹ in a wood². This triple world is my domain, and those who in it are suffering from burning heat are my sons.

88. And I told its evils because I had resolved upon saving them, but they would not listen to me, because all of them were ignorant and their hearts attached to the pleasures of sense.

89. Then I employ an able device, and tell them of the three vehicles, so showing them the means of evading³ the numerous evils of the triple world which are known to me.

90. And those of my sons who adhere to me,

¹ Ekântasthâyin.

² Vana, a wood, also means a cloud, the cloudy region.

³ Nirdhâvanârthâya; a var. lect. has nirvâpanârthâya, i.e. to allay.

who are mighty in the six transcendent faculties (Abhi \check{g} ñâs) and the triple science, the Pratyekabuddhas, as well as the Bodhisattvas unable to slide back ;

91. And those (others) who equally are my sons, to them I just now am showing, by means of this excellent allegory, the single Buddha-vehicle. Receive it ; ye shall all become *Ginas*.

92. It is most excellent and sweet, the most exalted in the world, that knowledge of the Buddhas, the most high among men ; it is something sublime and adorable.

93. The powers, meditations, degrees of emancipation and self-concentration by many hundreds of ko \check{t} is, that is the exalted vehicle in which the sons of Buddha take a never-ending delight.

94. In playing with it they pass days and nights, fortnights, months, seasons, years, intermediate kalpas, nay, thousands of ko \check{t} is of kalpas¹.

95. This is the lofty vehicle of jewels which sundry Bodhisattvas and the disciples listening to the Sugata employ to go and sport on the terrace of enlightenment.

96. Know then, Tishya², that there is no second

¹ As the mean duration of a man's life extends over thousands of ko \check{t} is of kalpas or *Æons*, it is evident that the *Æon* here meant is in reality an extremely small particle of time, an atom. The meaning attached to it was perhaps that of *asu* or *prâṇa*, a respiration. It seems to me, however, more probable that *kalpa*, as synonymous with *rûpa*, simply denotes a unit, e.g. of atoms of time.

² I. e. *Sâriputra*, otherwise named *Upatishya*, i. e. secondary *Tishya*. The canonical etymology of the name of *Upatishya* is to be found in Burnouf's Introduction, p. 48, and Schiefner's *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 255.

vehicle in this world anywhere to be found, in whatever direction thou shalt search, apart from the device (shown) by the most high among men.

97. Ye are my children, I am your father, who has removed you from pain, from the triple world, from fear and danger, when you had been burning for many *koṭis* of *Æons*.

98. And I am teaching blessed rest (*Nirvāṇa*), in so far as, though you have not yet reached (final) rest, you are delivered from the trouble of the mundane whirl, provided you seek the vehicle of the Buddhas.

99. Any Bodhisattvas here present obey my Buddha-rules. Such is the skilfulness of the *Gina* that he disciplines many Bodhisattvas.

100. When the creatures in this world delight in low and contemptible pleasures, then the Chief of the world, who always speaks the truth, indicates pain as the (first) great truth.

101. And to those who are ignorant and too simple-minded to discover the root of that pain I lay open the way: 'Awaking of full consciousness, strong desire is the origin of pain¹.'

102. Always try, unattached², to suppress desire. This is my third truth, that of suppression. It is an infallible means of deliverance; for by practising this method one shall become emancipated³.

103. And from what are they emancipated, *Sāri-*

¹ *Samudâgamaḥ, trishṇa duḥkhasya sambhavaḥ*. I am not certain of the translation of *samudâgama*, which recurs below in Chap. V, in the apparent sense of full knowledge, agreeing with what the dictionaries give.

² *Anisritâḥ*.

³ *Na ko mârgam hi bhâvitra vimuktu bhoti* (var. lect. *bhotu*). The words *na ko* spoil metre and sense, and must be expunged.

putra? They are emancipated from chimeras¹. Yet they are not wholly freed; the Chief declares that they have not yet reached (final and complete) rest in this world.

104. Why is it that I do not pronounce one to be delivered before one's having reached the highest, supreme enlightenment? (Because) such is my will; I am the ruler of the law², who is born in this world to lead to beatitude.

105. This, Sâriputra, is the closing word of my law which now at the last time I pronounce³ for the weal of the world including the gods. Preach it in all quarters.

106. And if some one speaks to you these words, 'I joyfully accept,' and with signs of utmost reverence receives this Sûtra, thou mayst consider that man to be unable to slide back⁴.

107. To believe in this Sûtra one must have seen former Tathâgatas, paid honour to them, and heard a law similar to this.

108. To believe in my supreme word one must have seen me; thou and the assembly of monks have seen all these Bodhisattvas.

109. This Sûtra is apt to puzzle the ignorant⁵,

¹ Kutas~~ka~~ te, Sâriputâ, vimuktâ? Āsantagrâhātu (abl.) vimukta bhonti; na[~~ka~~] tâva te sarvatu mukta bhonti.

² Dharmarâga, a well-known epithet of Yama the god of death; he is the real tamer of men, the master of gods and men, &c.

³ Mama dharmamudrâ (properly, seal, closure of my law) yâ pas~~ka~~kâle (var. lect. pas~~ki~~mi kâle) maya adya (var. lect. mamâdya) bhâshitâ.

⁴ Or, to swerve from his course, his purpose.

⁵ Properly, young children, because one must have seen former Tathâgatas, i. e. lived some revolving suns before having an idea of death.

and I do not pronounce it before having penetrated to superior knowledge. Indeed, it is not within the range of the disciples, nor do the Pratyekabuddhas come to it.

110. But thou, Śāriputra, hast good will, not to speak of my other disciples here. They will walk in my faith, though each cannot have his individual knowledge.

111. But do not speak of this matter to haughty persons, nor to conceited ones, nor to Yogins who are not self-restrained; for the fools, always revelling in sensual pleasures, might in their blindness scorn the law manifested.

112. Now hear the dire results when one scorns my skilfulness and the Buddha-rules for ever fixed in the world; when one, with sullen brow, scorns the vehicle.

113. Hear the destiny of those who have scorned such a Sūtra like this, whether during my lifetime or after my Nirvāṇa, or who have wronged the monks.

114. After having disappeared from amongst men, they shall dwell in the lowest hell (Avīci) during a whole kalpa, and thereafter they shall fall lower and lower, the fools, passing through repeated births for many intermediate kalpas.

115. And when they have vanished from amongst the inhabitants of hell, they shall further descend to the condition of brutes, be even as dogs and jackals, and become a sport to others.

116. Under such circumstances they shall grow blackish of colour, spotted, covered with sores, itchy; moreover, they shall be hairless and feeble, (all) those who have an aversion to my supreme enlightenment.

117. They are ever despised amongst animals ; hit by clods or weapons they yell ; everywhere they are threatened with sticks, and their bodies are emaciated from hunger and thirst.

118. Sometimes they become camels or asses, carrying loads, and are beaten with whips¹ and sticks ; they are constantly occupied with thoughts of eating, the fools who have scorned the Buddha-rule.

119. At other times they become ugly jackals, half blind and crippled²; the helpless creatures are vexed by the village boys, who throw clods and weapons at them.

120. Again shooting off from that place, those fools become animals with bodies of five hundred yoganas, whirling round, dull and lazy.

121. They have no feet, and creep on the belly³; to be devoured by many kotis of animals is the dreadful punishment they have to suffer for having scorned a Sûtra like this.

122. And whenever they assume a human shape, they are born crippled, maimed⁴, crooked, one-eyed, blind, dull, and low, they having no faith in my Sûtra.

¹ Kasha, var. lect. sata, with a marginal correction sada (for sadâ). Burnouf's 'cent bâtons' is evidently based upon the reading sata.

² Kânakakundakâśka, var. lect. vâlaka°, with marginal correction kânaka°. The translation is doubtful; cf. st. 116 below. Kundaka I connect with kunī=vikalīkarane and the Greek κυλλός.

³ Kroḍasamkrin, var. lect. °samgñin, with correction °samkkin, the reading I have followed, taking samkkin to be identical with sakkin, a Prâkrit form of Sanskrit sarpin.

⁴ Kundakâlāṅgaka, for which I read °kalāṅgaka.

123. Nobody keeps their side¹; a putrid smell is continually issuing from their mouths; an evil spirit has entered the body of those who do not believe in this supreme enlightenment.

124. Needy, obliged to do menial labour, always in another's service, feeble, and subject to many diseases they go about in the world, unprotected.

125. The man whom they happen to serve is unwilling to give them much, and what he gives is soon lost. Such is the fruit of sinfulness.

126. Even the best-prepared medicaments, administered to them by able men, do, under those circumstances, but increase their illness, and the disease has no end.

✓ 127. Some commit thefts, affrays, assaults, or acts of hostility, whereas others commit robberies of goods; (all this) befalls the sinner.

128. Never does he behold the Lord of the world, the King of kings ruling the earth², for he is doomed to live at a wrong time³, he who scorns my Buddha-rule.

129. Nor does that foolish person listen to the law; he is deaf and senseless; he never finds rest, because he has scorned this enlightenment.

130. During many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sand of the Ganges he shall be dull and defective; that is the evil result from scorning this Sûtra.

¹ Apratyanāṅka, var. lect. apratyanāṅya. The rendering is doubtful. I take it to be synonymous with apakṣha; cf. note, p. 17.

² Mahi, i. e. Sansk. mahīm.

³ In the darkness of hell, i. e. in common parlance, at night-time, when nobody can behold the sun.

131. Hell is his garden (or monastery), a place of misfortune¹ his abode; he is continually living amongst asses, hogs, jackals, and dogs.

132. And when he has assumed a human shape he is to be blind, deaf, and stupid, the servant of another, and always poor.

133. Diseases, myriads of *koṭis* of wounds on the body, scab, itch, scurf, leprosy, blotch, a foul smell are, in that condition, his covering and apparel.

134. His sight is dim to distinguish the real. His anger appears mighty in him, and his passion is most violent; he always delights in animal wombs.

135. Were I to go on, *Sâriputra*, for a whole *Æon*, enumerating the evils of him who shall scorn my *Sûtra*, I should not come to an end.

136. And since I am fully aware of it, I command thee, *Sâriputra*, that thou shalt not expound a *Sûtra* like this before foolish people.

137. But those who are sensible, instructed, thoughtful, clever, and learned, who strive after the highest supreme enlightenment, to them expound its real meaning.

138. Those who have seen many *koṭis* of *Bud-dhas*, planted immeasurably many roots of goodness, and undertaken a strong vow, to them expound its real meaning.

139. Those who, full of energy and ever kind-hearted, have a long time been developing the feeling of kindness, have given up body and life, in their presence thou mayst preach this *Sûtra*.

¹ *Apâya*, properly 'going away, disappearance,' the reverse of *upâya*, 'approaching.'

✓ 140. Those who show mutual love and respect, keep no intercourse with ignorant people, and are content to live in mountain caverns, to them expound this hallowed Sûtra.

141. If thou see sons of Buddha who attach themselves to virtuous friends and avoid bad friends, then reveal to them this Sûtra.

142. Those sons of Buddha who have not broken the moral vows, are pure like gems and jewels, and devoted to the study of the great Sûtras, before those thou mayst propound this Sûtra.

143. Those who are not irascible, ever sincere, full of compassion for all living beings, and respectful towards the Sugata, before those thou mayst propound this Sûtra.

144. To one who in the congregation, without any hesitation and distraction of mind, speaks to expound the law, with many myriads of koṭis of illustrations, thou mayst manifest this Sûtra.

145. And he who, desirous of acquiring all-knowingness, respectfully lifts his joined hands to his head, or who seeks in all directions to find some monk of sacred eloquence ;

146. And he who keeps (in memory) the great Sûtras, while he never shows any liking for other books, nor even knows a single stanza from another work ; to all of them thou mayst expound this sublime Sûtra.

147. He who seeks such an excellent Sûtra as this, and after obtaining it devoutly worships it, is like the man who wears a relic of the Tathâgata he has eagerly sought for.

148. Never mind other Sûtras nor other books in which a profane philosophy is taught ; such books

are fit for the foolish; avoid them and preach this Sûtra.

149. During a full Æon, Sâriputra, I could speak of thousands of koṭis of (connected) points, (but this suffices); thou mayst reveal this Sûtra to all who are striving after the highest supreme enlightenment.

CHAPTER IV.

DISPOSITION.

As the venerable Subhūti, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, and the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana heard this law unheard of before, and as from the mouth of the Lord they heard the future destiny of Sāriputra to superior perfect enlightenment, they were struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. They instantly rose from their seats and went up to the place where the Lord was sitting; after throwing their cloak over one shoulder, fixing the right knee on the ground and lifting up their joined hands before the Lord, looking up to him, their bodies bent, bent down and inclined, they addressed the Lord in this strain :

Lord, we are old, aged, advanced in years; honoured as seniors in this assemblage of monks. Worn out by old age we fancy that we have attained Nirvāṇa; we make no efforts, O Lord, for supreme perfect enlightenment; our force and exertion are inadequate to it. Though the Lord preaches the law and has long continued sitting, and though we have attended to that preaching of the law, yet, O Lord, as we have so long been sitting and so long attended the Lord's service, our greater and minor members, as well as the joints and articulations, begin to ache. Hence, O Lord, we are unable, in spite of the Lord's preaching, to

realise the fact that all is vanity (or void), purposeless (or causeless, or unconditioned), and unfixed¹; we have conceived no longing after the Buddha-laws, the divisions of the Buddha-fields, the sports² of the Bodhisattvas or Tathâgatas. For by having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvâna, and we are decrepit from old age. Hence, O Lord, though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And just now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We are astonished and amazed, and deem it a great gain, O Lord, that to-day, on a sudden, we have heard from the Lord a voice such as we never heard before. We have acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel. We had not sought, nor searched, nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel. It has become clear to us³, O Lord; it has become clear to us, O Sugata.

It is a case, O Lord, as if a certain man went

¹ *Sûnyatânimittâpranîhitam sarvam*. The commentary on Dhammapada, ver. 92 (p. 281), gives an explanation of the Pâli terms *suññata*, *animitta*, and *appanîhita*. His interpretation is too artificial to be of much use. In the verse referred to we find *suññata* apparently as an adjective, but till we find such an adjective in another place, it is safer to doubt its existence altogether. *Apranîhita* is, to my apprehension, unfixed, not fixed beforehand, not determined providentially; it may also mean unpremeditated.

² Or, display of magical phenomena.

³ *Pratibhâti no*; a would-be correction has *pratilâbhino*, which is inadmissible, because with this reading the pronoun *vayam* cannot be left out.

away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood for the sake of food and clothing he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father removes to another country. The latter has much wealth, gold, corn¹, treasures, and granaries; possesses much (wrought) gold and silver, many gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, and stones(?), corals, gold and silver; many slaves male and female, servants for menial work and journeymen; is rich in elephants, horses, carriages, cows, and sheep. He keeps a large retinue; has his money invested in great territories², and does great things in business, money-lending, agriculture, and commerce.

In course of time, Lord, that poor man, in quest of food and clothing, roaming through villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, reaches the place where his father, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, is residing. Now the poor man's father, Lord, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, who was residing in that town, had always and ever been thinking of the son he had lost fifty years ago, but he gave no utterance to his thoughts before others, and was only pining in himself and thinking: I am old, aged, advanced

¹ Dhānya, wanting in some MSS.

² Mahāganapadeshu dhanikaḥ. The translation is doubtful; the words may as well mean, a creditor of people at large.

in years, and possess abundance of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, but have no son. It is to be feared lest death shall overtake me and all this perish unused. Repeatedly he was thinking of that son : O how happy should I be, were my son to enjoy this mass of wealth !

Meanwhile, Lord, the poor man in search of food and clothing was gradually approaching the house of the rich man, the owner of abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. And the father of the poor man happened to sit at the door of his house, surrounded and waited upon by a great crowd of Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras ; he was sitting on a magnificent throne with a foot-stool decorated with gold and silver, while dealing with hundred thousands of *koṭis* of gold-pieces, and fanned with a chowrie, on a spot under an extended awning inlaid with pearls and flowers and adorned with hanging garlands of jewels ; sitting (in short) in great pomp. The poor man, Lord, saw his own father in such pomp sitting at the door of the house, surrounded with a great crowd of people and doing a householder's business. The poor man frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over the body, and agitated in mind, reflects thus : Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here ; let me go ; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.

Thereupon, Lord, the poor man quickly departs, runs off, does not tarry from fear of a series of

supposed dangers. But the rich man, sitting on the throne at the door of his mansion, has recognised his son at first sight, in consequence whereof he is content, in high spirits, charmed, delighted, filled with joy and cheerfulness. He thinks: Wonderful! he who is to enjoy this plenty of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, has been found! He of whom I have been thinking again and again, is here now that I am old, aged, advanced in years.

At the same time, moment, and instant, Lord, he despatches couriers, to whom he says: Go, sirs, and quickly fetch me that man. The fellows thereon all run forth in full speed and overtake the poor man, who, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, agitated in mind, utters a lamentable cry of distress, screams, and exclaims: I have given you no offence. But the fellows drag the poor man, however lamenting, violently with them. He, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, and agitated in mind, thinks by himself: I fear lest I shall be punished with capital punishment¹; I am lost. He faints away, and falls on the earth. His father dismayed and near despondency² says to those fellows: Do not carry³ the

¹ According to the reading *vadhyâdandyaḥ*. If we read *vadhyo dandyaḥ*, the rendering would be, executed or punished (fined). Cf. stanza 19 below.

² *Vishannasṭka sâdâsanne kâsya sa pitâ bhavet*; var. lect. *v. syâd âsannasṭka kâsya s. p. b.* Both readings are corrupt; we have to read *sâdâsannasṭka*. The final *e* of *asanne* is likely to be a remnant of the original Mâgadhî (not Pâli) text, the *e* being the nom. case sing. of masculine words in *a*.

³ *Mâ bhavanta enam* (var. lect. *evam*) *purusham âyishur*

man in that manner. With these words he sprinkles him with cold water without addressing him any further. For that householder knows the poor man's humble disposition¹ and his own elevated position; yet he feels that the man is his son.

The householder, Lord, skilfully conceals from every one that it is his son. He calls one of his servants and says to him: Go, sirrah, and tell that poor man: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The servant obeys, approaches the poor man and tells him: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The poor man is astonished and amazed at hearing these words; he leaves that spot and wanders to the street of the poor in search of food and clothing. In order to attract him the householder practises an able device. He employs for it two men ill-favoured and of little splendour². Go, says he, go to the man you saw in this place; hire him in your own name for a double daily fee, and order him to do work here in my house. And if he asks: What work shall I have to do? tell him: Help us in clearing the heap of dirt. The two

(var. lect. *ânayeyur*) iti. A would-be correction has *ânayata*, at any rate a blunder, because *ânayantu* would be required. The original reading may have been *ânayishur*, in common Sanskrit *ânaishur*. Quite different is the reading, *atha khalu sa daridrapurusham ânayantv iti tam enam sîtalena*, &c., 'thereupon he (the rich man) ordered the poor man to be brought before him and,' &c.

¹ Here and repeatedly in the sequel the term *hînâdhimuktatâ* would much better be rendered by 'humble or low position.'

² *Durvarnâv alpaugaskau*. The idiomatic meaning of *durvarna* a. is 'having a bad complexion or colour (e.g. from ill health) and little vitality or vigour.' The artificial or so-called etymological meaning may be, 'of bad caste and of little splendour or majesty;' see, however, below at stanza 21.

fellows go and seek the poor man and engage him for such work as mentioned. Thereupon the two fellows conjointly with the poor man clear the heap of dirt in the house for the daily pay they receive from the rich man, while they take up their abode in a hovel of straw¹ in the neighbourhood of the rich man's dwelling. And that rich man beholds through a window his own son clearing the heap of dirt, at which sight he is anew struck with wonder and astonishment.

Then the householder descends from his mansion, lays off his wreath and ornaments, parts with his soft, clean, and gorgeous attire, puts on dirty raiment, takes a basket in his right hand, smears his body with dust, and goes to his son, whom he greets from afar, and thus addresses: Please, take the baskets and without delay remove the dust. By this device he manages to speak to his son, to have a talk with him and say: Do, sirrah, remain here in my service; do not go again to another place; I will give thee extra pay, and whatever thou wantest thou mayst confidently ask me, be it the price of a pot, a smaller pot, a boiler or wood², or be it the

¹ The MSS. vary considerably, and are moreover inconsistent in their readings of this word. One has *grīhaparisare ka/a-pallikuñṣīkayā*; another, *g. kapa/āliku/ikāyam* (r. *ka/apali*^o or *ka/opali*^o); a third, *grīhapatisakare* (mere nonsense for *grīhaparisare*) *ka/apalikuñṣīkayām*. *Paliku/ikā* is evidently a variation of *upariku/ī*, *pali* being a *Māgadhi* form for *pari*, or the *Prākṛit* of *prati* or *pari*. The *ll* is clearly wrong. *Ka/a* may mean *mat*, *straw*, and *boards*.

² The rendering of this passage is doubtful. Burnouf takes the words *pot* (*kunḍa*), *small pot* (*kunḍikā*), *boiler* (*sthālika*), and *kāsh/ha* to denote measures. He may be right, though in the absence of sufficient evidence for *kāsh/ha* denoting a measure or value, I thought it safer to take the word in the usual sense.

price of salt, food, or clothing. I have got an old cloak, man; if thou shouldst want it, ask me for it, I will give it. Any utensil of such sort¹, when thou wantest to have it, I will give thee. Be at ease, fellow; look upon me as if I were thy father, for I am older and thou art younger, and thou hast rendered me much service by clearing this heap of dirt, and as long as thou hast been in my service thou hast never shown nor art showing wickedness, crookedness, arrogance, or hypocrisy; I have discovered in thee no vice at all of such as are commonly seen in other man-servants. From henceforward thou art to me like my own son.

From that time, Lord, the householder, addresses the poor man by the name of son, and the latter feels in presence of the householder as a son to his father. In this manner, Lord, the householder affected with longing for his son employs him for the clearing of the heap of dirt during twenty years, at the end of which the poor man feels quite at ease in the mansion to go in and out, though he continues taking his abode in the hovel of straw².

After a while, Lord, the householder falls sick, and feels that the time of his death is near at hand. He says to the poor man: Come hither, man, I possess abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. I am very sick, and wish to have one upon whom to bestow (my wealth); by whom it is to be received, and with whom it is to be deposited³. Accept it. For in the same manner as I am the

¹ It seems to me that this refers to *kunda*, &c.

² Here *ka/âpalikuñke*, var. lect. *ka/akapallikuñke* and *ka/a-pa/îkuñkikâyâm*.

³ MSS. *ya/ka nîdhâtavyam*; we have to read *yatra n°*.

owner of it, so art thou, but thou shalt not suffer anything of it to be wasted.

And so, Lord, the poor man accepts the abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries of the rich man, but for himself he is quite indifferent to it, and requires nothing from it, not even so much as the price of a prastha of flour; he continues living in the same hovel of straw and considers himself as poor as before.

After a while, Lord, the householder perceives that his son is able to save, mature and mentally developed; that in the consciousness of his nobility he feels abashed, ashamed, disgusted, when thinking of his former poverty. The time of his death approaching, he sends for the poor man, presents him to a gathering of his relations, and before the king or king's peer and in the presence of citizens and country-people makes the following speech: Hear, gentlemen! this is my own son, by me begotten. It is now fifty years that he disappeared from such and such a town. He is called so and so, and myself am called so and so. In searching after him I have from that town come hither. He is my son, I am his father. To him I leave all my revenues¹, and all my personal (or private) wealth shall he acknowledge (his own).

The poor man, Lord, hearing this speech was astonished and amazed; he thought by himself: Unexpectedly have I obtained this bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries.

Even so, O Lord, do we represent the sons of the

¹ The terms used in the text are, remarkably enough, *yaś kaśkin mamopabhogo'sti*, which seems to differ from the following *yaśka me kiñcid asti pratyātmakam dhanam*.

Tathâgata, and the Tathâgata says to us: Ye are my sons, as the householder did. We were oppressed, O Lord, with three difficulties, viz. the difficulty of pain, the difficulty of conceptions¹, the difficulty of transition (or evolution); and in the worldly whirl we were disposed to what is low². Then have we been prompted by the Lord to ponder on the numerous inferior laws (or conditions, things) that are similar to a heap of dirt. Once directed to them we have been practising, making efforts, and seeking for nothing but Nirvâna as our fee³. We were content, O Lord, with the Nirvâna obtained, and thought to have gained much at the hands of the Tathâgata because of our having applied ourselves to these laws, practised, and made efforts. But the Lord takes no notice of us, does not mix with us, nor tell us that this treasure of the Tathâgata's knowledge shall belong to us, though the Lord skilfully appoints us as heirs to this treasure of the knowledge of the Tathâgata. And we, O Lord, are not (impatiently) longing to enjoy it, because we deem it a great gain already to receive from the Lord Nirvâna as our fee. We preach to the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas a sublime sermon about the knowledge of the Tathâgata; we explain, show, demonstrate the knowledge of the Tathâgata, O Lord, without longing. For the Tathâgata by his skilfulness knows our disposition, whereas we ourselves do not know, nor apprehend. It is for this very

¹ *Samskâra*, which also means '(transitory) impressions (mental and moral).'

² *Hînâdhimukta*.

³ *Divasamudrâ*, implying the notion of the fee being paid at the end of the day.

reason that the Lord just now tells us that we are to him as sons¹, and that he reminds us of being heirs to the Tathâgata. For the case stands thus: we are as sons² to the Tathâgata, but low (or humble) of disposition³; the Lord perceives the strength of our disposition and applies to us the denomination of Bodhisattvas; we are, however, charged with a double office in so far as in presence of Bodhisattvas we are called persons of low disposition and at the same time have to rouse them to Buddha-enlightenment. Knowing the strength of our disposition the Lord has thus spoken, and in this way, O Lord, do we say that we have obtained unexpectedly and without longing the jewel of omniscience, which we did not desire, nor seek, nor search after, nor expect, nor require; and that inasmuch as we are the sons of the Tathâgata.

On that occasion the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa uttered the following stanzas:

1. We are stricken with wonder, amazement, and rapture at hearing a voice⁴; it is the lovely voice, the leader's voice, that so unexpectedly we hear to-day.

2. In a short moment we have acquired a great heap of precious jewels such as we were not thinking of, nor requiring. All of us are astonished to hear it.

3. It is like (the history of) a young⁵ person who, seduced by foolish people, went away from his father and wandered to another country far distant.

¹ And, the Lord's real sons. ² And, the Tathâgata's real sons.

³ Rather, position.

⁴ Or call.

⁵ Bâla, the word used in the text, may mean young as well as ignorant and foolish. Burnouf translates bâlaganena by 'par une troupe d'enfants.'

4. The father was sorry to perceive that his son had run away and in his sorrow roamed the country in all directions during no less than fifty years.

5. In search of his son he came to some great city, where he built a house and dwelt, blessed with all that can gratify the five senses.

6. He had plenty of bullion and gold, money and corn, conch shells, stones (?), and coral; elephants, horses, and footboys; cows, cattle, and sheep;

7. Interests, revenues, landed properties; male and female slaves and a great number of servants; was highly honoured by thousands of *koṭis* and a constant favourite of the king's.

8. The citizens bow to him with joined hands, as well as the villagers in the rural districts; many merchants come to him, (and) persons charged with numerous affairs¹.

9. In such way the man becomes wealthy, but he gets old, aged, advanced in years, and he passes days and nights always sorrowful in mind on account of his son.

10. 'It is fifty years since that foolish son has run away. I have got plenty of wealth and the hour of my death draws near.'

11. Meanwhile that foolish son is wandering from village to village, poor and miserable, seeking food and clothing.

12. When begging, he at one time gets something, another time he does not. He grows lean in his travels², the unwise boy, while his body is vitiated with scabs and itch.

¹ Bahūhi kāryehi *krītādhikārāḥ*.

² For *parasaraṇeshu* of the MSS., I read *parisaraṇeshu*,

13. In course of time he in his roving reaches the town where his father is living, and comes to his father's mansion to beg for food and raiment.

14. And the wealthy, rich man happens to sit at the door on a throne under a canopy expanded in the sky and surrounded with many hundreds of living beings.

15. His trustees stand round him, some of them counting money and bullion, some writing bills, some lending money on interest.

16. The poor man, seeing the splendid mansion of the householder, thinks within himself: Where am I here? This man must be a king or a grandee.

17. Let me not incur some injury and be caught to do forced labour. With these reflections he hurried away inquiring after the road to the street of the poor.

18. The rich man on the throne is glad to see his own son, and despatches messengers with the order to fetch that poor man.

19. The messengers immediately seize the man, but he is no sooner caught than he faints away (as he thinks): These are certainly executioners who have approached me; what do I want clothing or food?

20. On seeing it, the rich, sagacious man (thinks): This ignorant and stupid person is of low disposition and will have no faith in my magnificence¹, nor believe that I am his father.

21. Under those circumstances he orders persons

a word known from classic Sanskrit and not wanting in Buddhistic Sanskrit, as appears from *Lalita-vistara*, p. 39.

¹ Or, have no liking for my magnificence; the term used in the text, *śraddadhâti*, admitting of both interpretations.

of low character, crooked, one-eyed, maimed, ill-clad, and blackish ¹, to go and search that man who shall do menial work.

22. 'Enter my service and cleanse the putrid heap of dirt, replete with fæces and urine; I will give thee a double salary' (are the words of the message).

23. On hearing this call the poor man comes and cleanses the said spot; he takes up his abode there in a hovel² near the mansion.

24. The rich man continually observes him through the windows (and thinks): There is my son engaged in a low occupation³, cleansing the heap of dirt.

25. Then he descends, takes a basket, puts on dirty garments, and goes near the man. He chides him, saying: Thou dost not perform thy work.

26. I will give thee double salary and twice more ointment for the feet; I will give thee food with salt, potherbs, and, besides, a cloak.

27. So he chides him at the time, but afterwards he wisely conciliates ⁴ him (by saying): Thou dost thy work very well, indeed; thou art my son, surely; there is no doubt of it.

28. Little by little he makes the man enter the house, and employs him in his service for fully twenty years, in the course of which time he succeeds in inspiring him with confidence.

29. At the same time he lays up in the house

¹ It is with this word, *krishnaka*, that *durvarna* above, p. 103, must agree.

² Here *nivesanasyopalikuññake*, var. lect. °*kuññike*.

³ *Hīnādhimukta*; one might render it, 'placed in a low or humble position,' but 'disposition' would seem out of place.

⁴ *Samsleshayate*.

gold, pearls, and crystal, draws up the sum total, and is always occupied in his mind with all that property.

30. The ignorant man, who is living outside the mansion, alone in a hovel, cherishes no other ideas but of poverty, and thinks to himself: Mine are no such possessions!

31. The rich man perceiving this of him (thinks): My son has arrived at the consciousness of being noble. He calls together a gathering of his friends and relatives (and says): I will give all my property to this man.

32. In the midst of the assembly where the king, burghers, citizens, and many merchantmen were present, he speaks thus: This is my son whom I lost a long time ago.

33. It is now fully fifty years—and twenty years more during which I have seen him—that he disappeared from such and such a place and that in his search I came to this place.

34. He is owner of all my property; to him I leave it all and entirely; let him do with it what he wants; I give him my whole family property.

35. And the (poor) man is struck with surprise; remembering his former poverty, his low disposition¹, and as he receives those good things of his father's and the family property, he thinks: Now am I a happy man.

36. In like manner has the leader, who knows our low disposition (or position), not declared to us: 'Ye shall become Buddhas,' but, 'Ye are, certainly, my disciples and sons.'

¹ Rather, position.

37. And the Lord of the world enjoins us : Teach, Kâsyapa, the superior path to those that strive to attain the highest summit of enlightenment, the path by following which they are to become Buddhas.

38. Being thus ordered by the Sugata, we show the path to many Bodhisattvas of great might¹, by means of myriads of kotis of illustrations and proofs.

39. And by hearing us the sons of Gina realise that eminent path to attain enlightenment, and in that case receive the prediction that they are to become Buddhas in this world.

40. Such is the work we are doing strenuously², preserving this law-treasure and revealing it to the sons of Gina, in the manner of that man who had deserved the confidence of that (other man).

41. Yet, though we diffuse the Buddha-treasure³ we feel ourselves to be poor ; we do not require the knowledge of the Gina, and yet, at the same time, we reveal it.

42. We fancy an individual⁴ Nirvâṇa ; so far, no further does our knowledge reach ; nor do we ever rejoice at hearing of the divisions of Buddha-fields.

43. All these laws are faultless, unshaken, exempt from destruction and commencement ; but there is no law⁵ in them. When we hear this, however, we cannot believe⁶.

¹ Mahâbala ; this term is obviously intended to be synonymous with mahâsattva.

² Tâyin, which here I have ventured to render by 'strenuous,' on the strength of Pâṇini I, 3, 38, where we learn that tâyate, like kramate, denotes making progress, going on successfully.

³ One MS. ghosha, call, instead of kosha.

⁴ I. e. separate.

⁵ I. e. moral law.

⁶ And, we cannot approve, agree.

44. We have put aside all aspiration to superior Buddha-knowledge a long time ago ; never have we devoted ourselves to it. This is the last and decisive word spoken by the *Gina*.

45. In this bodily existence, closing with *Nirvāna*, we have continually accustomed our thoughts to the void ; we have been released from the evils of the triple world we were suffering from, and have accomplished the command of the *Gina*.

46. To whom(soever) among the sons of *Gina* who in this world are on the road to superior enlightenment we revealed (the law), and whatever law we taught, we never had any predilection¹ for it.

47. And the Master of the world, the Self-born one, takes no notice of us, waiting his time; he does not explain the real connection of the things², as he is testing our disposition.

48. Able in applying devices at the right time, like that rich man (he says) : 'Be constant in subduing your low disposition,' and to those who are subdued he gives his wealth.

49. It is a very difficult task which the Lord of the world is performing, (a task) in which he displays his skilfulness, when he tames his sons of low disposition and thereupon imparts to them his knowledge.

50. On a sudden have we to-day been seized with surprise, just as the poor man who acquired riches ; now for the first time have we obtained the fruit under the rule of Buddha, (a fruit) as excellent as faultless.

51. As we have always observed the moral pre-

¹ *Sprihā*. One may also translate, 'we never were partial to it.'

² *Bhūtapadārthasandhi*.

cepts under the rule of the Knower of the world, we now receive the fruit of that morality which we have formerly practised.

52. Now have we obtained the egregious, hal-
lowed¹, exalted, and perfect fruit of our having
observed an excellent and pure spiritual life under
the rule of the Leader.

53. Now, O Lord, are we disciples, and we shall
proclaim supreme enlightenment everywhere, reveal
the word of enlightenment, by which we are formid-
able disciples².

54. Now have we become Arhats³, O Lord; and
deserving of the worship of the world, including the
gods, Mâras and Brahmas, in short, of all beings⁴.

55. Who is there, even were he to exert himself
during *koṭis* of *Æons*, able to thwart thee, who
accomplishes in this world of mortals such difficult
things as those, and others even more difficult⁵?

¹ *Sânta*, also, tranquil, ever free from disturbance.

² *Śrāvaka bhīṣmakalpa*. This may be rendered 'disciples
like Bhīṣma.' Now it is well known from the *Mahābhārata* that
Bhīṣma, the son of *Sântanu*, was a great hero and sage, and it is
by no means impossible that the word used in the text contains an
allusion to that celebrated person. According to the dictionaries
bhīṣma occurs as an epithet of *Siva*.

³ We may translate it by 'saints,' but properly a *rahat* means any
worthy, a master, an honoured personage, in short, *Guru*. On
comparing the Greek *ἀρχεῖν*, *ἀρχεσθαι*, we may infer that one of the
oldest meanings of the word was 'a foregoer,' and in a restricted
sense, a forefather, a departed one, an ancestor, so that the becoming
an *Arhat*, an ancestor, and dying comes to be the same. The promi-
nent part played by the Arhats is, in my opinion, a remnant of
primeval *Pitri*-worship, the chiefest of the ancestors being *Dhar-*
marāga, *Yama*.

⁴ It is difficult not to perceive the true meaning of such passages.

⁵ This passage is still more explicit, if possible, than the former.

56. It would be difficult to offer resistance with hands, feet, head, shoulder, or breast, (even were one to try) during as many complete Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges.

57. One may charitably give food, soft and solid, clothing, drink, a place for sleeping and sitting, with clean coverlets ; one may build monasteries of sandal-wood, and after furnishing them with double pieces of fine white muslin¹ present them ;

58. One may be assiduous in giving medicines of various kinds to the sick, in honour of the Sugata ; one may spend alms during as many Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges—even then one will not be able to offer resistance².

59. Of sublime nature, unequalled power, miraculous might, firm in the strength of patience is the Buddha ; a great ruler is the Gina, free from imperfections. The ignorant cannot bear (or understand) such things as these³.

60. Always returning, he preaches the law to those whose course (of life) is conditioned⁴, he, the Lord of the law, the Lord of all the world, the great Lord⁵, the Chief among the leaders of the world.

The Buddha is here clearly Dharmarâga, Yama, the chief of Arhats, or Manes, the personification of death.

¹ Dûshyayugehi.

² Even virtuous actions cannot avert death, the tamer of men, the master of gods and men.

³ Sahanti bālâ na im'îdrisâni.

⁴ Nimittakârîna. The corresponding Sanskrit form would be nimittakârîṇâm. I am not sure of the meaning of this term. Burnouf has 'ceux qui portent des signes favorables,' which points to a reading nimittadhârîna.

⁵ Îsvaru sarvaloke, Mahesvaro ; he, the Dharmarâga, Yama, &c., is also the same with Îsvara and Mahesvara, well-known epithets of Siva, the destroyer, time, death.

61. Fully aware of the circumstances (or places) of (all) beings he indicates their duties, so multifarious, and considering the variety of their dispositions he inculcates the law with thousands of arguments.

62. He, the Tathâgata, who is fully aware of the course of all beings and individuals, preaches a multifarious law, while pointing to this superior enlightenment.

CHAPTER V.

ON PLANTS.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa and the other senior great disciples, and said: Very well, very well, Kâsyapa; you have done very well to proclaim the real qualities of the Tathâgata. They are the real qualities of the Tathâgata, Kâsyapa, but he has many more, innumerable, incalculable, the end of which it would be difficult to reach, even were one to continue enumerating them for immeasurable Æons. The Tathâgata, Kâsyapa, is the master of the law, the king, lord, and master of all laws. And whatever law for any case has been instituted by the Tathâgata, remains unchanged. All laws, Kâsyapa, have been aptly instituted by the Tathâgata. In his Tathâgata-wisdom he has instituted them in such a manner that all those laws finally lead to the stage of those who know all¹. The Tathâgata also distinctly knows the meaning of all laws. The Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c. is possessed of the faculty of penetrating all laws, possessed of the highest perfection of knowledge, so that he is able to decide all laws, able to display the knowledge of the all-knowing, impart the knowledge of the all-knowing,

¹ 'All-knowing' is one of the most frequent euphemistic phrases to denote the state of the dead. Hence all-knowing (*sarvagñā*) and knowing nothing (*agñā*) virtually come to the same, and the commentator on Bhâgavata-Purâṇa X, 78, 6 could therefore aptly identify *agñā* and *sarvagñā*.

and lay down (the rules of) the knowledge of the all-knowing.

It is a case, Kâsyapa, similar to that of a great cloud big with rain, coming up in this wide universe over all grasses, shrubs, herbs, trees of various species and kind, families of plants of different names growing on earth, on hills, or in mountain caves, a cloud covering the wide universe to pour down its rain everywhere and at the same time. Then, Kâsyapa, the grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees in this universe, such as have young and tender stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have middle-sized stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have the same fully developed, all those grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees, smaller and greater (other) trees will each, according to its faculty and power, suck the humid element from the water emitted by that great cloud, and by that water which, all of one essence, has been abundantly poured down by the cloud, they will each, according to its germ, acquire a regular development, growth, shooting up, and bigness; and so they will produce blossoms and fruits, and will receive, each severally, their names. Rooted in one and the same soil, all those families of plants and germs are drenched and vivified by water of one essence throughout.

In the same manner, Kâsyapa, does the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c. appear in the world. Like unto a great cloud coming up, the Tathâgata appears and sends forth his call to the whole world, including gods, men, and demons¹. And even as a

¹ Parganya or Indra, Jupiter pluvius, is at the same time the thunderer, Jupiter tonans.

great cloud, Kâsyapa, extending over the whole universe, in like manner, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., before the face of the world, including gods, men, and demons, lifts his voice and utters these words : I am the Tathâgata, O ye gods and men! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore; being free, I make free; being comforted, I comfort; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men! hear the law. I am he who indicates the path; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. Then, Kâsyapa, many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings come to hear the law of the Tathâgata; and the Tathâgata, who knows the difference as to the faculties and the energy of those beings, produces various Dharmaparyâyas, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states, where they are to enjoy many pleasures and hear the law. By listening to the law they will be freed from hindrances and in due course apply themselves to the law of the all-knowing, according to their faculty, power, and strength.

Even as the great cloud, Kâsyapa, after expanding over the whole universe, pours out the same water and recreates by it all grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees; even as all these grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees, according to their faculty, power, and strength, suck in the water and thereby attain the full development

assigned to their kind; in like manner, Kâsyapa, is the law preached by the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., of one and the same essence, that is to say, the essence of it is deliverance, the final aim being absence of passion, annihilation, knowledge of the all-knowing¹. As to that, Kâsyapa, (it must be understood) that the beings who hear the law when it is preached by the Tathâgata, who keep it in their memory and apply themselves to it, do not know, nor perceive, nor understand their own self. For, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata only really knows who, how, and of what kind those beings are; what², how, and whereby they are meditating; what, how, and whereby they are contemplating; what, why, and whereby they are attaining. No one but the Tathâgata, Kâsyapa, is there present, seeing all intuitively, and seeing the state of those beings in different stages, as of the lowest, highest, and mean grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees. I am he, Kâsyapa, who, knowing the law which is of but one essence, viz. the essence of deliverance, (the law) ever peaceful, ending in Nirvâna, (the law) of eternal rest, having but one stage and placed in voidness, (who knowing this) do not on a sudden reveal to all the knowledge of the all-knowing, since I pay regard to the dispositions of all beings.

You are astonished, Kâsyapa, that you cannot fathom the mystery³ expounded by the Tathâgata. It is, Kâsyapa, because the mystery expounded by

¹ The dead man knows all, i.e. has experienced all he was to experience in his span of life.

² The MSS. here and in the sequel have *yañka* instead of *yaḥka*, a trace of the original Prâkrit text.

³ *Sandhâbhâshita*.

the Tathâgatas, the Arhats, &c. is difficult to be understood.

And on that occasion, the more fully to explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. I am the Dharmarâga, born in the world as the destroyer of existence¹. I declare the law to all beings after discriminating their dispositions.

2. Superior men of wise understanding² guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it to living beings.

3. That science is difficult to be understood ; the simple, if hearing it on a sudden, would be perplexed ; they would in their ignorance fall out of the way and go astray.

4. I speak according to their reach and faculty ; by means of various meanings³ I accommodate my view (or the theory).

5. It is, Kâsyapa⁴, as if a cloud rising above the

¹ It is known from the *Kaṭha* Upanishad that the Dharmarâga, Death, knows all about death and the next world, and is questioned about it by Naïketas.

² Dhîrabuddhi.

³ Or, permutable meanings, anyamanyehi arthehi.

⁴ The translation is uncertain, because the MSS. most distinctly read Kâsyapo, which may be a clerical error for Kâsyapâ, a common form of the vocative in Prâkrit. As, however, Kasyapo is a personification of gloom, the gray of twilight, the construction of kâsyapo meghaḥ, as a gloomy or dark or gray cloud, is perfectly intelligible. As to Kâsyapa in the vocative, this also may be explained, because he is near the setting sun, the Dharmarâga delivering his speech on immortality at the third juncture. There he, Mahâ-Kasyapa (wrongly written Kâsyapa), immediately succeeds the Buddha after the Nirvâṇa as the president of the first council of monks. I need not add that the prevailing opinion amongst scholars is different ; they see real history in the tradition about the first council.

horizon shrouds all space (in darkness) and covers the earth.

6. That great rain-cloud, big with water, is wreathed with flashes of lightning and rouses with its thundering call all creatures.

7. By warding off the sunbeams, it cools the region; and gradually lowering so as to come in reach of hands, it begins pouring down its water all around.

8. And so, flashing on every side, it pours out an abundant mass of water equally, and refreshes this earth.

9. And all herbs which have sprung up on the face of the earth, all grasses, shrubs, forest trees, other trees small and great;

10. The various field fruits and whatever is green; all plants on hills, in caves and thickets;

11. All those grasses, shrubs, and trees are vivified by the cloud that both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters the herbs.

12. Grasses and shrubs absorb the water of one essence which issues from the cloud according to their faculty and reach.

13. And all trees, great, small, and mean, drink that water according to their growth and faculty, and grow lustily.

14. The great plants whose trunk, stalk, bark, twigs, pith, and leaves are moistened by the water from the cloud develop their blossoms and fruits.

15. They yield their products, each according to its own faculty, reach, and the particular nature of the germ; still the water emitted (from the cloud) is of but one essence.

16. In the same way, Kāśyapa, the Buddha

comes into the world like a rain-cloud¹, and, once born, he, the world's Lord, speaks and shows the real course of life.

17. And the great Seer, honoured in the world, including the gods, speaks thus: I am the Tathâgata, the highest of men, the Gina; I have appeared in this world like a cloud.

18. I shall refresh all beings whose bodies are withered, who are clogged to the triple world. I shall bring to felicity those that are pining away with toils, give them pleasures and (final) rest.

19. Hearken to me, ye hosts of gods and men; approach to behold me: I am the Tathâgata, the Lord, who has no superior, who appears in this world to save².

✓ 20. To thousands of koṭis of living beings I preach a pure and most bright law that has but one scope, to wit, deliverance and rest.

21. I preach with ever the same voice, constantly taking enlightenment as my text. For this is equal for all; no partiality is in it, neither hatred nor affection.

22. I am inexorable³, bear no love nor hatred towards any one, and proclaim the law to all creatures without distinction, to the one as well as the other.

¹ In the legend, it is well known, he enters the womb of the Great Mother, Mahâ-Mâyâ (identical with Prakṛiti, Aditi, both Nature and Earth), as an elephant. The discrepancy between the two legends is more apparent than real, for in Indian poetry the clouds are called elephants.

² Like Apollo *σωτήρ*.

³ Anunīyatâ mahya na kâṭid asti. I suppose that anunīya answers to Sanskrit anuneya.

23. Whether walking, standing, or sitting, I am exclusively occupied with this task of proclaiming the law. I never get tired of sitting on the chair I have ascended.

24. I recreate the whole world like a cloud shedding its water without distinction; I have the same feelings for respectable people as for the low; for moral persons as for the immoral;

25. For the depraved as for those who observe the rules of good conduct; for those who hold sectarian views and unsound tenets as for those whose views are sound and correct.

26. I preach the law to the inferior (in mental culture) as well as to persons of superior understanding and extraordinary faculties; inaccessible to weariness, I spread in season the rain of the law.

27. After hearing me, each according to his faculty, the several beings find their determined place in various situations, amongst gods, men, beautiful beings¹, amongst Indras, Brahmas, or the monarchs, rulers of the universe.

28. Hear, now, I am going to explain what is meant by those plants of different size, some of them being low in the world, others middle-sized and great.

29. Small plants are called the men who walk in the knowledge of the law, which is free from evil after the attaining of Nirvâṇa, who possess the six transcendent faculties and the triple science.

¹ Manorameshu, perhaps women are meant. A var. lect. has manoratheshu, i.e. amongst fancies, fanciful beings, chimeras. This reading would rather lead us to see in those beautiful or charming beings some kind of geniuses, cherubim, alias Vidyâ-dharas.

30. Mean plants are called the men who, dwelling in mountain caverns, covet the state of a Pratyekabuddha, and whose intelligence is moderately purified.

31. Those who aspire to become leading men (thinking), I will become a Buddha, a chief of gods and men, and who practise exertion and meditation, are called the highest plants.

32. But the sons of Sugata, who sedulously practise benevolence and a peaceful conduct, who have arrived at certainty about their being leading men, these are called trees.

33. Those who move forward the wheel that never rolls back, and with manly strength stand firm in the exercise of miraculous power, releasing many *kośis* of beings, those are called great trees¹.

34. Yet it is one and the same law which is preached by the Gīta, like the water emitted by the cloud is one and the same; different only are the faculties as described, just as the plants on the face of the earth.

35. By this parable thou mayst understand the skilfulness of the Tathāgata, how he preaches one law, the various developments whereof may be likened to drops of rain.

36. I also pour out rain: the rain of the law

¹ It is not easy to make out what kind of terrestrial beings are severally alluded to in stanzas 29–33. I first thought that the small plants were simply the Brahma-kārinś, the mean ones the Vāna-prasthas or hermits, and the highest plants the Yatis; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that real sons of Buddha are meant; cf. the stanzas 39–41. The Buddhists alluded to in stanza 32 are simple monks, whereas those of the following stanza are preachers, able exponents of the law, and clever propagandists of the Bauddha religion.

by which this whole world is refreshed; and each according to his faculty takes to heart this well-spoken law¹ that is one in its essence.

37. Even as all grasses and shrubs, as well as plants of middle size, trees and great trees at the time of rain look bright in all quarters;

38. So it is the very nature of the law to promote the everlasting weal of the world; by the law the whole world is recreated, and as the plants (when refreshed) expand their blossoms, the world does the same when refreshed.

39. The plants that in their growth remain middle-sized, are Arhats (saints) stopping when they have overcome frailties, (and) the Pratyekabuddhas who, living in woody thickets², accomplish this well-spoken law.

40. (But) the many Bodhisattvas who, thoughtful and wise, go their way all over the triple world, striving after supreme enlightenment, they continue increasing in growth like trees.

41. Those who, endowed with magical powers and being adepts in the four degrees of meditation, feel delight at hearing of complete voidness³ and emit thousands of rays, they are called the great trees on earth.

42. So then, Kâsyapa, is the preaching of the law, like the water poured out by the cloud everywhere alike; by which plants and men(?) thrive, endless (and eternal) blossoms (are produced)⁴.

¹ The term used might be rendered by 'gospel.'

² Pratyekabuddhâ vanashandakârino, &c. Burnouf must have had quite a different reading.

³ Or unreality, sūnyatâ.

⁴ Yehî (the Sanskrit would require the dual) vivarddhanti

43. I reveal the law which has its cause in itself; at due time I show Buddha-enlightenment; this is my supreme skilfulness and that of all leaders of the world.

44. What I here say is true in the highest sense of the word; all my disciples attain Nirvâṇa; by following the sublime path of enlightenment all my disciples shall become Buddhas.

And further, Kâsyapa, the Tathâgata, in his educating¹ creatures, is equal (i.e. impartial) and not unequal (i.e. partial). As the light of the sun and moon, Kâsyapa, shines upon all the world, upon the virtuous and the wicked, upon high and low, upon the fragrant and the ill-smelling; as their beams are sent down upon everything equally, without inequality (partiality); so, too, Kâsyapa, the intellectual light of the knowledge of the omniscient, the Tathâgatas, the Arhats, &c., the preaching of the true law proceeds equally in respect to all beings in the five states of existence, to all who according to their particular disposition are devoted to the great vehicle, or to the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or to the vehicle of the disciples. Nor is there any deficiency or excess in the brightness of the Tathâgata-knowledge² up to one's becoming fully acquainted with the law. There are not three vehicles, Kâsyapa; there are but beings who act differently; therefore it is declared that there are three vehicles.

When the Lord had thus spoken, the venerable

(Sansk. °nte) mahoshadhīyo manushya (Sansk. manushyâḥ?)
pushpâṇi anantakâni.

¹ And removing.

² Tathâgatagñânprabhâḥ; var. lect. Tathâgatapragñâyâḥ.

Mahâ-Kâsyapa said to him : Lord, if there are not three vehicles, for what reason then is the designation of disciples (Śrâvakas), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas kept up in the present times ?

On this speech the Lord answered the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa as follows : It is, Kâsyapa, as if a potter made different vessels out of the same clay. Some of those pots are to contain sugar, others ghee, others curds and milk ; others, of inferior quality, are vessels of impurity. There is no diversity in the clay used ; no, the diversity of the pots is only due to the substances which are put into each of them. In like manner, Kâsyapa, is there but one vehicle, viz. the Buddha-vehicle ; there is no second vehicle, no third.

The Lord having thus spoken, the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa said : Lord, if the beings are of different disposition, will there be for those who have left the triple world one Nirvâṇa, or two, or three ? The Lord replied : Nirvâṇa, Kâsyapa, is a consequence of understanding that all laws (things) are equal. Hence there is but one Nirvâṇa, not two, not three¹. Therefore, Kâsyapa, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

It is a case, Kâsyapa, similar to that of a certain blind-born man, who says : There are no handsome or ugly shapes ; there are no men able to see handsome or ugly shapes ; there exists no sun nor moon ; there are no asterisms nor planets ; there are no

¹ Cf. Ecclesiastes ix. 2 : 'All things come alike to all : there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked ; to the good and to the clean, and to the unclean.'

men able to see planets. But other persons say to the blind-born : There are handsome and ugly shapes ; there are men able to see handsome and ugly shapes ; there is a sun and moon ; there are asterisms and planets ; there are men able to see planets. But the blind-born does not believe them, nor accept what they say. Now there is a physician who knows all diseases. He sees that blind-born man and makes to himself this reflection : The disease of this man originates in his sinful actions in former times. All diseases possible to arise are fourfold : rheumatism, cholera, phlegmatic, and caused by a complication of the (corrupted) humours. The physician, after thinking again and again on a means to cure the disease, makes to himself this reflection : Surely, with the drugs in common use it is impossible to cure this disease, but there are in the Himālaya, the king of mountains, four herbs, to wit : first, one called Possessed-of-all-sorts-of-colours-and-flavours ; second, Delivering-from-all-diseases ; third, Delivering-from-all-poisons ; fourth, Procuring-happiness-to-those-standing-in-the-right-place. As the physician feels compassion for the blind-born man he contrives some device to get to the Himālaya, the king of mountains. There he goes up and down and across to search. In doing so he finds the four herbs. One he gives after chewing it with the teeth ; another after pounding ; another after having it mixed with another drug and boiled ; another after having it mixed with a raw drug ; another after piercing with a lancet somewhere a vein¹ ; another after singeing it in fire ;

¹ *Sarirasthānam* viddhvā, var. lect. *sarasthānam* v., with a marginal correction *sarīrasthānam* v. I consider the original reading to have been *sirāsthānam*.

another after combining it with various other substances so as to enter in a compound potion, food, &c. Owing to these means being applied the blind-born recovers his eyesight, and in consequence of that recovery he sees outwardly and inwardly¹, far and near, the shine of sun and moon, the asterisms, planets, and all phenomena. Then he says: O how foolish was I that I did not believe what they told me, nor accepted what they affirmed. Now I see all; I am delivered from my blindness and have recovered my eyesight; there is none in the world who could surpass me. And at the same moment Seers of the five transcendent faculties², strong in the divine sight and hearing, in the knowledge of others' minds, in the memory of former abodes, in magical science and intuition, speak to the man thus: Good man, thou hast just recovered thine eyesight, nothing more, and dost not know yet anything. Whence comes this conceitedness to thee? Thou hast no wisdom, nor art thou a clever man. Further they say to him: Good man, when sitting in the interior of thy room, thou canst not see nor distinguish forms

¹ Bahir adhyâtmam, (the things) external and in relation to one's own self.

² I. e. simply the five senses. The term Abhigñâ can hardly originally have meant 'transcendent faculty or knowledge,' because it is a derivation from a compound abhigânâti. Neither in Sanskrit nor in Prâkrit can abhigñâ denote anything else but perception, acknowledgment, recognition. Yet it cannot be denied that those who used it intended by it to convey the meaning of something grand and imposing, especially the senses of a spiritual man, as distinguished from the profanum vulgus. As to the Seers, Rishis, here mentioned, I think that they are the senses personified, otherwise called devas, gods. Deva, to denote an organ of sense, occurs frequently, e. g. *Mundaka Upanishad* III, 1, 8.

outside, nor discern which beings are animated with kind feelings and which with hostile feelings; thou canst not distinguish nor hear at the distance of five yoganās the voice of a man or the sound of a drum, conch trumpet, and the like; thou canst not even walk as far as a *kos* without lifting up thy feet; thou hast been produced and developed in thy mother's womb without remembering the fact; how then wouldst thou be clever, and how canst thou say: I see all? Good man, thou takest¹ darkness for light, and takest light for darkness.

Whereupon the Seers are asked by the man: By what means and by what good work shall I acquire such wisdom and with your favour acquire those good qualities (or virtues)? And the Seers say to that man: If that be thy wish, go and live in the wilderness or take thine abode in mountain caves, to meditate on the law and cast off evil passions. So shalt thou become endowed with the virtues of an ascetic² and acquire the transcendent faculties. The man catches their meaning and becomes an ascetic. Living in the wilderness, the mind intent upon one sole object, he shakes off worldly desires, and acquires the five transcendent faculties. After that acquisition he reflects thus: Formerly I did not do the right thing; hence no good accrued to me³. Now,

¹ *Samgânâsi*, var. lect. *samgânîshe*.

² *Dhutaguna*, Pāli the same, besides *dhûtaguna*. In Fāli the *dhutaṅgas* or *dhû°* denote thirteen ascetic practices; see Childers, Pāli Dict. s. v. The *Dhutagunas* are, according to the same author's statement, other names for the *Dhutaṅgas*, but I venture to think that they are the twenty-eight virtues of a *Dhutaṅga*, as enumerated in *Milinda Pañho* (ed. Trenckner), p. 351.

³ *Pūrvam anyat karma kṛitavân, tena me na kaśid guṇo 'dhigataḥ*.

however, I can go whither my mind prompts me; formerly I was ignorant, of little understanding, in fact, a blind man.

Such, Kâsyapa, is the parable I have invented to make thee understand my meaning. The moral to be drawn from it is as follows. The word 'blind-born,' Kâsyapa, is a designation for the creatures staying in the whirl of the world with its six states; the creatures who do not know the true law and are heaping up the thick darkness of evil passions. Those are blind from ignorance¹, and in consequence of it they build up conceptions²; in consequence of the latter name-and-form, and so forth, up to the genesis of this whole huge mass of evils³.

So the creatures blind from ignorance remain in the whirl of life, but the Tathâgata, who is out of the triple world, feels compassion, prompted by which, like a father for his dear and only son, he appears in the triple world and sees with his eye of wisdom that the creatures are revolving in the circle of the mundane whirl, and are toiling without finding the right means to escape from the rotation. And

¹ Or, false knowledge, avidyâ, which in the Chain of Causation (pratītyasamutpāda, Pāli patikkasamutpāda) occupies exactly the same place as in other systems of Indian philosophy. In reality the avidyâ was not only the origin of all evils, but also the remedy, the panacea. It was, however, thought convenient to veil that conclusion and to call the future state of complete ignorance 'all-knowingness.'

² Rather, products (saṃskāra) of the imaginative power, of fancy. These form the second item in the enumeration of Causes and Effects.

³ The genesis of diseases, death, &c. The merely ideal nature of this genesis is proved by the fact that the sage who has overcome avidyâ is just as liable to diseases and death as the most ignorant creature.

on seeing this he comes to the conclusion: Yon beings, according to the good works they have done in former states, have feeble aversions and strong attachments; (or) feeble attachments and strong aversions; some have little wisdom, others are clever; some have soundly developed views, others have unsound views. To all of them the Tathâgata skilfully shows three vehicles¹.

The Seers in the parable, those possessing the five transcendent faculties and clear-sight, are the Bodhisattvas² who produce enlightened thought, and by the acquirement of acquiescence in the eternal law³ awake us to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

The great physician in the parable is the Tathâgata. To the blind-born may be likened the creatures

¹ With this we may compare the term *trivartman* (of three paths), applied to the individual or living being, *Svetâsvatara Upanishad* V, 7. *Saṅkara* explains it by *devayânâdi*; in the more ancient and natural meaning, the word may have been applied to the three divisions of time. Cf. the same *Upanishad* I, 4, where the *brahmaṣakra*, the brahma-wheel, is said to be *trivṛt*, threefold.

² In the Yoga called *buddhisattva*, the reasoning faculty. The *Bodhisattvas* are the five *Dhyâni-Bodhisattvas* *Samantabhadra*, &c., who do no more differ from the five *Dhyâni-Buddhas* *Vairocana*, &c., than the *balas* do from the *indriyas*. Cf. *Burnouf*, *Intro.* p. 118.

³ *Anutpattikadharmakshântim pratilabhya*, var. *lect. anutpattikîṃ kshântim p.* *Anutpattika*, being a *Bahuvrîhi*, necessarily means 'having no origin, no beginning,' alias *anâdi*. The eternal law is that of rise and decay, and in so far the purport of the phrase seems not materially to differ from the translation in *Goldstûcker's Dict.*, 'enduring conditions which have not yet taken place.' The word 'acquiescence' in my version gives but one side of the meaning, for it also denotes 'undergoing.' In reality the sanctimonious phrase comes to this: every thinking being suffers the eternal law, i. e. he must die.

blind with infatuation. Attachment, aversion, and infatuation are likened to rheum, bile, and phlegm. The sixty-two false theories also must be looked upon as such (i. e. as *do shas*, 'humours and corrupted humours of the body,' 'faults and corruptions'). The four herbs are like vanity (or voidness), causelessness (or purposelessness), unfixedness, and reaching *Nirvâna*. Just as by using different drugs different diseases are healed, so by developing the idea of vanity (or voidness), purposelessness, unfixedness, (which are) the principles of emancipation, is ignorance suppressed; the suppression of ignorance is succeeded by the suppression of conceptions (or fancies); and so forth, up to the suppression of the whole huge mass of evils. And thus one's mind will dwell no more on good nor on evil.

To the man who recovers his eyesight is likened the votary of the vehicle of the disciples and of *Pratyekabuddhas*. He rends the ties of evil passion in the whirl of the world; freed from those ties he is released from the triple world with its six states of existence. Therefore the votary of the vehicle of the disciples may think and speak thus: There are no more laws to be penetrated; I have reached *Nirvâna*. Then the *Tathâgata* preaches to him: How can he who has not penetrated all laws have reached *Nirvâna*? The Lord rouses him to enlightenment, and the disciple, when the consciousness of enlightenment has been awakened in him, no longer stays in the mundane whirl, but at the same time has not yet reached *Nirvâna*¹. As he has arrived at

¹ I. e. he is not yet actually dead, but dead to the world; he is a *Gîvan-mukta*.

true insight, he looks upon this triple world in every direction as void, resembling the produce of magic, similar to a dream, a mirage, an echo. He sees that all laws (and phenomena) are unborn and undestroyed, not bound and not loose, not dark and not bright. He who views the profound laws in such a light, sees, as if he were not seeing, the whole triple world full of beings of contrary and omnifarious fancies and dispositions.

And on that occasion, in order to more amply explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

45. As the rays of the sun and moon descend alike on all men, good and bad, without deficiency (in one case) or surplus (in the other);

46. So the wisdom of the Tathâgata shines like the sun and moon¹, leading all beings without partiality.

47. As the potter, making clay vessels, produces from the same clay pots for sugar, milk, ghee, or water ;

48. Some for impurities, others for curdled milk, the clay used by the artificer² for the vessels being of but one sort ;

49. As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it³, so the Tathâgatas, on account of the diversity of taste,

¹ Tathâgatasya pragñā ka bhâsad' âdityaṭandratvat. Bhâsad' stands for bhâsadi, Sansk. bhâsate. A var. lect. has Tathâgatasya pragñâbhâ samâ hy â., i. e. 'the lustre of the Tathâgata's wisdom is equal (to all), like the sun and moon.'

² Bhârgava, to which we may assign the meaning of 'a skilful workman, artificer,' because it is one of the synonyms of tvashtri.

³ Yâdrîk prakshipyate dravyam bhâganam tena labhyate (read,

50. Mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddha-vehicle be the only indisputable one. He who ignores the rotation of mundane existence, has no perception of blessed rest ;

51. But he who understands that all laws are void and without reality (and without individual character) penetrates the enlightenment of the perfectly enlightened Lords in its very essence.

52. One who occupies a middle position of wisdom¹ is called a Pratyekagīna (i. e. Pratyekabuddha); one lacking the insight of voidness² is termed a disciple.

53. But after understanding all laws one is called a perfectly-enlightened one ; such a one is assiduous in preaching the law to living beings by means of hundreds of devices.

54. It is as if some blind-born man, because he sees no sun, moon, planets, and stars, in his blind ignorance (should say): There are no visible things³ at all.

55. But a great physician taking compassion on the blind man, goes to the Himālaya, where (seeking) across, up and down,

56. He fetches from the mountain four plants ;

lambhyate) sarvā(n) viśeṣe 'pi (Prākṛit for viśeṣhān api, though the stanza bears the traces of having originally been in Sanskrit) tathā ruṣībhedāt Tathāgatāḥ. A var. lect. has kṣhate (one syllable wanting) instead of la(m)bhyate ; what is intended is rakṣhate, it keeps.

¹ Pragnāmadhyavyavasthānāt Pratyekagīna uḷyate.

² I am at a loss to explain how this statement is to be reconciled with the bearings of the passage in prose before, unless we assume that the philosophers here alluded to are followers of other creeds, who believe in the existence of a soul. Their views are in opposition to those of the Buddha ; yet they are to be spoken of with moderate respect, because they do not belong to the profanum vulgus.

³ Rather here, phenomena.

the herb Of-all-colours-flavours-and-cases¹, and others. These he intends to apply.

57. He applies them in this manner: one he gives to the blind man after chewing it, another after pounding, again another by introducing it with the point of a needle into the man's body.

58. The man having got his eyesight, sees the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and arrives at the conclusion that it was from sheer ignorance that he spoke thus as he had formerly done.

59. In the same way do people of great ignorance, blind from their birth, move in the turmoil of the world, because they do not know the wheel of causes and effects, the path of toils².

60. In the world so blinded by ignorance appears the highest of those who know all, the Tathâgata, the great physician, of compassionate nature.

61. As an able teacher he shows the true law; he reveals supreme Buddha-enlightenment to him who is most advanced.

62. To those of middling wisdom the Leader preaches a middling enlightenment; again another enlightenment he recommends to him who is afraid of the mundane whirl.

63. The disciple who by his discrimination has escaped from the triple world thinks he has reached pure, blest Nirvâṇa³, but it is only by knowing all

¹ The reading is doubtful: *sarvavarṇarasasthânân nagâl labhata oshadhīm*, *evamâdīs katasro 'tha*, &c.; var. lect. *°sthânânugâm* l., &c. This may mean, fit for all colours, flavours, and cases.

² *Pratī(t)yotpâdâḥkrasya—duḥkhavartmânāḥ*.

³ In other words, he has indeed attained a qualified (*sopadhiśeṣa*, Pâli *upâdisesa* or *sa-upâdisesa*) Nirvâṇa, or as non-Buddhists say, *gīvanmukti*.

laws (and the universal laws) that the immortal¹ Nirvâṇa is reached.

64. In that case it is as if the great Seers, moved by compassion, said to him : Thou art mistaken ; do not be proud of thy knowledge.

65. When thou art in the interior of thy room, thou canst not perceive what is going on without, fool as thou art.

66. Thou who, when staying within, dost not perceive even now what people outside are doing or not doing, how wouldst thou be wise, fool as thou art ?

67. Thou art not able to hear a sound at a distance of but five yoganās, far less at a greater distance.

68. Thou canst not discern who are malevolent or benevolent towards thee. Whence then comes that pride to thee ?

69. If thou hast to walk so far as a kos, thou canst not go without a beaten track²; and what happened to thee when in thy mother's womb thou hast immediately forgotten.

70. In this world he is called all-knowing who possesses the five transcendent faculties, but when thou who knowest nothing pretendest to be all-knowing, it is an effect of infatuation.

71. If thou art desirous of omniscience, direct thy attention to transcendent wisdom ; then betake thy-

¹ I.e. eternal, because in this system the dead is dead for ever. This immortal, everlasting Nirvâṇa is, of course, the anupādisesha, Pāli anupādisesa N.

² Or, perhaps, without a guide, padavīn tu vinā 'gatiḥ. This does not agree with the prose version, but it is not rare to meet with such discrepancies.

self to the wilderness and meditate on the pure law ; by it thou shalt acquire the transcendent faculties.

72. The man catches the meaning, goes to the wilderness, meditates with the greatest attention, and, as he is endowed with good qualities, ere long acquires the five transcendent faculties.

73. Similarly all disciples fancy having reached Nirvâna, but the Gina instructs them (by saying): This is a (temporary) repose, no final rest.

74. It is an artifice of the Buddhas to enunciate this dogma¹. There is no (real) Nirvâna without all-knowingness ; try to reach this.

75. The boundless knowledge of the three paths (of time), the six utmost perfections (Pâramitâs), voidness, the absence of purpose (or object), the absence of finiteness²;

76. The idea of enlightenment and the other laws leading to Nirvâna, both such as are mixed with imperfection and such as are exempt from it, such as are tranquil and comparable to ethereal space ;

77. The four Brahmavihâras³ and the four Saṅgrahas⁴, as well as the laws sanctioned by eminent sages for the education of creatures ;

78. (He who knows these things) and that all phenomena have the nature of illusion and dreams,

¹ Of temporary repose, it would seem.

² Or, absence of fixed purpose, *prañidhānavivargitam*.

³ Otherwise termed *Appamaññā* in Pāli ; they are identical with the four *bhāvanās*, or exercises to develop benevolence, compassion, cheerful sympathy, and equanimity, well known from the Yoga ; see *Yogasāstra* I, 33.

⁴ Commonly called *saṅgrahavastūni*, Pāli *saṅgahavatthūni*, articles of sociability, viz. liberality, affability, promoting another's interest, and pursuit of a common aim ; see e.g. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 39, l. 1.

that they are pithless as the stem of the plantain¹, and similar to an echo ;

79. And who knows that the triple world throughout is of that nature, not fast and not loose, he knows rest.

80. He who considers all laws² to be alike, void, devoid of particularity and individuality, not derived from an intelligent cause ; nay, who discerns that nothingness is law³ ;

81. Such a one has great wisdom and sees the whole of the law entirely. There are no three vehicles by any means ; there is but one vehicle in this world.

82. All laws (or the laws of all) are alike, equal, for all, and ever alike. Knowing this, one understands immortal, blest Nirvâna.

¹ Cf. the words of the funeral song in Yâgñavalkya III, 8 : 'Foolish is he who would seek pithfulness in humanity, which is pithless as the plantain's stem and resembling a water bubble.'

² Or all things ; or the laws of all things.

³ Sarvadharmân samâ(ñ)kê kshûnyâ(n) nirnânâkaranâtmakâm (r. °kân), na kaitân (I think kaittân) prekshate nâpi kimkid dharmâm (sic) vipasyate. The other MS. has sarvadharmâm (r. °mân) samâ(n) sūnyân nirnânâkaranâtmikân, na ketâm prekshate nâpi kimkid dharmam vinasyati. The great difficulty lies in the second half verse, which is evidently corrupt and wrongly Sanskritised, so that the correctness of the translation in this respect is problematical.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF FUTURE DESTINY.

After pronouncing these stanzas the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known to you that the monk Kâsyapa, my disciple, here present, shall do homage to thirty thousand koṭis of Buddhas; shall respect, honour, and worship them; and shall keep the true law of those Lords and Buddhas. In his last bodily existence¹ in the world Avabhâsa (i. e. lustre), in the age (Æon) Mahâvyûha (i. e. great division) he shall be a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c. &c., by the name of Rasmiprabhâsa (i. e. beaming with rays). His lifetime shall last twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty intermediate kalpas; the counterfeit of his true law shall last as many intermediate kalpas. His Buddha-field will be pure, clean, devoid of stones, grit, gravel; of pits and precipices; devoid of gutters and dirty pools²; even, pretty, beautiful, and pleasant to see; consisting of lapis lazuli, adorned with jewel-trees, and looking like a checker-board with eight compartments set off with gold threads. It will be strewed

¹ *Paśkima samuḍḍhaya*, which also means western rise, elevation.

² *Apagatasyandanikagûthodilla*, var. lect. °*thodigalla*. My rendering of the last part of the compound is conjectural.

with flowers, and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas are to appear in it. As to disciples, there will be innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of them. Neither Māra the evil one, nor his host will be discoverable in it, though Māra and his followers shall afterwards be there; for they will apply themselves to receive the true law under the command of that very Lord Rasmiprabhāsa.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. With my Buddha-eye, monks, I see that the senior Kāsyapa here shall become a Buddha at a future epoch, in an incalculable Æon, after he shall have paid homage to the most high of men.

2. This Kāsyapa shall see fully thirty thousand koṭis of Gīnas, under whom he shall lead a spiritual life for the sake of Buddha-knowledge.

3. After having paid homage to those highest of men and acquired that supreme knowledge, he shall in his last bodily existence be a Lord of the world, a matchless, great Seer.

4. And his field will be magnificent, excellent, pure, goodly, beautiful, pretty, nice, ever delightful, and set off with gold threads.

5. That field, monks, (appearing like) a board divided into eight compartments, will have several jewel-trees, one in each compartment, from which issues a delicious odour.

6. It will be adorned with plenty of flowers, and embellished with variegated blossoms; in it are no pits nor precipices; it is even, goodly, beautiful.

7. There will be found hundreds of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, subdued of mind and of great magical

power, mighty keepers¹ of Sûtrântas of great extension.

8. As to disciples, faultless, princes of the law, standing in their last period of life, their number can never be known, even if one should go on counting for Æons, and that with the aid of divine knowledge.

9. He himself shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty complete Æons ; the counterfeit is to continue as many Æons, in the domain of Rasmiprabhâsa.

Thereupon the venerable senior Mahâ-Maudgalyâyana, the venerable Subhûti, and the venerable Mahâ-Kâtyâyana, their bodies trembling, gazed up to the Lord with unblenching eyes, and at the same moment severally uttered, in mental concert, the following stanzas :

10. O hallowed one (Arhat), great hero, Sâkyalion, most high of men ! out of compassion to us speak the Buddha-word.

11. The highest of men, the Gina, he who knows the fatal term, will, as it were, sprinkle us with nectar by predicting our destiny also.

12. (It is as if) a certain man, in time of famine, comes and gets good food, but to whom, when the food is already in his hands, they say that he should wait².

13. Similarly it was with us, who after minding

¹ Vaipulyasûtrântadharâna tâyinâm. Here the word tâyin would seem to be used in the sense of 'able,' agreeing with the meaning of tâyana in Pânini I, 3, 38.

² Durbhiksha âgataḥ kaścin naro labdhvâ subhoganam, 'pratîksha' bhûya ukṛeta hastaprâptasmi bhogane. The Prâkrit underlying this literary dialect is easily reconstrued.

the lower vehicle, at the calamitous conjuncture of a bad time ¹, were longing for Buddha-knowledge.

14. But the perfectly-enlightened great Seer has not yet favoured us with a prediction (of our destiny), as if he would say: Do not eat the food that has been put into your hand.

15. Quite so, O hero, we were longing as we heard the exalted voice (and thought): Then shall we be at rest ², when we shall have received a prediction.

16. Utter a prediction, O great hero, so benevolent and merciful! let there be an end of our feeling of poverty!

And the Lord, who in his mind apprehended the thoughts arising in the minds of those great senior disciples, again addressed the complete assembly of monks: This great disciple of mine, monks, the senior Subhûti, shall likewise pay homage to thirty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Under them shall he lead a spiritual life and achieve enlightenment. After the performance of such duties shall he, in his last bodily existence, become a Tathâgata in the world, an Arhat, &c. &c., by the name of Sasiketu ³.

His Buddha-field will be called Ratnasambhava and his epoch Ratnaprabhâsa ⁴. And that Buddha-field will be even, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, devoid of pits and precipices, devoid

¹ Dushkâlabhagnasandhau.

² And felicitous, blest, beatified (nirvṛita).

³ I. e. moon-signal, or having the moon for ensign.

⁴ Var. lect. Ratnâvabhâsa.

of sewers¹, nice, covered with flowers. And there will men have their abode in palaces (or towers) given them for their use. In it will be many disciples, innumerable, so that it would be impossible to terminate the calculation. Many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas also will be there. The lifetime of that Lord is to last twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law is to continue twenty intermediate kalpas, and its counterfeit as many. That Lord will, while standing poised in the firmament², preach the law to the monks, and educate many thousands of Bodhisattvas and disciples.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

17. I have something to announce, monks, something to make known; listen then to me: The senior Subhūti, my disciple, shall in days to come be a Buddha.

18. After having seen of most mighty Buddhas thirty myriads of koṭis in full, he shall enter upon the straight³ course to obtain this knowledge.

19. In his last bodily existence shall the hero, possessed of the thirty-two distinctive signs, become a great Seer, similar to a column of gold, beneficial and bounteous to the world.

20. The field where that friend of the world⁴ shall save myriads of koṭis of living beings will be most beautiful, pretty, and delightful to people at large.

¹ Doubtful, the MSS. having *gūthodigilla* and *gūthodigalla*.

² Properly, standing as a great meteor, *mahāvaiḥāyasaṃ sthitvā*; *vaiḥāyasa* is exactly the Greek *μετέωρος*.

³ *Anuloma*, direct, straight; the reverse of *vakragati*, the retrograde motion of planets, &c.

⁴ *Lokabandhu*.

21. In it will be many Bodhisattvas to turn the wheel that never rolls back (or never deviates); endowed with keen faculties they will, under that Gîta, be the ornaments of the Buddha-field.

22. His disciples are so numerous as to pass calculation and measure; gifted with the six transcendent faculties, the triple science and magic power; firm in the eight emancipations.

23. His magic power, while he reveals supreme enlightenment, is inconceivable. Gods and men, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, will always reverentially salute him with joined hands.

24. He shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas; the true law of that most high of men is to last twenty intermediate kalpas and the counterfeit of it as many.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known that the senior Mahâ-Kâtyâyana here present, my disciple, shall pay homage to eight thousand koṭis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship; at the expiration of those Tathâgatas he shall build Stûpas, a thousand yoganas in height, fifty yoganas in circumference, and consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl¹, emerald, and, seventhly, coral². Those Stûpas he shall worship

¹ Lohitamukti, according to Buddhist authorities, red pearl. The word is of so frequent occurrence that there can be no question of muktes in the genitive case being a clerical error for muktâyâs. If the word ever had any existence out of Buddhist writings, mukti must have been a variation of muktâ.

² Musâragalva; whether this precious stone really be coral, as Buddhist dictionaries assert, is rather doubtful. As the enumerated substances represent the seven colours—originally the

with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers. Afterwards he shall again pay a similar homage to twenty koṭis of Buddhas; show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Then in his last bodily existence ¹, his last corporeal appearance, he shall be a Tathâgata in the world, an Arhat, &c. &c., named Gâmbûnada-prabhâsa (i.e. gold-shine), endowed with science and conduct, &c. His Buddha-field will be thoroughly pure, even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, interlaced with gold threads, strewn with flowers, free from beings of the brute creation, hell, and the host of demons, replete with numerous men and gods, adorned with many hundred thousand disciples and many hundred thousand Bodhi-sattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law shall continue twenty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

25. Listen all to me, ye monks, since I am going to utter an infallible word ². Kâtyâyana here, the senior, my disciple, shall render worship to the Leaders.

26. He shall show veneration of various kinds and in many ways to the Leaders, after whose

rainbow colours, I think—the interpretation either of lohita-mukti or of musâragalva must be wrong, perhaps both are false.

¹ Properly, western elevation or rise.

² The Buddha may in sober truth say so, because the astronomer can predict future risings and settings. He here shows himself to be Brahma, in his function of the first of astronomers, to whom the ancient Brahma-Siddhânta is referred.

expiration he shall build Stûpas, worshipping them with flowers and perfumes.

27. In his last bodily existence he shall be a Gîna, in a thoroughly pure field, and after acquiring full knowledge he shall preach to a thousand koṭis of living beings.

28. He shall be a mighty Buddha and illuminator, highly honoured in this world, including the gods, under the name of Gâmbunada-prabhâsa¹, and save koṭis of gods and men.

29. Many Bodhisattvas as well as disciples, beyond measure and calculation, will in that field adorn the reign of that Buddha, all of them freed from existence and exempt from existence².

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks : I announce to you, monks, I make known, that the senior Mahâ-Maudgalyâyana here present, my disciple, shall propitiate twenty-eight thousand Buddhas³ and pay those Lords homage of various kinds ; he shall show them respect, &c., and after their expiration build Stûpas consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral ; (Stûpas) a thousand yoganas in height and five hundred yoganas in circumference, which Stûpas he shall worship in different ways, with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and triumphal streamers.

¹ One MS. has a second-hand reading, °dâbhâsa.

² Vibhava ; Burnouf must have read vibhaya, 'exempts de terreur.'

³ The number of twenty-eight—the cyphers not being taken into account—probably indicates the number of days (Buddhas) during which the planet is standing in some stage of its course.

Afterwards he shall again pay a similar worship to twenty¹ hundred thousand koṭis of Buddhas; he shall show respect, &c., and in his last bodily existence become in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Tamâlapatra~~k~~andanagandha², endowed with science and conduct, &c. The field of that Buddha will be called Manobhirâma; his period Ratipratipûrṇa. And that Buddha-field will be even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, strewn with detached flowers, replete with gods and men, frequented by hundred thousands of Seers, that is to say, disciples and Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twenty-four intermediate kalpas; his true law is to last forty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

30. The scion of the Mudgala-race, my disciple here, after leaving³ human existence shall see twenty thousand mighty⁴ Ginas and eight (thousand) more of these faultless beings.

31. Under them he shall follow a course of duty, trying to reach Buddha-knowledge; he shall pay homage in various ways to those Leaders and to the most high of men.

32. After keeping their true law, of wide reach and sublime, for thousands of koṭis of Æons, he shall at the expiration of those Sugatas worship their Stûpas.

¹ As many days in another stage.

² I. e. having the odour (or resemblance) of Xanthochymus and sandal. From the dark colour I infer that Saturn is meant, for this planet is represented as being black.

³ Gahitva.

⁴ Tâyin.

33. In honour of those most high Ginas, those mighty beings¹ so beneficial to the world, he shall erect Stūpas consisting of precious substances, and decorated with triumphal streamers, worshipping them with flowers, perfumes, and the sounds of music.

34. At the period of his last bodily existence he shall, in a nice and beautiful field, be a Buddha bounteous and compassionate to the world, under the name of Tamālapatrakāndanagandha.

35. The measure of that Sugata's life shall be fully twenty-four intermediate kalpas, during which he shall be assiduous in declaring the Buddha-rule to men and gods.

36. That Gina shall have many thousands of koṭis of disciples, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, gifted with the six transcendent faculties and the triple science, and possessed of magic power, under the command of that Sugata.

37. Under the reign of that Sugata there shall also appear numerous Bodhisattvas, many thousands of them, unable to slide back (or to deviate), developing zeal, of extensive knowledge and studious habits.

38. After that Gina's expiration his true law shall measure in time twenty-four² intermediate kalpas in full; its counterfeit shall have the same measure.

39. These are my five mighty disciples whom I

¹ Tāyin.

² The original reading has been meddled with; one MS. has *vimsaḥ kavam* (second-hand, *ka vim*) *syāntarakalpa*; another, *vimsaḥ ka viśāntarak*^o. The original Prākṛit may have had something like *vimsam katum*.

have destined to supreme enlightenment and to become in future self-born *Ginas*; now hear from me their course¹.

¹ In this chapter only four disciples are mentioned; the fifth must be *Sâriputra*, whose destination has been predicted before.

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT DEVOTION¹.

Of yore, monks, in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, immense, measureless Æons since, nay, at a period, an epoch far beyond, there appeared in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, endowed with science and conduct², a Sugata, &c. &c., in the sphere Sambhava (i. e. origin, genesis), in the period Mahârûpa. (You ask), monks, how long ago is it that the Tathâgata was born? Well, suppose some man was to reduce to powder the whole mass of the earth element as much as is to be found in this whole universe; that after taking one atom of dust from this world he is to walk a thousand worlds farther in easterly direction to deposit that single atom; that after taking a second atom of dust and walking a thousand worlds farther he deposits that second atom, and proceeding in this way at last gets the whole of the earth element deposited in eastern

¹ Pûrvayoga, which recurs as the heading of chaps. XXII and XXV, would at first sight seem to mean 'former conjunction,' but that does not answer any more than 'ancient devotion.' I think that yoga here is an alteration of yuga, age, period, or a Prâkritism for yauga, i. e. referring to an age. A Sanskrit pûrva-yauga would be formed like pûrva-yâyâta, &c.; cf. Pânini VI, 2, 103. The original meaning of pûrva-yoga is, I suppose, pre-history. Cf. *pubbayogo ti pubbakammam*, Milinda Pañho, p. 2.

² I. e. with light and motion.

direction. Now, monks, what do you think of it, is it possible by calculation to find the end or limit of these worlds? They answered: Certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. The Lord said: On the contrary, monks, some arithmetician or master of arithmetic might, indeed, be able by calculation to find the end or limit of the worlds, both those where the atoms have been deposited and where they have not, but it is impossible by applying the rules of arithmetic to find the limit of those hundred thousands of myriads of Æons; so long, so inconceivable, so immense is the number of Æons which have elapsed since the expiration of that Lord, the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû. Yet, monks, I perfectly remember that Tathâgata who has been extinct for so long a time¹, as if he had reached extinction to-day or yesterday², because of my possessing the mighty knowledge and sight of the Tathâgata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:

1. I remember³ the great Seer Abhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the most high of men, who existed many kotis of Æons ago as the superior *Gina* of the period.

2. If, for example, some men after reducing this

¹ Hence follows that the Buddha has existed since time immemorial; in other words, that he is Âdibuddha.

² I have taken the liberty to render *svas* by 'yesterday,' though I have no other warrant for the word ever being taken in this sense except the context and the fact that in sundry languages the notions of to-morrow and yesterday are occasionally expressed by the same term, e.g. Hindî *kal* (properly morning, to-morrow, Sansk. *kalyam*, *kâlyam*); the English 'yesterday' is the very same word with Gothic *gistradagis*, to-morrow.

³ *Anusmarâmi*, omitted by Burnouf.

universe to atoms of dust took one atom to deposit it a thousand regions farther on ;

3. If he deposited a second, a third atom, and so proceeded until he had done with the whole mass of dust, so that this world were empty and the mass of dust exhausted ;

4. To that immense mass of the dust of these worlds, entirely reduced to atoms, I liken the number of Æons past.

5. So immense is the number of *koṭis* of Æons past since that extinct Sugata ; the whole of (existing) atoms is no (adequate) expression of it ; so many are the Æons which have expired since.

6. That Leader who has expired so long ago, those disciples and Bodhisattvas, I remember all of them as if it were to-day or yesterday. Such is the knowledge of the Tathāgatas.

7. So endless, monks, is the knowledge of the Tathāgata ; I know what has taken place many hundreds of Æons ago, by my precise and faultless memory.

To proceed, monks, the measure of the lifetime of the Tathāgata Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Arhat, &c. was fifty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Æons.

In the beginning when the Lord had not yet reached supreme, perfect enlightenment and had just occupied the summit of the terrace of enlightenment¹, he discomfited and defeated the whole host of Māra, after which he thought : I am to reach

¹ Bodhimandavarāgragata eva ; var. lect. bodhimandavarāgata eva, i. e. just having come to the terrace of enlightenment. Vara here is vára, circuit ; it adds little to the notion of the simple bodhi-manda, this also being a round terrace.

perfect enlightenment¹. But those laws (of perfect enlightenment) had not yet dawned upon him. He stayed on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment during one intermediate kalpa. He stayed there a second, a third intermediate kalpa, but did not yet attain supreme, perfect enlightenment. He remained a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, a tenth intermediate kalpa on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment², continuing sitting cross-legged without in the meanwhile rising. He stayed, the mind motionless, the body unstirring and untrembling, but those laws had not yet dawned upon him.

Now, monks, while the Lord was just on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, the gods of Paradise (*Trāyastriṃsas*) prepared him a magnificent royal throne, a hundred *yoganas* high, on occupying which the Lord attained supreme, perfect enlightenment; and no sooner had the Lord occupied the seat of enlightenment than the *Brahmakāyika* gods scattered a rain of flowers all around the seat of enlightenment over a distance of a hundred *yoganas*; in the sky they let loose storms by which the flowers, withered, were swept away. From the beginning of the rain of flowers, while the Lord was sitting on the seat of enlightenment, it poured without interruption during fully ten intermediate kalpas³,

¹ It is difficult not to see that we have here, as well as in the opening of the *Mahāvagga* and in *Lalita-vistara*, chap. 21, a description of the rising of the sun, the beginning of a kalpa, a myth of the creation of the visible world.

² The so-called Bo-tree.

³ An intermediate kalpa is the twentieth part of an incalculable kalpa, which in reality is equal to one day of twenty-four hours,

covering the Lord. That rain of flowers having once begun falling continued to the moment of the Lord's complete Nirvâna. The angels belonging to the division of the four guardians of the cardinal points made the celestial drums of the gods resound¹; they made them resound without interruption in honour of the Lord who had attained the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. Thereafter, during fully ten intermediate kalpas, they made uninterruptedly resound those celestial musical instruments up to the moment of the complete extinction of the Lord.

Again, monks, after the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment². Immediately on knowing his having become enlightened the sixteen³ sons born to that Lord when a prince royal, the eldest of whom was named *Gñânâkara*—which sixteen young princes, monks, had severally toys to play with, variegated and pretty—those sixteen princes, I repeat, monks, left their toys, their amusements, and since they knew that the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., had attained supreme, perfect knowledge, went, surrounded and attended by their weeping mothers and nurses, along with the noble, rich king *Kakravartin*, many ministers, and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, to the place where the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the

consequently ten intermediate kalpas are equal to one day (half day-night) of twelve hours, from sunrise until sunset at the equinox.

¹ It must have been a stormy day, far from rare about the time of the equinoxes.

² Just at sunset.

³ Sixteen is the number of the kalâs (digits) of the moon.

Tathāgata, &c., was seated on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. They went up to the Lord in order to honour, respect, worship, revere, and venerate him, saluted his feet with their heads, made three turns round him keeping him to the right¹, lifted up their joined hands, and praised the Lord, face to face, with the following stanzas:

8. Thou art the great physician², having no superior, rendered perfect in endless Æons³. Thy benign wish of saving all mortals (from darkness) has to-day been fulfilled.

9. Most difficult things hast thou achieved⁴ during the ten intermediate kalpas now past; thou hast been sitting all that time without once moving thy body, hand, foot, or any other part⁵.

10. Thy mind also was tranquil and steady, motionless, never to be shaken; thou knewest no distraction⁶; thou art completely quiet and faultless.

11. Joy with thee⁷! that thou so happily and safely,

¹ And, moving from east to south, and so forth.

² Like Apollo. Therefore the Buddha immediately after his bodhi, i. e. awakening, pronounces the four Âryasatyāni, which are nothing else but the well-known four chief points in the medical art,—the disease, the cause of the disease, necessity to remove that cause, and the remedy.

³ And, of infinite body; and, whose pharmacology is boundless; anantakalpa is the term used.

⁴ Out of a figure similar and akin to Hercules, the active Nârâyaṇa has become a sage tranquil, peaceful, and refraining from action.

⁵ Desa. This immovability must be taken cum grano salis, in so far as the sun is represented to continue in the same portion of the ecliptic for one day.

⁶ Vikshepa as an astronomical term means celestial latitude; the sun knows no deviation from the ecliptic, of course.

⁷ Dishṭyâsi.

without any hurt, hast reached supreme enlightenment. How great a fortune is ours! we congratulate ourselves, O Lion amongst kings!

12. These unhappy¹ creatures, vexed in all ways, deprived of eyes, as it were, and joyless, do not find the road leading to the end of toils, nor develop energy for the sake of deliverance.

13. Dangers are for a long time on the increase, and the laws (or phenomena, things) are deprived of the (possession of a) celestial body; the word of the Gina is not being heard; the whole world is plunged in thick darkness.

14. But to-day (or now) hast thou, Majesty of the world, reached this hallowed, high, and faultless spot; we as well as the world are obliged to thee, and approach to seek our refuge with thee, O Protector!

When, O monks, those sixteen princes in the condition of boys, childlike and young, had with such stanzas celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâ-bhibhû, the Tâthâgata, &c., they urged the Lord to move on the wheel of the law²: Preach the law, O Lord; preach the law, O Sugata, for the weal of the public, the happiness of the public, out of compassion for the world; for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the people generally, both of gods and men. And on that occasion they uttered the following stanzas:

15. Preach the law, O thou who art marked with a hundred auspicious signs, O Leader, O incomparable great Seer! thou hast attained exalted,

¹ Anâyika, derived from an and âya.

² I. e. to rise a second day, to awaken from his Nirvâna.

sublime knowledge ; let it shine in the world, including the gods.

16. Release us as well as these creatures ; display the knowledge of the Tathâgatas, that we also and, further, these beings may obtain this supreme¹ enlightenment.

17. Thou knowest every course (of duty) and knowledge ; thou knowest the (mental and moral) disposition and the good works done in a former state ; the (natural) bent of all living beings. Move on the most exalted, sublime wheel !

Then, monks, as the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâ-bhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of spheres in each of the ten directions of space were shaken in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre. And in the intervals between all those spheres, in the dreary places of dark gloom, where even the sun and moon, so powerful, mighty, and splendid, have no advantage of the shining power they are endowed with, have no advantage of the colour and brightness they possess, even in those places a great lustre arose instantly. And the beings who appeared² in those intervals behold each other, acknowledge each other, (and exclaim): Lo, there are other beings also here appearing ! lo, there are other beings also here appearing ! The palaces and aerial cars of the gods in all those spheres up to the Brahma-world shook in six different ways and became illumined with a

¹ Or, foremost ; the word used being *agra*.

² *Upapanna*, by so-called *aupapâduka* (Pâli *opapâtika*), apparitional birth, birth by metamorphosis. Clouds e.g. are so born.

great lustre, surpassing the divine majesty of the gods. So then, monks, a great earthquake and a great, sublime lustre arose simultaneously. And the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels to the east, in these fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres, began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named *Sarvasattvatrâtri* (i. e. Saviour of all beings)¹, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in the following stanzas:

18. Our aerial cars to-day (or now) are all bristling² with rays in an extraordinary degree, and blazing in beautiful splendour and brilliancy. What may be the cause of it?

19. Come, let us investigate the matter, what divine being has to-day sprung into existence, whose power, such as was never seen before, here now appears?

20. Or should it be the Buddha, the king of kings, who to-day has been born somewhere in the world, and whose birth is announced by such a token that all the points of the horizon are now blazing in splendour?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the

¹ Probably a veiled name of the regent of the eastern quarter, Indra, one of whose epithets is *Sutrâman*.

² *Harshita*.

fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, O monks, stationed in the western quarter, saw the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Tathāgata, &c., on the summit of the exalted terrace of enlightenment, seated on the royal throne at the foot of the tree of enlightenment¹, surrounded and attended by gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, while his sons, the sixteen young princes, were urging him to move forward the wheel of the law. On seeing which the Brahma-angels came up to the Lord, saluted his feet with their heads, walked many hundred thousand times round him from left to right, strewing (flowers) and overwhelming both him and the tree of enlightenment, over a distance of ten yoganās, with those flower-bags as large as Mount Sumeru. After that they presented to the Lord their aerial cars (with the words): Accept, O Lord, these aerial cars out of compassion to us; use, O Sugata, those cars out of compassion to us.

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

21. A (or the) wonderful, matchless *Gina*, so beneficial and merciful, has arisen in the world. Thou art born a protector, a ruler (and teacher), a master; to-day all quarters are blessed.

¹ The sun rises the second day.

22. We have come as far as fully fifty thousand *koṭis* of worlds from here to humbly salute the *Gina* by surrendering our lofty aerial cars all together.

23. We possess these variegated and bright cars, owing to previous works; accept them to oblige us, and make use of them to thine heart's content, O Knower of the world!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him, saying: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! May the Lord preach final rest! May the Lord release all beings! Be favourable, O Lord, to this world! Preach the law, O Lord, to this world, including gods, Mâras, and Brahma-angels; to all people, including ascetics and Brahmans, gods¹, men, and demons! It will tend to the weal of the public, to the happiness of the public; out of mercy to the world, for the benefit and happiness of the people at large, both gods and men.

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus², with the following stanza:

24. Show the law, O Lord; show it, O most high of men! Show the power of thy kindness; save the tormented beings.

25. Rare³ is the light⁴ of the world like the

¹ The gods have been enumerated just before; therefore it would seem that gods, men, and demons here are veiled expressions for kings or Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.

² MSS. sometimes *samaṅgîtyâ*, but more frequently *samaṁ s.*, i. e. all together in chorus or concert.

³ And, precious, durlabha.

⁴ Pradyota.

blossom of the glomerated fig-tree. Thou hast arisen, O great Hero; we pray to thee, the Tathâgata.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the south-eastern quarter in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of spheres began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kofis of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Adhimâtrakârūṇika (i.e. exceedingly compassionate), addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas:

26. What foretold is it we see to-day (or now), friends? Who or what is foreboded by the celestial cars shining with such uncommon glory?

27. May, perhaps, some blessed divine being have come hither, by whose power all these aerial cars are illumined?

28. Or may the Buddha, the most high of men, have appeared in this world, that by his power these celestial cars are in such a condition as we see them?

29. Let us all together go and search; no trifle can be the cause of it; such a foretold, indeed, was never seen before¹.

¹ Viz. in the same kalpa, i. e. on that same day.



30. Come, let us go and visit *koṭis* of fields, along the four quarters ; a Buddha will certainly now have made his appearance in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the north-western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed in the north-western quarter, saw the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū [&c., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

31. Homage to thee, matchless great Seer, chief god of gods, whose voice is sweet as the lark's¹. Leader in the world, including the gods, I salute thee, who art so benign and bounteous to the world.

32. How wonderful, O Lord, is it that after so long a time thou appearest in the world². Eighty hundred complete Æons this world of the living was without Buddha³.

¹ Kalaviṅka, which I have freely rendered in this manner, commonly denotes a sparrow, but the corresponding Pāli word *kuraviṅka* is supposed to be the Indian cuckoo, the koil, which in Indian poetry may be said to answer to our nightingale ; in so far one might perhaps render *kalaviṅka* by nightingale.

² Consequently it was not for the first time that he appeared.

³ I do not understand this reckoning, unless Æon (*kalpa*) here be taken in the sense of intermediate *kalpa*. A *mahākālpā* is the period elapsing from the commencement of the world's destruction (i. e. sunset) to its complete restoration (i. e. sunrise). So, indeed,

33. It was deprived of the most high of men; hell was prevailing and the celestial bodies constantly went on waning during eighty hundred complete Æons.

34. But now he has appeared, owing to our good works, who is (our) eye, refuge, resting-place¹, protection, father, and kinsman²; he, the benign and bounteous one, the King of the law.

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

35. Move forward the exalted wheel, O great ascetic! reveal the law in all directions; deliver all beings oppressed with suffering³; produce amongst mortals gladness and joy!

36. Let them by hearing the law partake of enlightenment and reach divine places. Let all shake off their demon body and be peaceful, meek, and at ease⁴.

the Buddha has been absent for a kalpa, such a kalpa = mahākalpa contains 4 asaṅkhyeya-kalpas; each asaṅkhyeya-kalpa has 20 intermediate kalpas; hence a mahākalpa = 80 intermediate kalpas.

¹ Lena, Sansk. layana. In Burnouf's translation we find this word rendered by appui.

² The sun is lokabandhu, the kinsman and friend of the world, of mankind.

³ Or relieve all beings oppressed with toil.

⁴ It is not easy to say what is really meant by those divine

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to these Brahma-angels also.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the southern quarter [&c., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sudharma¹, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in stanzas :

37. It cannot be without cause or reason, friends, that to-day (or now) all these celestial cars are so brilliant; this bespeaks some portent somewhere in the world. Come, let us go and investigate the matter.

38. No such portent has appeared in hundreds of Æons past. Either some god has been born or a Buddha has arisen in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of *kośis* of spheres mounted [&c., as above² till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

39. Most rare (and precious) is the sight of the Leaders. Be welcome, thou dispeller of worldly defilement. It is after a long time that thou now appearest in the world; after hundreds of complete Æons one (now) beholds thee.

40. Refresh the thirsty creatures, O Lord of the

places; I think the temples and shrines to be visited in the morning.

¹ Of course Dharma, Yama, the regent of the south. The name here applied to him is derived from Sudharmâ, Yama's hall.

² Save the substitution of 'northern quarter' to 'north-western quarter.'

world! Now first thou art seen¹; it is not easy to behold thee. As rare (or precious) as the flowers of the glomerated fig-tree is thine appearance, O Lord.

41. By thy power these aerial cars of ours are so uncommonly illumined now, O Leader. To show us thy favour accept them, O thou whose look pierces everywhere!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

42. Preach the law, O Lord and Leader! move forward the wheel of the law, make the drum of the law resound, and blow the conch-trumpet of the law.

43. Shed the rain of the true law over this world and proclaim the sweet-sounding good word; manifest the law required, save myriads of koṭis of beings.

And the Lord, monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Repetition; the same occurred in the south-west, in the west, in the north-west, in the north, in the north-east, in the nadir.

Then, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the nadir², in those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of spheres [&c., as above till

¹ We must in thought add, in full glory, because we are at noontide.

² Yenâdhodigbhâga.

to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sikhin, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas :

44. What may be the cause, O friends, that our cars are so bright with splendour, colour, and light ? What may be the reason of their being so exceedingly glorious ?

45. We have seen nothing like this before nor heard of it from others. These (cars) are now bright with splendour and exceedingly glorious ; what may be the cause of it ?

46. Should it be some god who has been bestowed upon¹ the world in recompense of good works, and whose grandeur thus comes to light ? Or is perhaps a Buddha born in the world ?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kośis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the zenith, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed at the zenith, saw the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhîhû [&c., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas :

47. How goodly is the sight of the Buddhas, the mighty² Lords of the world ; those Buddhas who are to deliver all beings in this triple world.

¹ Samarpita.

² Tâyin.

48. The all-seeing Masters of the world send their looks in all directions of the horizon, and by opening the gate of immortality¹ they make people reach the (safe) shore².

49. An inconceivable number of Æons now past were void, and all quarters wrapt in darkness, as the chief Ginas did not appear.

50. The dreary hells, the brute creation and demons were on the increase; thousands of kotis of living beings fell into the state of ghosts³.

51. The heavenly bodies were on the wane; after their disappearance they entered upon evil ways; their course became wrong because they did not hear the law of the Buddhas.

52. All creatures lacked dutiful behaviour⁴, purity, good state⁵, and understanding; their happiness was lost, and the consciousness of happiness was gone.

53. They did not observe the rules of morality; were firmly rooted in the false law⁶; not being led by the Lord of the world, they were precipitated into a false course.

54. Hail! thou art come at last, O Light of the world! thou, born to be bounteous towards all beings.

¹ In the Mahābhārata III, 156, and Yogayâtrâ I, 1, the sun is called 'the opened gate of deliverance,' mokshadvâram apâvritam.

² Âtârenti; the var. lect. avatârenti is out of place and destroys the metre.

³ Preta, properly 'deceased, a deceased one.' The real meaning of the passage is that men at night fall asleep.

⁴ Properly, movement, karyâ.

⁵ Gati, going, gait; the latter is really meant.

⁶ Asaddharme pratishhita; the real meaning may be, 'firmly established in the condition of non-existence,' i. e. in sleep.

55. Hail! thou hast safely arrived at supreme Buddha-knowledge; we feel thankful before thee, and so does the world, including the gods.

56. By thy power, O mighty Lord, our aerial cars are glittering; to thee we present them, great Hero; deign to accept them, great Solitary.

57. Out of grace to us, O Leader, make use of them, so that we, as well as all (other) beings, may attain supreme enlightenment.

After the great Brahma-angels, O monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., face to face, with seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [&c., as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following two stanzas:

58. Move forward the exalted, unsurpassed wheel! beat the drum of immortality! release all beings from hundreds of evils, and show the path of Nirvâṇa.

59. Expound the law we pray for; show thy favour to us and this world. Let us hear thy sweet and lovely voice which thou hast exercised during thousands of koṭis of Æons.

Now, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., being acquainted with the prayer of the hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Brahma-angels and of the sixteen princes, his sons, commenced at that juncture to turn the wheel that has three turns and twelve parts, the wheel never moved by any ascetic, Brahman, god, demon, nor

by any one else. (His preaching) consisted in this : This is pain ; this is the origin of pain ; this is the suppression of pain ; this is the treatment leading to suppression of pain. He moreover extensively set forth how the series of causes and effects is evolved, (and said): It is thus, monks. From ignorance proceed conceptions (or fancies) ; from conceptions (or fancies) proceeds understanding¹ ; from understanding name and form ; from name and form the six senses² ; from the six senses proceeds contact ; from contact sensation ; from sensation proceeds longing ; from longing proceeds striving³ ; from striving as cause issues existence ; from existence birth ; from birth old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. So originates this whole mass of misery. From the suppression of ignorance results the suppression of conceptions ; from the suppression of conceptions results that of understanding ; from the suppression of understanding results that of name and form ; from the suppression of name and form results that of the six senses ; from the suppression of the six senses results that of contact ; from the suppression of contact results that of sensation ; from the suppression of sensation results that of longing ; from the suppression of longing results that of striving ; from the suppression of striving results that of existence ; from the suppression of existence results that of birth ; from the suppression of birth results that of old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and

¹ Or, distinctive knowledge, judgment.

² And, the objects of the six senses.

³ Upâdâna, also taking up, and material.

despondency. In this manner the whole mass of misery is suppressed.

And while this wheel of the law, monks, was being moved onward¹ by the Lord Mahâbhigñāgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., in presence of the world, including the gods, demons, and Brahma-angels; of the assemblage, including ascetics and Brahmans; then, at that time, on that occasion, the minds of sixty² hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings were without effort freed from imperfections and became all possessed of the triple science, of the sixfold transcendent wisdom, of the emancipations and meditations. In due course, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñāgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., again gave a second exposition of the law; likewise a third and a fourth exposition³. And at each exposition, monks, the minds of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, like the sands of the river Ganges, were without effort freed from imperfections. Afterwards, monks, the congregation of disciples of that Lord was so numerous as to surpass all calculation.

Meanwhile, monks, the sixteen princes, the youths, had, full of faith, left home to lead the vagrant life of mendicants, and had all of them become novices, clever, bright, intelligent, pious, followers of the course (of duty) under many hundred thousand Buddhas, and striving after supreme, perfect en-

¹ Var. lect. *sahappravarti kedaṃ buddhakshetram tena Bhagavatâ, &c.*, 'and while this Buddha-field moved on along with the Lord,' or 'while this B. moved on with the Lord.'

² Sixty is the number of *ghaṭikâs*, Indian half-hours, making one day.

³ Cf. the four *vyûhas*, appearances, divisions of the Lord Vishṇu.

lightenment. These sixteen novices, monks, said to the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., the following : O Lord, these many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of disciples of the Tathāgata have become very mighty, very powerful, very potent, owing to the Lord's teaching of the law. Deign, O Lord, to teach us also, for mercy's sake, the law with a view to supreme, perfect enlightenment, so that we also may follow the teaching of the Tathāgata¹. We want, O Lord, to see the knowledge of the Tathāgata ; the Lord can himself testify to this, for thou, O Lord, who knowest the disposition of all beings, also knowest ours.

Then, monks, on seeing that those princes, the youths, had chosen the vagrant life of mendicants and become novices, the half of the whole retinue of the king Kakravartin, to the number of eighty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings², chose the vagrant life of mendicants.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhibhū, the Tathāgata, &c., viewing the prayer of those novices at the lapse³ of twenty thousand Æons, amply and completely revealed the Dharma-paryāya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text⁴ of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper for all Buddhas, in presence of all the four classes of auditors.

¹ Yad vayam-api Tathāgatasyānusikshemahi, which may also be rendered, that we also may profit by the teaching, &c.

² The use of the term prāṇin, a living being, an animal, to denote lifeless objects, is quite analogous to that of ζῷον in Greek.

³ Or, within the lapse, atyayena.

⁴ Sūtrānta, a word formed after the model of Siddhānta or Rāddhānta.

In course of time, monks, those sixteen novices grasped, kept, and fully penetrated the Lord's teaching. *

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., foretold those sixteen novices their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. And while the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., was propounding the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings acquired perfect certainty¹.

Thereupon, monks, after propounding the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law during eight thousand Æons without interruption, the Lord Mahâbhigñâgñânâbhibhû, the Tathâgata, &c., entered the monastery to retire for the purpose of meditation², and in that retirement, monks, the Tathâgata continued in the monastery during eighty-four thousand koṭis of Æons.

Now, monks, when the sixteen novices perceived that the Lord was absorbed, they sat down on the seats, the royal thrones which had been prepared for each of them, and³ amply expounded, during eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koṭis⁴, the Dhar-

¹ Nirvikikitsâprâpta; a var. lect. has vikikitsâprâpta, which means exactly the reverse, at least if we take vikikitsâ in its usual acceptation.

² Pratisamlayana, seclusion, retirement for the purpose of meditation, absorbing oneself in meditation; Pâli paṭisallâna.

³ In one MS. added in the margin, 'after rendering homage to the Lord M., the Tathâgata.'

⁴ One would expect eighty-four thousand koṭis, the same number as above. Burnouf has in both cases eighty-four thousand Æons, and that would seem to be the preferable reading.

maparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to the four classes. By doing this, monks, each of those novices, as Bodhisattvas fully developed, instructed, excited, stimulated, edified, confirmed¹ in respect to supreme, perfect enlightenment 60 × 60² hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges.

Now, monks, at the lapse of eighty-four thousand Æons the Lord Mahābhigñāgñānābhībhū, the Tathāgata, &c., rose from his meditation, in possession of memory and consciousness, whereafter he went up to the seat of the law, designed for him, in order to occupy it.

As soon as the Lord had occupied the seat of the law, monks, he cast his looks over the whole circle of the audience and addressed the congregation of monks: They are wonderfully gifted, monks, they are prodigiously gifted, these sixteen novices, wise, servitors to many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, observers of the course (of duty), who have received Buddha-knowledge, transmitted Buddha-knowledge, expounded Buddha-knowledge. Honour these sixteen novices, monks, again and again; and all, be they devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas,

¹ Avadhāritavān; var. lect. avatāritavān, 'brought (them) to, initiated (them) in.'

² Shashāṁ shashā (var. lect. shashāśhshā) Gaṅgānadīvālikāsamāni prāṇikośānayatatasahasrāṇi; the second reading admits of being rendered, hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of living beings, equal to the sands of 60 × 60 rivers (like the) Ganges. The number 360 is that of the days in a year, the five supernumerary days (avama) not being taken into account.

who shall not reject nor repudiate the preaching of these young men of good family, O monks, shall quickly gain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and obtain Tathâgata-knowledge.

In the sequel also, monks, have these young men of good family repeatedly revealed this Dharma-paryâya of the Lotus of the True Law under the mastership of that Lord. And the 60 × 60 hundred thousand myriads of kośis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹, who by each of the sixteen novices, the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, in the quality of Bodhisattva, had been roused to enlightenment, all those beings followed the example of the sixteen novices in choosing along with them the vagrant life of mendicants, in their several existences; they enjoyed their sight and heard the law from their mouth. They propitiated forty kośis² of Buddhas, and some are doing so up to this day.

I announce to you, monks, I declare to you : Those sixteen princes, the youths, who as novices under the mastership of the Lord were interpreters of the law, have all reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, and all of them are staying, existing, living even now, in the several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields, preaching the law to many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of disciples and Bodhisattvas, to wit : In the east, monks, in the world³ Abhirati the Tathâgata named Akshobhya,

¹ Or, as above in note 2, page 176.

² Var. lect. has 40 × 100,000 × 10,000 kośis.

³ Lokadhâtu ; it appears from this passage that this term, though it may be rendered by 'world' or 'universe,' in reality means what is implied by its etymology, viz. a fixed point of the world. It is needless to remark that the points of the compass are meant.

the Arhat, &c., and the Tathâgata Merukûta, the Arhat, &c.¹ In the south-east, monks, is the Tathâgata Simhaghosha, &c., and the Tathâgata Simhadhvaga, &c.² In the south, monks, is the Tathâgata named Âkâsapratishtita, &c., and the Tathâgata named Nityaparinirvrita³, &c. In the south-west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Indradhvaga, &c., and the Tathâgata named Brahmadvaga, &c. In the west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Amitâyus⁴, &c., and the Tathâgata named Sarvalokadhâtûpadravodvegapatyuttirna, &c. In the north-west, monks, is the Tathâgata named Tamâlapatrakandanagandhâbhigña⁵, &c., and the Tathâgata Merukalpa, &c. In the north, monks, is the Tathâgata named Meghasvarapradîpa⁶, &c., and the Tathâgata

¹ I am at a loss to explain by what trick the S. E. E. point is called 'summit of the Meru.'

² The names of these two Tathâgatas mean severally, having a lion's voice, and having a lion for ensign. 'Lion' is one of the constant veiled expressions for hari, yellow, ruddy, Vishnu, lion, &c., because hari possesses all these different meanings. The Buddhas here intended may be Agni and Anila or Antariksha (=vâyû, air), both of them known by the name of hari. Cf. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, VI (new series), p. 287 seq.

³ So have my MSS.; Nityaparinirvrita, 'always extinct or quiet,' is Yama, Death.

⁴ Identical with Amitâbha; he is the ruler of the blessed dead in the city of Bliss (Sukhâvatî), and therefore a variety of Yama. His being placed in the west is explainable, because Yama and Varuna in a certain function coincide, and the latter otherwise appears as the ruler of the west. The following worthy with endless name, 'Having past all worldly calamities and emotions,' is another designation of Amitâyus, i. e. he whose life is of unlimited duration.

⁵ According to the Camb. MSS.; the name 'cognizant of the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal' denotes the Wind, the ruler of the north-west.

⁶ Var. lect. Meghasvaradîpa; Burnouf has a third form, Megha-

named Meghasvararâga, &c. In the north-east, monks, is the Tathâgata named Sarvalokabhayaâgitakḥambhitatvavidhvamsanakara¹, the Arhat, &c., and, the sixteenth, myself, Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., who have attained supreme, perfect enlightenment in the centre of this Saha-world².

Further, monks, those beings who have heard the law from us when we were novices, those many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of beings, numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, whom we have severally initiated in supreme, perfect enlightenment, they are up to this day standing on the stage of disciples and matured for supreme, perfect enlightenment. In regular turn they are to attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, for it is difficult, monks, to penetrate the knowledge of the Tathâgatas. And which are those beings, monks, who,

svara. Dîpa or pradîpa, torch, candle, light, is necessary, because the ruler of the north is the moon; meghasvara, sound of the clouds, must somehow denote the sky. Râgan, king, is king Soma (identified with the moon).

¹ Var. lect. °bhayadevâgakkḥa°, and, according to Burnouf, °bhayâstambhitatva°. The compound contains four epithets of Siva, the ruler of the north-east; sarvalokabhaya, the terror of all the world; agita, unconquerable (the var. lect. devâga is probably devâgra, the chief or supreme of gods); kḥambhitatvakara, he who causes stiffness; vidhvamsanakara, the destroyer. Kam-bhita is the regular Prâkrit form for stambhita, and here, without doubt, the original reading.

² Which seems to imply that Sâkyamuni is both the ruler of the north-west and the central point. As a ruler of the north-west we find Sikhin in *Brâhat Samhitâ*, chap. 53, 51; in Buddhist writings Sikhin is synonymous with Brahma Sahâmpati. So it would seem as if Sâkyamuni in this passage were considered to be one with Brahma.

innumerable, incalculable like the sands of the Ganges, those hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of living beings, whom I, when I was a Bodhisattva under the mastership of that Lord, have taught the law of omniscience? Yourselves, monks, were at that time those beings.

And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvâṇa, shall learn the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas, without conceiving the idea of their being Bodhisattvas. And, monks, all who shall have the idea of complete Nirvâṇa, shall reach it. It should be added, monks, as¹ I stay under different names in other worlds, they shall there be born again seeking after the knowledge of the Tathâgatas, and there they shall anew hear this dogma: The complete Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgatas is but one; there is no other, no second Nirvâṇa of the Tathâgatas. Herein, monks, one has to see a device of the Tathâgatas and a direction² for the preaching of the law. When the Tathâgata, monks, knows that the moment of his complete extinction has arrived, and sees that the assemblage is pure, strong in faith, penetrated with the law of voidness, devoted to meditation, devoted to great meditation, then, monks, the Tathâgata, because the time has arrived, calls together all Bodhisattvas and all disciples to teach them thus: There

¹ Or, perhaps, when; *api tu khalu punar, bhikshavo, yad aham anyâsu lokadhâtushu anyonyair (to r. anyânyair?) nâmadheyair viharâmi*; in one MS. a correcting hand has written in the margin *vihareyam*.

² *Abhinirhâra*; I am not sure of the correctness of this rendering; in Pâli *abhinîhâra* is interpreted to be 'earnest wish or aspiration'; *abhinîharati*, to turn, direct.

is, O monks, in this world no second vehicle at all, no second Nirvâna, far less a third. It is an able device of the Tathâgata, monks, that on seeing creatures¹ far advanced on the path of perdition, delighting in the low and plunged in the mud of sensual desires, the Tathâgata teaches them that Nirvâna to which they are attached.

By way of example, monks, suppose there is some dense forest five hundred yoganas in extent which has been reached by a great company of men. They have a guide to lead them on their journey to the Isle of Jewels, which guide, being able, clever, sagacious, well acquainted with the difficult passages of the forest, is to bring the whole company² out of the forest. Meanwhile that great troop of men, tired, weary, afraid, and anxious, say: 'Verily, Master, guide, and leader, know that we are tired, weary, afraid, and anxious; let us return; this dense forest stretches so far.' The guide, who is a man of able devices, on seeing those people desirous of returning, thinks within himself: It ought not to be that these poor creatures should not reach that great Isle of Jewels. Therefore out of pity for them he makes use of an artifice. In the middle of that forest he produces a magic city more than a hundred or two hundred yoganas in extent. Thereafter he says to those men: 'Be not afraid, sirs, do not return; there you see a populous place where you may take repose and perform all you have to do; there stay in the enjoyment of happy rest³. Let him who after

¹ Satvân, var. lect. satvadhâtûm; Burnouf has 'la réunion des êtres.'

² Sârtha, usually a company of merchants, a caravan.

³ And, of Nirvâna, nirvânaprâptâ viharadhvam.

reposing there wants to do so, proceed to the great Isle of Jewels.'

Then, monks, the men who are in the forest are struck with astonishment, and think: We are out of the forest; we have reached the place of happy rest; let us stay here. They enter that magic city, in the meaning that they have arrived at the place of their destination, that they are saved and in the enjoyment of rest. They think: We are at rest, we are refreshed¹. After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear, and says to them: 'Come, sirs, there you see the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this great city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.'

In the same manner, monks, is the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., your guide, and the guide of all other beings. Indeed, monks, the Tathâgata, &c., reflects thus: Great is this forest of evils which must be crossed, left, shunned. It ought not to be that these beings, after hearing the Buddha-knowledge, should suddenly turn back and not proceed to the end because they think: This Buddha-knowledge is attended with too many difficulties to be gone through to the end. Under those circumstances the Tathâgata, knowing the creatures to be feeble of character, (does) as the guide (who) produces the magic city in order that those people may have repose, and after their having taken repose, he tells them that the city is one produced by magic. In the same manner, monks, the Tathâgata, &c., to give a repose to the creatures, very skilfully teaches and proclaims two stages of

¹ *Sitibhûta*.

Nirvâna, viz. the stage of the disciples and that of the Pratyekabuddhas. And, monks, when the creatures are there halting, then the Tathâgata, &c., himself, pronounces these words: 'You have not accomplished your task, monks; you have not finished what you had to do. But behold, monks! the Buddha-knowledge is near; behold and be convinced¹: what to you (seems) Nirvâna, that is not Nirvâna. Nay, monks, it is an able device of the Tathâgatas, &c., that they expound three vehicles.'

And in order to explain this same subject more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

60. The Leader of the world, Abhigñâgñânâbhibhû, having occupied the terrace of enlightenment, continued ten complete intermediate kalpas without gaining enlightenment, though he saw the things in their very essence.

61. Then the gods, Nâgas, demons, and goblins, zealous to honour the Gina, sent down a rain of flowers on the spot where the Leader awakened to enlightenment.

62. And high in the sky they beat the cymbals to worship and honour the Gina, and they were vexed that the Gina delayed so long in coming to the highest place.

63. After the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Anâbhibhû² attained enlightenment; then

¹ Vyavakârayadhvam; I have not met this word elsewhere, and am not certain of its precise meaning; Burnouf renders it by 'réfléchissez-y.'

² I.e. 'he who has no one surpassing him;' it is virtually the same with Abhibhû.

all gods, men, serpents, and demons were glad and overjoyed.

64. The sixteen sons of the Leader of men, those heroes, being at the time young princes, rich in virtues, came along with thousands of koṭis of living beings to honour the eminent chiefs of men.

65. And after saluting the feet of the Leader they prayed: Reveal the law and refresh us as well as this world with thy good word, O Lion amongst kings.

66. After a long time thou art seen (again) in the ten points of this world; thou appearest, great Leader, while the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels are stirring to reveal a token to living beings.

67. In the eastern quarter fifty thousand koṭis of fields have been shaken, and the lofty angelic cars¹ in them have become excessively brilliant.

68. The Brahma-angels on perceiving this fore-token went and approached the Chief of the Leaders of the world, and, covering him with flowers, presented all of them their cars to him.

69. They prayed him to move forward the wheel of the law, and celebrated him with stanzas and songs. But the king of kings was silent, (for he thought): The time has not yet arrived for me to proclaim the law.

70. Likewise in the south, west, north, the nadir, zenith, and in the intermediate points of the compass there were thousands of koṭis of Brahma-angels.

71. Unremittingly covering the Lord (with flowers) they saluted the feet of the Leader, presented all their aerial cars, celebrated him, and again prayed :

¹ Literally, Brahma-cars.

72. Move forward the wheel, O thou whose sight is infinite! Rarely art thou met in (the course of) many *koṭis* of *Æons*. Display the benevolence thou hast observed in so many former generations¹; open the gate of immortality.

73. On hearing their prayer, he whose sight is infinite exposed the multifarious law and the four Truths, extensively. All existences (said he) spring successively from their antecedents.

74. Starting from Ignorance, the Seer proceeded to speak of death, endless woe²; all those evils spring from birth. Know likewise that death is the lot of mankind³.

75. No sooner had he expounded the multifarious, different, endless laws, than eighty myriads of *koṭis* of creatures who had heard them quickly attained the stage of disciples.

76. On a second occasion⁴ the *Gina* expounded many laws, and beings like the sands of the Ganges became instantly purified and disciples.

77. From that moment the assembly of that Leader of the world was innumerable; no man would be able to reach the term (of its number), even were he to go on counting for myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

78. Those sixteen princes also, his own dear sons,

¹ *Maitrīm* bahupūrvasevitām.*

² MSS. *prabhāshate maraṇam anantaṁ duḥkham*; Burnouf has 'parle de la mort dont la douleur est sans fin.'

³ The translation is uncertain; *mṛītyuṇi ka mānushyam imeva gānatha*. I take *imeva*, like *emeva* in other passages (e.g. in st. 103), for the *hemeva* (Sansk. *evam eva*) of the Asoka inscriptions. One might also render: 'Know that death (mortality) and humanity (human lot) are one and the same.'

⁴ Or, at a second moment, *kshaṇe*.

who had become mendicants¹ and novices, said to the *Gina* : 'Expound, O Chief, the superior law ;

79. 'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all *Ginas*, and that all these beings may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one².'

80. And the *Gina*, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of *koṭis* of illustrations.

81. Demonstrating with thousands of arguments and elucidating the knowledge of transcendent wisdom, the Lord of the world indicated the veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas.

82. This very *Sûtra* of great extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by the Lord delivered in many thousands of stanzas, so numerous as to equal the sands of the Ganges.

83. After delivering this *Sûtra*, the *Gina* entered the monastery for the purpose of becoming absorbed³ in meditation ; during eighty-four complete *Æons* the Lord of the world continued meditating, sitting on the same seat.

84. Those novices, perceiving that the Chief remained in the monastery without coming out of it, imparted to many *koṭis* of creatures that Buddha-

¹ *Kellakabhûta*, var. lect. *kelukabh.* and *kailakabhûta*. The *Kailaka* 'is he who contents himself with such a portion of clothes as barely suffices to cover his nakedness, rejecting everything more as superfluous.' Hodgson Essays, p. 52, cf. pp. 30 and 64.

² Or, according to the reading followed by Burnouf, 'clear-sighted as thyself, O hero.'

³ *Vilakshayîti*.

knowledge, which is free from imperfections and blissful.

85. On the seats which they had made to be prepared, one for each, they expounded this very Sûtra under the mastership of the Sugata of that period. A service of the same kind they render to me¹.

86. Innumerable as the sands of sixty thousand (rivers like the) Ganges were the beings then taught ; each of the sons of the Sugata converted (or trained) endless beings.

87. After the *Gina*'s complete *Nirvâna* they commenced a wandering life and saw *koṭis* of Buddhas ; along with those pupils they rendered homage to the most exalted amongst men.

88. Having observed the extensive and sublime course of duty and reached enlightenment in the ten points of space, those sixteen sons of the *Gina* became themselves *Ginas*, two by two, in each point of the horizon.

89. And all those who had been their pupils became disciples of those *Ginas*, and gradually obtained possession of enlightenment by various means.

90. I myself was one of their number, and you have all been taught by me. Therefore you are my disciples now also, and I lead you all to enlightenment by (my) devices.

91. This is the cause dating from old, this is the motive of my expounding the law, that I lead you to superior enlightenment. This being the case, monks, you need not be afraid.

92. It is as if there were a forest dreadful, terrific, barren, without a place of refuge or shelter, replete

¹ *Adhikâru kurvanti mamaivarûpam.*

with wild beasts, deprived of water, frightful for persons of no experience.

93. (Suppose further that) many thousand men have come to the forest, that waste track of wilderness which is fully five hundred yoganas in extent.

94. And he who is to act as their guide through that rough and horrible forest is a rich man, thoughtful, intelligent, wise, well instructed, and undaunted.

95. And those beings, numbering many *koṭis*, feel tired, and say to the guide: 'We are tired, Master; we are not able to go on; we should like now to return.'

96. But he, the dexterous and clever guide, is searching in his mind for some apt device. Alas! he thinks, by going back these foolish men will be deprived of the possession of the jewels.

97. Therefore let me by dint of magic power now produce a great city adorned with thousands of *koṭis* of buildings and embellished by monasteries and parks.

98. Let me produce ponds and canals; (a city) adorned with gardens and flowers, provided with walls and gates, and inhabited by an infinite number of men and women.

99. After creating that city he speaks to them in this manner: 'Do not fear, and be cheerful; you have reached a most excellent city; enter it and do your business, speedily.

100. 'Be joyful and at ease; you have reached the limit of the whole forest.' It is to give them a time for repose that he speaks these words, and, in fact, they recover from their weariness.

101. As he perceives that they have sufficiently

reposed, he collects them and addresses them again :
 ' Come, hear what I have to tell you : this city have
 I produced by magic.

102. ' On seeing you fatigued, I have, lest you
 should go back, made use of this device ; now strain
 your energy to reach the Isle.'

103. In the same manner, monks, I am the guide,
 the conductor of thousands of *koṭis* of living beings ;
 in the same manner I see creatures toiling and un-
 able to break the shell of the egg of evils¹.

104. Then I reflect on this matter : These beings
 have enjoyed repose, have been tranquillised ; now
 I will remind² them of the misery of all things (and
 I say) : ' At the stage of Arhat you shall reach your
 aim.'

105. At that time, when you shall have attained
 that state, and when I see all of you have become
 Arhats, then will I call you all together and explain
 to you how the law really is.

106. It is an artifice of the Leaders, when they,
 the great Seers, show three vehicles, for there is
 but one vehicle, no second ; it is only to help (crea-
 tures) that two vehicles are spoken of.

107. Therefore I now tell you, monks : Rouse to
 the utmost your lofty energy for the sake of the
 knowledge of the all-knowing ; as yet, you have not
 come so far as to possess complete Nirvâṇa.

108. But when you shall have attained the know-
 ledge of the all-knowing and the ten powers proper
 to *Ginas*, you shall become Buddhas marked by

¹ *Klesâṇḍakosa*.

² The rendering of this passage is doubtful ; the text runs thus :
sarvasya duḥkhasya 'nubodha eshu.

the thirty-two characteristic signs and have rest for ever.

109. Such is the teaching of the Leaders : in order to give quiet they speak of repose, (but) when they see that (the creatures) have had a repose, they, knowing this to be no final resting-place, initiate them in the knowledge of the all-knowing.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FUTURE DESTINY OF THE
FIVE HUNDRED MONKS.

On hearing from the Lord that display of skilfulness and the instruction by means of mysterious speech ; on hearing the announcement of the future destiny of the great Disciples, as well as the foregoing tale concerning ancient devotion and the leadership¹ of the Lord, the venerable Pârna, son of Maitrâyaṇī, was filled with wonder and amazement, thrilled² with pure-heartedness³, a feeling of delight and joy. He rose from his seat, full of delight and joy, full of great respect for the law, and while prostrating himself before the Lord's feet, made within himself the following reflection : Wonderful, O Lord ; wonderful, O Sugata ; it is an extremely difficult thing that the Tathâgatas, &c., perform, the conforming to this world, composed of so many elements, and preaching the law to all creatures with many proofs of their skilfulness, and skilfully releasing them when attached to this or that. What could we

¹ *Vrīṣhabhitva*, a curious and irregular form instead of *vrīṣhabhatva*.

² *Sphuṭa*, in the sense of *vyâpta* ; Pâli *phuṭa*.

³ *Nirâmishakittena*. *Nirâmisha* is both 'free from worldly taint, sensual desire,' and 'without having a lure, not eager for reward,' i.e. disinterested. Both meanings are so intimately connected that it is not always easy to decide which we should prefer, e.g. *Lalita-vistara*, p. 215, and *Manu* VI, 49.

do, O Lord, in such a case? None but the Tathâgata knows our inclination and our ancient course. Then, after saluting with his head the Lord's feet, Pûrna went and stood apart, gazing up to the Lord with unmoved eyes and so showing his veneration.

And the Lord, regarding the mental disposition of the venerable Pûrna, son of Maitrâyaṇī, addressed the entire assembly of monks in this strain: Ye monks, see¹ this disciple, Pûrna, son of Maitrâyaṇī, whom I have designated as the foremost of preachers in this assembly, praised for his many virtues, and who has applied himself in various ways to comprehend the true law. He is the man to excite, arouse, and stimulate the four classes of the audience; unwearied in the preaching of the law; as capable to preach the law as to oblige his fellow-followers of the course of duty. The Tathâgata excepted, monks, there is none able to equal Pûrna, son of Maitrâyaṇī, either essentially or in accessories. Now, monks, do you suppose that he keeps my true law only? No, monks, you must not think so. For I remember, monks, that in the past, in the times of the ninety-nine Buddhas, the same Pûrna kept the true law under the mastership of those Buddhas. Even as he is now with me, so he has, in all periods, been the foremost of the preachers of the law; has in all periods been a consummate knower of Voidness; has in all periods acquired the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat²; has in all periods reached mastership in the transcendent

¹ Pasyata, var. lect. pasyadhvam.

² Pratisaṃvid, in meaning answering to Pâli paṭisambhidâ.

wisdom of the Bodhisattvas. He has been a strongly convinced¹ preacher of the law, exempt from doubt, and quite pure. Under the mastership of those Buddhas he has during his whole existence observed a spiritual life, and everywhere they termed him 'the Disciple.' By this means he has promoted the interest of innumerable, incalculable hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of beings, and brought innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. In all periods he has assisted the creatures in the function of a Buddha, and in all periods he has purified his own Buddha-field, always striving to bring creatures to ripeness. He was also, monks, the foremost among the preachers of the law under the seven Tathâgatas, the first of whom is Vipasyin and the seventh myself².

And as to the Buddhas, monks, who have in future to appear in this Bhadra-kalpa, to the number of a thousand less four, under the mastership of them also shall this same Pârna, son of Maitrâyani, be the foremost among the preachers of the law and the keeper of the true law. Thus he shall keep the true law of innumerable and incalculable Lords and Buddhas in future, promote the interest of innumerable and incalculable beings, and bring innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. Constantly and assiduously he shall be instant in purifying his own Buddha-field and bringing creatures to ripeness.

¹ *Suvinisṛita*.

² The seven so-called Mânushi-Buddhas; a rather transparent disguise of the fact that in cosmological mythology there are seven Manus, rulers of certain periods.

After completing such a Bodhisattva-course, at the end of innumerable, incalculable Æons, he shall reach supreme and perfect enlightenment; he shall in the world be the Tathâgata called Dharmaprabhâsa, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. He shall appear in this very Buddha-field.

Further, monks, at that time the Buddha-field spoken of will look as if formed by thousands of spheres similar to the sands of the river Ganges. It will be even, like the palm of the hand, consist of seven precious substances, be without hills, and filled with high edifices of seven precious substances¹. There will be cars of the gods stationed in the sky; the gods will behold men, and men will behold the gods. Moreover, monks, at that time that Buddha-field shall be exempt from places of punishment and from womankind, as all beings shall be born by apparitional birth. They shall lead a spiritual life, have ideal² bodies, be self-lighting, magical, moving in the firmament, strenuous, of good memory, wise, possessed of gold-coloured bodies, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristics of a great man. And at that time, monks, the beings in that Buddha-field will have two things to feed upon, viz. the delight in the law and the delight in meditation. There will

¹ The Buddha-field of Pûrṇa, i.e. full, is so extremely pure, because he is, I suppose, the full moon. He is called the son of Maitrâyaṇî, because the full moon is born on the 15th day of the month. Maitrâyaṇî is a slightly disguised Maitrî, otherwise called Anurâdhâ, the 15th asterism, in the ancient series. Hence we may infer that the story of Pûrṇa is comparatively old. No wonder that Pûrṇa is surpassed by none, the Buddha excepted.

² Manomaya.

be an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas; all endowed with great transcendent wisdom, accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat, able in instructing creatures. He (that Buddha) will have a number of disciples, beyond all calculation, mighty in magic, powerful, masters in the meditation of the eight emancipations. So immense are the good qualities that Buddha-field will be possessed of. And that Æon shall be called Ratnâvabhâsa (i. e. radiant with gems), and that world Suvisuddha (i. e. very pure). His lifetime shall last immense, incalculable Æons; and after the complete extinction of that Lord Dharmaprabhâsa, the Tathâgata, &c., his true law shall last long, and his world shall be full of Stûpas made of precious substances. Such inconceivable good qualities, monks, shall the Buddha-field of that Lord be possessed of.

So spoke the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following stanzas :

1. Listen to me, monks, and hear how my son has achieved his course of duty, and how he, well-trained and skilful, has observed the course of enlightenment.

2. Viewing these beings to be lowly-disposed and to be startled at the lofty vehicle, the Bodhisattvas become disciples and exercise Pratyekabuddhaship.

3. By many hundreds of able devices they bring numerous Bodhisattvas to full ripeness and declare : We are but disciples, indeed, and we are far away from the highest and supreme enlightenment.

4. It is by learning from them this course (of duty) that *koṭis* of beings arrive at full ripeness,

who (at first), lowly-disposed and somewhat lazy, in course of time all become Buddhas.

5. They follow a course in ignorance (thinking): We, disciples, are of little use, indeed! In dependency they descend into all places of existence (successively), and (so) clear their own field.

6. They show in their own persons that they are not free from affection, hatred, and infatuation; and on perceiving (other) beings clinging to (heretical) views¹, they go so far as to accommodate themselves to those views.

7. By following such a course my numerous disciples skilfully save creatures; simple people would go mad, if they were taught the whole course of life (or story).

8. Pârma here, monks, my disciple, has formerly fulfilled his course (of duty) under thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, he has got possession of this true law by seeking after Buddha-knowledge.

9. And at all periods has he been the foremost of the disciples, learned, a brilliant orator, free from hesitation; he has, indeed, always been able to excite to gladness and at all times ready to perform the Buddha-task.

10. He has always been accomplished in the sublime transcendent faculties and endowed with the distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; he knew the faculties and range of (other) beings, and has always preached the perfectly pure law.

11. By exposing the most eminent of true laws he has brought thousands of koṭis of beings to full ripeness for this supreme, foremost vehicle, whilst purifying his own excellent field.

¹ *Drishṭivilagna.*

12. In future also he shall likewise honour thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, acquire knowledge of the most eminent of good laws, and clean his own field.

13. Always free from timidity he shall preach the law with thousands of koṭis of able devices, and bring many beings to full ripeness for the knowledge of the all-knowing that is free from imperfections.

14. After having paid homage to the Chiefs of men and always kept the most eminent of laws, he shall in the world be a Buddha self-born, widely renowned everywhere by the name of Dharma-prabhâsa.

15. And his field shall always be very pure and always set off with seven precious substances; his Æon shall be (called) Ratnâvabhâsa, and his world Suvisuddha.

16. That world shall be pervaded with many thousand koṭis of Bodhisattvas, accomplished masters in the great transcendent sciences, pure in every respect, and endowed with magical power.

17. At that period the Chief shall also have an assemblage of thousands of koṭis of disciples, endowed with magical power, adepts at the meditation of the (eight) emancipations, and accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat.

18. And all beings in that Buddha-field shall be pure and lead a spiritual life. Springing into existence by apparitional birth, they shall all be gold-coloured and display the thirty-two characteristic signs.

19. They shall know no other food but pleasure in the law and delight in knowledge. No woman-kind shall be there, nor fear of the places of punishments or of dismal states.

20. Such shall be the excellent field of Pûrṇa, who is possessed of all good qualities; it shall abound with all goodly things¹, a small part (only) of which has here been mentioned.

Then this thought arose in the mind of those twelve hundred self-controlled (Arhats): We are struck with wonder and amazement. (How) if the Tathâgata would predict to us severally our future destiny as the Lord has done to those other great disciples? And the Lord apprehending in his own mind what was going on in the minds of these great disciples addressed the venerable Mahâ-Kâsyapa: Those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers whom I am now beholding from face to face, to all those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers, Kâsyapa, I will presently foretell their destiny. Amongst them, Kâsyapa, the monk Kaundînya, a great disciple, shall, after sixty-two hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas, become a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c., under the name of Samantaprabhâsa, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. &c.; but of those (twelve hundred), Kâsyapa, five hundred shall become Tathâgatas of the same name. Thereafter shall all those five hundred great disciples reach supreme and perfect enlightenment, all bearing the name of Samantaprabhâsa; viz. Gayâ-Kâsyapa, Nadî-Kâsyapa, Uruvilvâ-Kâsyapa, Kâla, Kâlodâyin, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Vakkula², Kunda³, Svâgata⁴,

¹ Âkîrṇa sarvehi subhadrakehi; Burnouf takes it as a masculine, rendering it by 'créatures fortunées.'

² Also spelt Vakula; see p. 2.

³ Probably the same with Mahâ-Kunda in Mahâvagga I, 6, 36; Kullavagga I, 18, 1.

⁴ Pâli Sâgata, Mahâvagga V, 1, 3.

and the rest of the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats).

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

21. The scion of the *Kundīna* family, my disciple here, shall in future be a Tathâgata, a Lord of the world, after the lapse of an endless period ; he shall educate hundreds of *koṭis* of living beings.

22. After seeing many endless Buddhas, he shall in future, after the lapse of an endless period, become the *Gina Samantaprabhâsa*, whose field shall be thoroughly pure.

23. Brilliant, gifted with the powers of a Buddha, with a voice far resounding in all quarters, waited upon by thousands of *koṭis* of beings, he shall preach supreme and eminent enlightenment.

24. There shall be most zealous Bodhisattvas, mounted on lofty aerial cars, and moving, meditative, pure in morals, and assiduous in doing good.

25. After hearing the law from the highest of men, they shall invariably go to other fields, to salute thousands of Buddhas and show them great honour.

26. But ere long they shall return to the field of the Leader called *Prabhâsa*, the Tathâgata¹. So great shall be the power of their course (of duty).

27. The measure of the lifetime of that Sugata shall be sixty thousand *Æons*, and, after the complete extinction of that mighty one², his true law shall remain twice as long in the world.

28. And the counterfeit of it shall continue three

¹ Var. lect. 'the most high (or best) of men.'

² *Tâyin*.

times as long. When the true law of that holy one shall be exhausted, men and gods shall be vexed.

29. There shall appear a complete number of five hundred Chiefs, supreme amongst men, who shall bear the same name with that *Gina*, *Samantaprabha*, and follow one another in regular succession.

30. All shall have like divisions, magical powers, Buddha-fields, and hosts (of followers). Their true law also shall be the same and stand equally long.

31. All shall have in this world, including the gods, the same voice as *Samantaprabhâsa*, the highest of men, such as I have mentioned before.

32. Moved by benevolence and compassion they shall in succession foretell each other's destiny, with the words: This is to be my immediate successor, and he is to command the world as I do at present.

33. Thus, *Kâsyapa*, keep now in view¹ here these self-controlled (Arhats), no less than five hundred (in number), as well as my other disciples, and speak of this matter to the other disciples.

On hearing from the Lord the announcement of their own future destiny, the five hundred Arhats, contented, satisfied, in high spirits and ecstasy, filled with cheerfulness, joy, and delight, went up to the place where the Lord was sitting, reverentially saluted with their heads his feet, and spoke thus: We confess our fault, O Lord, in having continually and constantly persuaded ourselves that we had arrived

¹ *Dhârehi*. I am not sure of the correctness of this translation; the word usually means 'to keep,' but this seems out of place, unless it be assumed that the injunction is given in anticipation, because *Kâsyapa* succeeded to the Lord after the latter's *Nirvâna*. Burnouf has: '*Voilà-comme tu dois considérer ici en ce jour ces Auditeurs,*' &c.

at final Nirvāṇa, as (persons who are) dull, inept, ignorant of the rules. For, O Lord, whereas we should have thoroughly penetrated the knowledge of the Tathāgatas, we were content with such a trifling degree of knowledge.

It is, O Lord, as if some man having come to a friend's house got drunk or fell asleep, and that friend bound a priceless gem within¹ his garment, with the thought: Let this gem be his. After a while, O Lord, that man rises from his seat and travels further; he goes to some other country, where he is befallen by incessant difficulties, and has great trouble to find food and clothing. By dint of great exertion he is hardly able to obtain a bit of food, with which (however) he is contented and satisfied. The old friend of that man, O Lord, who bound within the man's garment that priceless gem, happens to see him again and says: How is it, good friend, that thou hast such difficulty in seeking food and clothing, while I, in order that thou shouldst live in ease, good friend, have bound within thy garment a priceless gem, quite sufficient to fulfil all thy wishes? I have given thee that gem, my good friend, the very gem I have bound within thy garment. Still thou art deliberating: What has been bound? by whom? for what reason and purpose? It is something foolish², my good friend, to be contented, when thou hast with (so much) difficulty to procure food and clothing. Go, my good friend, betake thyself, with this gem, to some great city,

¹ Vastrānte, vasanānte; below in stanza 40 we find vasa-nāntarasmi.

² Etad bālagāṭṭiyam.

exchange the gem for money, and with that money do all that can be done with money.

In the same manner, O Lord, has the Tathâgata formerly, when he still followed the course of duty of a Bodhisattva, raised in us also ideas of omniscience, but we, O Lord, did not perceive, nor know it. We fancied, O Lord, that on the stage of Arhat we had reached Nirvâna. We live in difficulty, O Lord, because we content ourselves with such a trifling degree of knowledge. But as our strong aspiration after the knowledge of the all-knowing has never ceased, the Tathâgata teaches us the right: 'Have no such idea of Nirvâna, monks; there are in your intelligence¹ roots of goodness which of yore I have fully developed. In this you have to see an able device of mine that from the expressions used by me, in preaching the law, you fancy Nirvâna to take place at this moment².' And after having taught us the right in such a way, the Lord now predicts our future destiny to supreme and perfect knowledge.

And on that occasion the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats), Âgñâta-Kaundînya and the rest, uttered the following stanzas:

34. We are rejoicing and delighted to hear this unsurpassed word of comfort that we are destined to the highest, supreme enlightenment. Homage be to thee, O Lord of unlimited sight!

35. We confess our fault before thee; we were so childish, nescient, ignorant that we were fully contented with a small part of Nirvâna, under the mastership of the Sugata.

¹ Santâne.

² Or, at present, etarhi.

36. This is a case like that of a certain man who enters the house of a friend, which friend, being rich and wealthy, gives him much food, both hard and soft.

37. After satiating him with nourishment, he gives him a jewel of great value. He ties it with a knot within the upper robe and feels satisfaction at having given that jewel.

38. The other man, unaware of it, goes forth and from that place travels to another town. There he is befallen with misfortune and, as a miserable beggar, seeks his food in affliction.

39. He is contented with the pittance he gets by begging without caring for dainty food; as to that jewel, he has forgotten it; he has not the slightest remembrance of its having been tied in his upper robe.

40. Under these circumstances he is seen by his old friend who at home gave him that jewel. This friend properly reprimands him and shows him the jewel within his robe.

41. At this sight the man feels extremely happy. The value of the jewel is such that he becomes a very rich man, of great power, and in possession of all that the five senses can enjoy.

42. In the same manner, O Lord, we were unaware of our former aspiration¹, (the aspiration) laid in us by the Tathâgata himself in previous existences from time immemorial.

43. And we were living in this world, O Lord, with dull understanding and in ignorance, under the

¹ *Pranidhâna*; from the context one would gather that the real meaning had been 'predestination.'

mastership of the Sugata ; for we were contented with a little of Nirvâṇa ; we required nothing higher, nor even cared for it.

44. But the Friend of the world has taught us better : ' This is no blessed Rest¹ at all ; the full knowledge of the highest men², that is blessed Rest, that is supreme beatitude.'

45. After hearing this sublime, grand, splendid, and matchless prediction, O Lord, we are greatly elated with joy, when thinking of the prediction (we shall have to make to each other) in regular succession.

¹ Nirvṛti.

² Purushottamânâm.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FUTURE DESTINY OF ÂNANDA,
RÂHULA, AND THE TWO THOUSAND MONKS.

On that occasion the venerable Ânanda made this reflection: Should we also receive a similar prediction? Thus thinking, pondering, wishing, he rose from his seat, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and uttered the following words. And the venerable Râhula also, in whom rose the same thought and the same wish as in Ânanda, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet, and uttered these words: 'Let it be our turn also, O Lord; let it be our turn also, O Sugata. The Lord is our father and procreator, our refuge and protection. For in this world, including men, gods, and demons, O Lord, we are particularly distinguished¹, as people say: These are the Lord's sons, the Lord's attendants; these are the keepers of the law-treasure of the Lord. Therefore, Lord, it would seem meet², were the Lord ere long to predict our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.'

Two thousand other monks, and more, both such as were still under training and such as were not, likewise rose from their seats, put their upper robes upon one shoulder, stretched their joined hands

¹ Or respected, *ġitirīkrīta*; cf. Pāli *ġittīkāra* and Sansk. *ġitirīkāra*, *Lalita-vistara*, p. 347.

² *Pratirūpa*.

towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him, all pre-occupied with the same thought, viz. of this very Buddha-knowledge: Should we also receive a prediction of our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then the Lord addressed the venerable Ānanda in these words: Thou, Ānanda, shalt in future become a Tathāgata by the name of Sāgaravaradharabuddhivikrāntābhigñā¹, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. After having honoured, respected, venerated, and worshipped sixty-two koṭis of Buddhas, kept in memory the true law of those Buddhas and received this command, thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment, and bring to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of twenty Ganges². And thy Buddha-field shall consist of lapis lazuli and be superabundant. The sphere shall be named Anavanāmita-vaigayanta and the Æon Manogñā-sadbābhigargita. The lifetime of that Lord Sāgaravaradharabuddhivikrāntābhigñā, the Tathāgata, &c., shall measure an immense number of Æons, Æons

¹ The epithet Sāgaravaradharavipulabuddhi, i.e. having the great intelligence of Sāgaravaradhara, is bestowed on the Bodhisattva destined to be born as Sākyamuni, *Lālita-vistara*, p. 10. As the next preceding epithet, i. e. mahāpadmagarbhekshana, seems to point to the sun, I infer that Sāgaravara, the choicest of oceans, denotes Soma, and Sāgaravaradhara, the keeper of that ocean, the moon.

² According to the reading *vimsatim Gaṅgānādvālikopamāni*; var. lect. has *vimsati-Gaṅgā*, so that Burnouf's rendering 'égal à celui des sables de vingt fleuves du Gange' is admissible. On the other hand it must be remarked that we shall meet in the sequel with the phrase *bahūni Gaṅgānādvālikopamāni Buddhakośinayuta-sata sahasrāni*.

the term of which is not to be found by calculation. So many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of incalculable *Æons* shall last the lifetime of that Lord. Twice as long, Ânanda, after the complete extinction of that Lord, shall his true law stand, and twice as long again shall continue its counterfeit. And further, Ânanda, many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Buddhas, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, shall in all directions of space speak the praise of that Tathâgata Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrîḍitâbhigñā, the Arhat, &c.

1. I announce to you, congregated monks, that Ânanda-Bhadra, the keeper of my law, shall in future become a *Gina*, after having worshipped sixty *koṭis* of Sugatas.

2. He shall be widely renowned by the name of Sâgarabuddhidhârin Abhigñâprâpta¹, in a beautiful, thoroughly clear field, (termed) Anavanatâ Vaigayantî (i. e. triumphal banner unlowered).

3. There shall be Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges and even more, whom he shall bring to full ripeness; he shall be a *Gina* endowed with great (magical) power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world.

4. The duration of his life shall be immense. He shall always be benign and merciful to the world. After the complete extinction of that *Gina* and mighty saint², his true law shall stand twice as long.

5. The counterfeit (shall continue) twice as long

¹ These names may be translated by 'possessor of an intellect (unfathomable) as the ocean, having arrived at transcendent wisdom.'

² Tâyin.

under the rule¹ of that *Gina*. Then also shall beings like grains of sand of the Ganges produce in this world what is the cause of Buddha-enlightenment.

In that assembly were eight thousand Bodhisattvas who had newly entered the vehicle. To them this thought presented itself: Never before did we have such a sublime prediction to Bodhisattvas, far less to disciples. What may be the cause of it? what the motive? The Lord, who apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those Bodhisattvas, addressed them in these words: Young men of good family, I and Ānanda have in the same moment, the same instant conceived the idea of supreme and perfect enlightenment in the presence of the Tathāgata Dharmagahanābhyudgatarāja², the Arhat, &c. At that period, young men of good family, he (Ānanda) constantly and assiduously applied himself to great learning, whereas I was applying myself to strenuous labour. Hence I sooner arrived at supreme and perfect enlightenment, whilst Ānanda-Bhadra was the keeper of the law-treasure of the Lords Buddhas; that is to say, young men of good family, he made a vow³ to bring Bodhisattvas to full development.

When the venerable Ānanda heard from the Lord the announcement of his own destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment, when he learned the good qualities of his Buddha-field and its divisions, when he heard of the vow he had made in the

¹ I.e. reign, epoch inaugurated by him.

² Var. lect. Dharmagaganā° and Dharmagamanā°.

³ Prañidhāna.

past, he felt pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight. And at that juncture he remembered the true law of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas and his own vow of yore.

And on that occasion the venerable Ânanda uttered the following stanzas :

6. Wonderful, boundless are the *Gīnas*¹ who remind us of the law preached by the extinct *Gīnas* and mighty saints². Now I remember it as if it had happened to-day or yesterday³.

7. I am freed from all doubts; I am ready for enlightenment. Such is my skilfulness, (as) I am the servitor⁴, and keep the true law for the sake of enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Râhula-Bhadra in these words: Thou, Râhula, shalt be in future a Tathâgata of the name of Saptaratnapadmavikrântagâmin⁵, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. After having honoured, respected, venerated, worshipped a number of Tathâgatas, &c., equal to the atoms of ten worlds, thou shalt always be the eldest son of those Lords Buddhas, just as thou art mine at present. And, Râhula, the measure of the lifetime of that Lord Saptaratnapadmavikrântagâmin, the Tathâgata, &c., and the abundance of all sorts of good qualities (belonging to him) shall be exactly the same as of

¹ This may be interpreted as being a pluralis majestatis.

² Tâyin.

³ Adya svo vâ; cf. note 2, p. 154.

⁴ *Pariââraka*, synonymous with *upasthâyaka*, one who is in attendance, in readiness, an attendant, a servitor, a satellite.

⁵ So my MSS.; Burnouf has *Saptaratnapadmavikrâmin*.

the Lord Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrāṭitābhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.; likewise shall the divisions of the Buddha-field and its qualities be the same as those possessed by that Lord. And, Râhula, thou shalt be the eldest son of that Tathâgata Sâgaravaradharabuddhivikrāṭitābhigñā, the Arhat, &c. Afterwards thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment.

8. Râhula here, my own eldest son, who was born to me when I was a prince royal, he, my son, after my reaching enlightenment, is a great Seer, an heir to the law¹.

9. The great number of koṭis of Buddhas which he shall see in future, is immense. To all these Ginas he shall be a son, striving after enlightenment.

10. Unknown is this course (of duty) to Râhula², but I know his (former) vow. He glorifies the Friend of the world³ (by saying): I am, forsooth, the Tathâgata's son.

11. Innumerable myriads of koṭis of good qualities, the measure of which is never to be found, appertain to this Râhula, my son; for it has been said: He exists by reason of enlightenment.

The Lord now again regarded those two thousand disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, who were looking up to him with serene, mild, placid minds. And the Lord then addressed the venerable Ânanda: Seest thou, Ânanda, these two thousand disciples, both such as are still under training and such as are not? 'I

¹ Cf. the myth according to which Râhu, the personified eclipse, came in for his share before Brahma, the father of the world.

² Or of Râhula.

³ Lokabandhu, from elsewhere known as an epithet of the sun.

do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: All these two thousand monks, Ânanda, shall simultaneously accomplish the course of Bodhi-sattvas, and after honouring, respecting, venerating, worshipping Buddhas as numerous as the atoms of fifty worlds, and after acquiring the true law, they shall, in their last bodily existence, attain supreme and perfect enlightenment at the same time, the same moment, the same instant, the same juncture in all directions of space, in different worlds, each in his own Buddha-field. They shall become Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c., by the name of Ratnaketurâgas¹. Their lifetime shall last a complete Æon. The division and good qualities of their Buddha-fields shall be equal; equal also shall be the number of the congregation of their disciples and Bodhi-sattvas; equal also shall be their complete extinction, and their true law shall continue an equal time.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

12. These two thousand disciples, Ânanda, who here are standing before me, to them, the sages, I now predict that in future they shall become Tathâgatas.

13. After having paid eminent worship to the Buddhas, by means of infinite comparisons and examples, they shall, when standing in their last bodily existence, reach my extreme enlightenment.

14. They shall all, under the same name, in every direction, at the same moment and instant, and

¹ In astrological works, in the enumeration of Grahas (sun, moon, planets, &c.), the Ketus are constantly named after Râhu. It is hardly fortuitous that here we find these 'kings of Ketus' mentioned immediately after Râhula.

sitting at the foot of the most exalted tree, become Buddhas, after they shall have reached the knowledge.

15. All shall bear the same name of Ketus¹ of the Ratna, by which they shall be widely famed in this world. Their excellent fields shall be equal, and equal the congregation of disciples and Bodhisattvas.

16. Strong in magic power, they shall all simultaneously, in every direction of space, reveal the law in this world and all at once² become extinct; their true law shall last equally long.

And the disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, on hearing from the Lord, face to face, the prediction concerning each of them, were pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight, and addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

17. We are satisfied, O Light of the world, to hear this prediction; we are pleased, O Tathâgata, as if sprinkled with nectar.

18. We have no doubt, no uncertainty that we shall become supreme amongst men; to-day we have obtained felicity, because we have heard that prediction.

¹ Ketumâlâ, apparently 'cluster of Ketus,' is the appellation of the western region; Ketumat is a ruler of the western quarter, i.e. the personification of the west. The phrase rendered by 'standing in their last bodily existence' (*paśkīme samukkkhaya*), in stanza 13, also means 'standing in their elevation in the west.'

² MSS. have *sadâpi*, but this is obviously a clerical error for *sahâpi*.



CHAPTER X.

THE PREACHER.

The Lord then addressed the eighty thousand Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas by turning to Bhaishagya-râga as their representative. Seest thou, Bhaishagya-râga, in this assembly the many gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, votaries of the vehicle of disciples, votaries of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, and those of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, who have heard this Dharmaparyâya from the mouth of the Tathâgata? ‘I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.’ The Lord proceeded: Well, Bhaishagya-râga, all those Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who in this assembly have heard, were it but a single stanza, a single verse (or word), or who even by a single rising thought have joyfully accepted this Sûtra, to all of them, Bhaishagya-râga, among the four classes of my audience I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. And all whosoever, Bhaishagya-râga, who, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, shall hear this Dharmaparyâya and after hearing, were it but a single stanza, joyfully accept it, even with a single rising thought, to those also, Bhaishagya-râga, be they young men or young ladies of good family, I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Those young men or ladies

of good family, Bhaishagyaṛāga, shall be worshippers of many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaṛāga, shall have made a vow under hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. They must be considered as being reborn amongst the people of Gambudvīpa¹, out of compassion to all creatures. Those who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyāya; who by that book² shall feel veneration for the Tathāgatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters³, honour, revere, worship them; who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, &c., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands; in short, Bhaishagyaṛāga, any young men or young ladies of good family who shall keep or joyfully accept were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyāya, to all of them, Bhaishagyaṛāga, I predict their being destined to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Should some man or woman, Bhaishagyaṛāga, happen to ask: How now have those creatures to be who in future are to become Tathāgatas, Arhats, &c.? then that man or woman should be referred to the example of that young man or young lady of good family. 'Whoever is able to keep, recite, or teach,

¹ I. e. India.

² Tasmin pustake, literally 'at that book,' i. e. when that book is being read, written, heard, &c.

³ Sâstrigauraveṇa satkarishyanti. I take the instrumental case here to be the instrumental of manner.

were it but a single stanza of four lines, and whoever shows respect for this Dharmaparyâya, that young man or young lady of good family shall in future become a Tathâgata, &c.; be persuaded of it.' For, Bhaishagyarâga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be considered to be a Tathâgata, and by the whole world, including the gods, honour should be done to such a Tathâgata who keeps were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyâya, and far more, of course, to one who grasps, keeps, comprehends, makes known, copies, and after copying always retains in his memory this Dharmaparyâya entirely and completely, and who honours that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, joined hands, reverential bows and salutations. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyarâga, must be held to be accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment; must be held to be the like of a Tathâgata, who out of compassion and for the benefit of the world, by virtue of a former vow, makes his appearance here in Gambudvîpa, in order to make this Dharmaparyâya generally known. Whosoever, after leaving¹ his own lofty conception of the law² and the lofty Buddha-field occupied by him, in order to make generally known this Dharmaparyâya, after my

¹ Sthâpayitvâ, which commonly means 'apart from, barring.'

² Yaś svam (var. lect. yas tam)—dharmâbhisamskâram. If we follow the former reading, sthâpayitvâ can hardly be taken in the sense of 'apart from;' in the other case it would be possible, though I should be at a loss to guess the purport of the phrase. The real meaning of dharmâbhisamskâra is, probably, 'position in life' or 'religion.' Cf. stanza 4 below.

complete Nirvâna, may be deemed to have appeared¹ in the predicament of a Tathâgata², such a one, Bhaishagyarâga, be it a young man or a young lady of good family, must be held to perform the function of the Tathâgata, to be a deputy of the Tathâgata. As such, Bhaishagyarâga, should be acknowledged the young man or the young lady of good family, who communicates this Dharmaparyâya, after the complete Nirvâna of the Tathâgata, were it but in secret or by stealth or to one single creature that he communicated or told it.

Again, Bhaishagyarâga, if some creature vicious, wicked, and cruel-minded should in the (current) Age speak something injurious in the face of the Tathâgata, and if some should utter a single harsh word, founded or unfounded, to those irreproachable preachers of the law and keepers of this Sûtrânta, whether lay devotees or clergymen, I declare that the latter sin is the graver. For, Bhaishagyarâga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be held to be adorned with the apparel of the Tathâgata. He carries the Tathâgata on his shoulder, Bhaishagyarâga, who after having copied this Dharmaparyâya and made a volume of it, carries it on his shoulder. Such a one, wherever he goes, must be saluted by all beings with joined hands, must be honoured, respected, worshipped, venerated, revered by gods and men with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, musical instruments, with

¹ Upapanna, an ambiguous term ; it may also mean 'fit.'

² Tathâgata-bhûta ; a var. lect. has Tathâgata-dûta, a messenger, a deputy of the Tathâgata.

food, soft and hard, with nourishment and drink, with vehicles, with heaps of choice and gorgeous jewels. That preacher of the law must be honoured by heaps of gorgeous jewels being presented to that preacher of the law. For it may be that by his expounding this Dharmaparyâya, were it only once, innumerable, incalculable beings who hear it shall soon become accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1. He who wishes to be established in Buddhahood and aspires to the knowledge of the Self-born¹, must honour those who keep this doctrine.

2. And he who is desirous of omniscience and thinks: How shall I soonest reach it? must try to know this Sûtra by heart, or at least honour one who knows it.

3. He has been sent by the Lord of the world to convert (or catechise) men, he who out of compassion for mankind recites this Sûtra².

4. After giving up a good position, that great man³ has come hither, he who out of compassion for mankind keeps this Sûtra (in memory).

5. It is by force of his position, that in the last times he is seen preaching this unsurpassed Sûtra.

6. That preacher of the law must be honoured

¹ Svayambhûgñâna, which, to my apprehension, is an alteration of brahmavidyâ.

² From such a passage as this one might be tempted to believe that it had been the intention of the author of this verse to represent Buddha as eternal; cf. Burnouf's remarks in his Introduction, p. 119.

³ I. e. the preacher or catechiser.

with divine and human flowers and all sorts of perfumes; be decked with divine cloth and strewed with jewels.

7. One should always reverentially salute him with joined hands, as if he were the Chief of *Gīnas* or the Self-born, he who in these most dreadful, last days keeps this *Sūtra* of the Extinct (Buddha).

8. One should give food, hard and soft, nourishment and drink, lodging in a convent, *koṭis* of robes to honour the son of *Gīna*, when he has propounded, be it but once, this *Sūtra*.

9. He performs the task of the *Tathāgatas* and has been sent by me to the world of men, he who in the last days shall copy, keep, or hear this *Sūtra*.

10. The man who in wickedness of heart or with frowning brow should at any time of a whole *Æon* utter something injurious in my presence, commits a great sin.

11. But one who reviles and abuses those guardians of this *Sūtrānta*, when they are expounding this *Sūtra*, I say that he commits a still greater sin.

12. The man who, striving for superior enlightenment, shall in a complete *Æon* praise me in my face with joined hands, with many myriads of *koṭis* of stanzas,

13. Shall thence derive a great merit, since he has glorified me in gladness of heart. But a still greater merit shall he acquire who pronounces the praise of those (preachers).

14. One who shall during eighteen thousand *koṭis* of *Æons* pay worship to those objects of veneration¹, with words, visible things, flavours, with divine scents and divine kinds of touch,

¹ *Pusteshu*. I think that these *pustas*, models, images, denote

15. If such a one, by his paying that worship to the objects of veneration during eighteen thousand *koṭis* of *Æons*, happens to hear this *Sūtra*, were it only once, he shall obtain an amazingly great advantage.

I announce to thee, *Bhaishagya-râga*, I declare to thee, that many are the *Dharmaparyâyas* which I have propounded, am propounding, and shall propound. And among all those *Dharmaparyâyas*, *Bhaishagya-râga*, it is this which is apt to meet with no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody. This, indeed, *Bhaishagya-râga*, is the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the *Tathâgatas*, but never divulged; it is an article (of creed)¹ not yet made known. By the majority of people, *Bhaishagya-râga*, this *Dharmaparyâya* is rejected during the lifetime of the *Tathâgata*; in far higher degree such will be the case after his complete extinction.

Nevertheless, *Bhaishagya-râga*, one has to consider those young men or young ladies of good family to be invested with the robes of the *Tathâgata*; to be regarded and blessed by the *Tathâgatas* living in other worlds, that they shall have the force of individual persuasion, the force that is rooted in virtue,

the exemplary preachers who are likened to the *Tathâgata*, and sent by him (*Tathâgata-bhûta* and *Tathâgata-dûta*), spoken of in the preceding verses as well as in the prose passages above. Instead of models, I have used the phrase, objects of veneration, for clearness sake. Burnouf's original rendering 'images' is, so far as I can see, preferable to his correction of it into 'books.' There is no question of books, only of a single work, the *Lotus*; and it is clear that we must try to make the contents of the last two stanzas agree with the final part of the preceding prose.

¹ Or point of view, standpoint.

and the force of a pious vow. They shall dwell apart in the convents of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagya-râga, and shall have their heads stroked by the hand of the Tathâgata, those young men and young ladies of good family, who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata shall believe, read, write, honour this Dharmaparyâya and recite it to others.

Again, Bhaishagya-râga, on any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyâya is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited in chorus, on that spot, Bhaishagya-râga, one should build a Tathâgata-shrine, magnificent, consisting of precious substances, high, and spacious ; but it is not necessary to depose in it relics of the Tathâgata. For the body of the Tathâgata is, so to say, collectively deposited there. Any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyâya is expounded or taught or recited or rehearsed in chorus or written or kept in a volume, must be honoured, respected, revered, worshipped as if it were a Stûpa, with all sorts of flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with all kinds of song, music, dancing, musical instruments, castanets¹, and shouts in chorus. And those, Bhaishagya-râga, who approach a Tathâgata-shrine to salute or see it, must be held to be near supreme and perfect enlightenment. For, Bhaishagya-râga, there are many laymen as well as priests who observe the course of a Bodhisattva without, however, coming so far as to see, hear, write or worship this Dharmaparyâya. So long as they do not hear this Dharmaparyâya, they are not yet proficient in the course of a Bodhisattva. But

¹ Tâdâvâkara.

those who hear this, Dharmaparyâya and thereupon accept, penetrate, understand, comprehend it, are at the time near supreme, perfect enlightenment, so to say, immediately near it.

It is a case, Bhaishagyarâga, similar to that of a certain man, who in need and in quest of water, in order to get water, causes a well to be dug in an arid tract of land. So long as he sees that the sand being dug out is dry and white, he thinks: the water is still far off. After some time he sees that the sand being dug out is moist, mixed with water, muddy, with trickling drops, and that the working men who are engaged in digging the well are bespattered with mire and mud. On seeing that foretold, Bhaishagyarâga, the man will be convinced and certain that water is near. In the same manner, Bhaishagyarâga, will these Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas be far away from supreme and perfect enlightenment so long as they do not hear, nor catch, nor penetrate, nor fathom, nor mind this Dharmaparyâya. But when the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas shall hear, catch, penetrate, study, and mind this Dharmaparyâya, then, Bhaishagyarâga, they will be, so to say, immediately near supreme, perfect enlightenment. From this Dharmaparyâya, Bhaishagyarâga, will accrue to creatures supreme and perfect enlightenment. For this Dharmaparyâya contains an explanation of the highest mystery, the secret article¹ of the law which the Tathâgatas, &c., have revealed for the perfecting of the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. Any Bodhisattva, Bhaishagyarâga, who is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyâya,

¹ Or point.

may be held, Bhaishagyarâga, to have (but) newly entered the vehicle¹. If, however, a votary of the vehicle of the disciples is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyâya, such a person, devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, Bhaishagyarâga, may be deemed a conceited man.

Any Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, Bhaishagyarâga, who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, in the last times, the last period shall set forth this Dharmaparyâya to the four classes of hearers, should do so, Bhaishagyarâga, after having entered the abode² of the Tathâgata, after having put on the robe of the Tathâgata, and occupied the pulpit of the Tathâgata. And what is the abode of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the abiding³ in charity (or kindness) to all beings; that is the abode of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga, which the young man of good family has to enter. And what is the robe of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the apparel of sublime forbearance; that is the robe of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga, which the young man of good family has to put on. What is the pulpit of the Tathâgata, Bhaishagyarâga? It is the entering into the voidness (or complete abstraction) of all laws (or things); that is the pulpit, Bhaishagyarâga, on which the young man of good family has to sit in order to set forth this Dharmaparyâya to the four classes of hearers. A Bodhisattva ought to propound this Dharmaparyâya with unshrinking mind, before the face of the congregated Bodhisattvas, the four classes

¹ The Mahâyâna, apparently.

² Layana, recess, retreat, refuge, cell, lair, stronghold, asylum, abode.

³ Vihâra, both walk and abode, and further, monastery.

of hearers, who are striving for the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, and I, staying in another world, Bhaishagya-râga, will by means of fictitious creatures¹ make the minds of the whole congregation favourably disposed to that young man of good family, and I will send fictitious monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees in order to hear the sermon of the preacher, who are unable to gainsay or contradict him². If afterwards he shall have retired to the forest, I will send thither many gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, and great serpents to hear him preach, while I, staying in another world, Bhaishagya-râga, will show my face to that young man of good family, and the words and syllables of this Dharmaparyâya which he happens to have forgotten will I again suggest to him³ when he repeats his lesson.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

16. Let one listen to this exalted Sûtra, avoiding all distractedness ; for rare is the occasion (given) for hearing it, and rare also the belief in it.

¹ Nirmitaiḥ ; the word is masculine, as appears from the sequel.

² I cannot tell what real phenomena are underlying these creations of the Buddha after his Nirvâṇa ; but this much seems clear, that we have in this piece a description of the practical course a young preacher has to go through in order to become fit for his task.

³ Pratyukṣârayishyâmi, literally, I will cause him to re-utter. The real purport, unless I am much mistaken, is : on a following day (Buddha) will restore what the student has forgotten from his lesson, provided he reads the passage again ; or, if we take the words in a spiritual sense, the mental light of the student will again supply what he has forgotten of his lesson. Cf. stanza 31.

17. It is a case similar to that of a certain man who in want of water goes to dig a well in an arid tract of land, and sees how again and again only dry sand is being dug up.

18. On seeing which he thinks : the water is far off ; a token of its being far off is the dry white sand which appears in digging.

19. But when he (afterwards) sees again and again the sand moist and smooth, he gets the conviction that water cannot be very far off.

20. So, too, are those men far from Buddha-knowledge who have not heard this Sûtra and have failed to repeatedly meditate on it.

21. But those who have heard and oft meditated on this profound king amongst Sûtras, this authoritative book¹ for disciples,

22. Are wise and near Buddha-knowledge, even as from the moisture of sand may be inferred that water is near.

23. After entering the abode of the *Gina*, putting on his robe and sitting down on my seat, the preacher should, undaunted, expound this Sûtra.

24. The strength of charity (or kindness) is my abode ; the apparel of forbearance is my robe ; and voidness (or complete abstraction) is my seat ; let (the preacher) take his stand on this and preach.

25. Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words and threats fall to the lot of the preacher, let him be patient, thinking of me.

26. My body has existed entire in thousands of

¹ *Viniskaya*, decision, here hardly differing from *tantra* or *siddhânta*. After the model of the latter has been framed the term *Sûtrânta* ; and the *Lotus*, as we know, is a *Sûtrânta*.

koṭis of regions ; during a number of koṭis of Æons beyond comprehension I teach the law to creatures.

27. To that courageous man who shall proclaim this Sûtra after my complete extinction I will also send many creations¹.

28. Monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, will honour him as well as the classes of the audience.

29. And should there be some to attack him with clods, sticks, injurious words, threats, taunts, then the creations shall defend him.

30. And when he shall stay alone, engaged in study, in a lonely place, in the forest or the hills,

31. Then will I show him my luminous body and enable him to remember the lesson he forgot².

32. While he is living lonely in the wilderness, I will send him gods and goblins in great number to keep him company.

33. Such are the advantages he is to enjoy ; whether he is preaching to the four classes, or living, a solitary, in mountain caverns and studying his lesson, he will see me.

34. His readiness of speech knows no impediment ; he understands the manifold requisites of exegesis ; he satisfies thousands of koṭis of beings because he is, so to say, inspired (or blessed) by the Buddha³.

¹ Bahunirmitân. As a class of angels is called Parinirmita Vasavartin, it may be that the idea the word nirmita was intended to convey to the simple-minded is that of angels.

² Here the Buddha seems to be the personification of the faculty of memory, of mental light.

³ Buddhena. Burnouf seems to have read Buddhaiḥ, the plural.

35. And the creatures who are entrusted to his care shall very soon all become Bodhisattvas, and by cultivating his intimacy they shall behold Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

CHAPTER XI.

APPARITION OF A STÛPA.

Then there arose a Stûpa, consisting of seven precious substances, from the place of the earth opposite the Lord, the assembly being in the middle¹, a Stûpa five hundred yoganas in height and proportionate in circumference. After its rising, the Stûpa, a meteoric phenomenon², stood in the sky sparkling, beautiful, nicely decorated with five thousand³ successive terraces of flowers⁴, adorned with many thousands of arches, embellished by thousands of banners and triumphal streamers, hung with thousands of jewel-garlands and with hour-plates and bells, and emitting the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal, which scent filled this whole world. Its row of umbrellas rose so far on high as to touch the abodes of the four guardians of the

¹ Between the Lord (i. e. the Sun) and the Stûpa of seven Ratnas, i. e. here, it would seem, the rainbow of seven colours. We shall see that the Stûpa has also another function, that of symbolising the celestial *dhishnya* in which sun and moon are standing. Cf. E. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, p. 436.

² *Vaihâyasam*, in the neuter gender, whereas *stûpa* is masculine.

³ The number of colours is now five, then seven. Moreover there ought to be a parallelism between the five colours and the five planets, and, on the other hand, between the seven ratnas, or colours, and the grahas, including sun and moon. In *Rig-veda* we find *saptarâsmi* and *pañkarâsmi*.

⁴ *Pushpagrahanivedikâ*.

horizon and the gods. It consisted of seven precious substances, viz. gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Musâragalva, emerald, red coral, and Karketana-stone¹. This Stûpa of precious substances once formed, the gods of paradise strewed and covered it with Mandârava and great Mandâra flowers². And from that Stûpa of precious substances there issued this voice: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sâkyamuni! thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. So it is, Lord; so it is, Sugata.

At the sight of that great Stûpa of precious substances, that meteoric phenomenon in the sky, the four classes of hearers were filled with gladness, delight, satisfaction and joy. Instantly they rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and remained standing in that position. Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna, perceiving the world, including gods, men, and demons, filled with curiosity, said to the Lord: O Lord, what is the cause, what is the reason of so magnificent a Stûpa of precious substances appearing in the world? Who is it, O Lord, who causes that sound to go out from the magnificent Stûpa of precious substances? Thus asked, the Lord spake to Mahâpratibhâna, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, as follows: In this great Stûpa of precious substances, Mahâpratibhâna, the proper body³ of the Tathâgata is contained condensed; his is the Stûpa; it is he who causes this sound to go out.

¹ The raising of a seven-jewelled Stûpa is also narrated in the Vinaya Pîṭaka of the Mahâsânghika school, according to Beal in the Indian Antiquary, vol. xi, p. 47. The particulars of the description in that narrative bear little resemblance to those found in our text.

² There fell smaller and bigger drops of rain.

³ Âtmabhâva, also the very nature, the essential being.

In the point of space below, Mahâpratibhâna, there are innumerable thousands of worlds¹. Further on is the world called Ratnavisuddha², there is the Tathâgata named Prabhûtaratna, the Arhat, &c. This Lord of yore made this vow : Formerly, when following the course of a Bodhisattva, I have not arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment before I had heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, serving for the instruction of Bodhisattvas. But from the moment that I had heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, I have become fully ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Now, Mahâpratibhâna, that Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., at the juncture of time when his complete extinction was to take place, announced in presence of the world, including the gods : After my complete extinction, monks, one Stûpa must be made of precious substances of this frame (or form) of the proper body of the Tathâgata³; the other Stûpas, again, should be made in dedication (or in reference) to me. Thereupon, Mahâpratibhâna, the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., pronounced this blessing : Let my Stûpa here, this Stûpa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is propounded, and let

¹ Var. lect. innumerable hundred thousand myriads of koûs of worlds.

² I. e. clear by jewels (stars), or, quite the reverse, cleared from jewels. Most probably, however, we have to take it in the former sense. The world so called is, apparently, the starry vault, beyond the atmosphere where the rainbow is glittering.

³ Asya Tathâgatâtmbhâvavigrahasya.

it stand in the sky above the assembled congregation when this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is being preached by some Lord Buddha or another, and let this Stûpa of the frame (or form) of my proper body give a shout of applause to those Buddhas while preaching this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law¹. It is that Stûpa, Mahâpratibhâna, of the relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., which, while I was preaching this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world, arose above this assembled congregation and, standing as a meteor in the sky, gave its applause.

Then said Mahâpratibhâna, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, to the Lord: Show us, O Lord, through thy power the frame of the afore-mentioned Tathâgata. Whereon the Lord spake to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna as follows: This Lord Prabhûtaratna, Mahâpratibhâna, has made a grave and pious vow. That vow consisted in this: When the Lords, the Buddhas, being in other Buddha-fields, shall preach this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the

¹ We shall see that the 'extinct Lord Prabhûtaratna' is to sit in the middle of the Stûpa along with the Buddha. The moon is 'completely extinct' when in conjunction with the sun, and it seems sufficiently clear that Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., is the moon at the time of amâvâsyâ, conjunction. The Stûpa, in the centre of which sun and moon are sitting together at that period, cannot be the rainbow, so that we have in the sequel again to take Stûpa in the sense of *dhishnya*, asterism; see note 1, p. 227. The crescent surmounting the Stûpa-symbols on coins (see Senart, l. c.) is not exactly the representation of the 'extinct Lord'—who is difficult to be represented—but of the same nature. The appearance of this symbol on those coins is by itself sufficient to show the high antiquity of a refined nature-worship in Buddhism.

True Law, then let this Stûpa of the frame of my proper body be near the Tathâgata¹ to hear from him this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. And when those Lords, those Buddhas wish to uncover the frame of my proper body and show it to the four classes of hearers, let then the Tathâgata-frames, made by the Tathâgatas in all quarters, in different Buddha-fields, from their own proper body, and preaching the law to creatures, under different names in several Buddha-fields, let all those Tathâgata-frames, made from the proper body, united together, along with this Stûpa containing the frame of my own body, be opened and shown to the four classes of hearers. Therefore, Mahâpratibhâna, have I made many Tathâgata-frames² which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought hither.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâpratibhâna said to the Lord: Then, O Lord, shall we reverentially salute all those bodily emanations of the Tathâgata and created by the Tathâgata.

And instantly the Lord darted from the circle of hair on his brow a ray, which was no sooner darted than the Lords, the Buddhas stationed in the east in fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of worlds, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, became all visible, and the Buddha-fields there, consisting of crystal, became visible, variegated with jewel trees, decorated

¹ The place of the moon just before entering Nirvâna must of course be near the sun's seat of the law.

² It is hardly necessary to remark that by the luminous bodies, the attendants of Prabhûtaratna, i. e. the stars, are meant.

with strings of fine cloth, replete with many hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas, covered with canopies, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold¹. And in those fields appeared the Lords, the Buddhas, teaching with sweet and gentle voice the law to creatures; and those Buddha-fields seemed replete with hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas. So, too, it was in the south-east; so in the south; so in the south-west; so in the west; so in the north-west; so in the north; so in the north-east; so in the nadir; so in the zenith; so in the ten directions of space; in each direction were to be seen many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, in many worlds similar to the sands of the river Ganges, Lords Buddhas in many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Buddha-fields.

Those Tathâgatas, &c., in the ten directions of space then addressed each his own troop of Bodhisattvas: We shall have to go, young men of good family, to the Saha-world near the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., to humbly salute the Stûpa of the relics of Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c. Thereupon those Lords, those Buddhas resorted with their own satellites, each with one or two, to this Saha-world. At that period this all-embracing world was adorned with jewel trees; it consisted of lapis lazuli, was covered with a network of seven precious substances and gold, smoking with the odorous incense of magnificent jewels, everywhere strewn with Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers,

¹ Here we see that gold does not belong to the seven ratnas. The whole list of the seven colours seems to have undergone some alterations.

decorated with a network of little bells¹, showing a checker board divided by gold threads into eight compartments, devoid of villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, without Kâla-mountain, without the mountains Muṣṣilinda and great Muṣṣilinda, without a mount Sumeru, without a *Kakravâla* (i. e. horizon) and great *Kakra-vâla* (i. e. extended horizon), without other principal mountains, without great oceans, without rivers and great rivers, without bodies of gods, men, and demons, without hells, without brute creation, without a kingdom of Yama. For it must be understood that at that period all beings in any of the six states of existence in this world had been removed to other worlds, with the exception of those who were assembled at that congregation². Then it was that those Lords, those Buddhas, attended by one or two satellites, arrived at this Saha-world and went one after the other to occupy their place close to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yoganas in height, had boughs, leaves, foliage, and circumference in proportion³, and was provided with blossoms and fruits. At the foot of each jewel tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganas in height, and adorned with magnificent jewels. Each Tathâgata went to occupy his throne and sat on it cross-legged. And so all the Tathâgatas of the whole sphere sat cross-legged at the foot of the jewel trees.

¹ *Kaṅkaṇigâlâlâṅkrîta*.

² The hells at least, which are places of darkness, could not be present when the stars are shining brightly.

³ My MSS. read *pañcayoganasatâny ukṣaistvenâbhût, anupûrva-sâkhâpatrapalâsaparinâhaḥ*. In the sequel we meet with another reading agreeing with Burnouf's.

At that moment the whole sphere was replete with Tathāgatas, but the beings produced from the proper body of the Lord Śākyamuni had not yet arrived, not even from a single point of the horizon. Then the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., proceeded to make room for those Tathāgata-frames that were arriving one after the other. On every side in the eight directions of space (appeared) twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddha-fields of lapis lazuli, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold, decorated with a fringe of little bells, strewn with Mandārava and great Mandārava flowers, covered with heavenly awnings, hung with wreaths of heavenly flowers, smoking with heavenly odorous incense. All those twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddha-fields were without villages, towns, boroughs, &c.; without Kāla-mountain, &c.; without great oceans, &c.; without bodies of gods, &c. All those Buddha-fields were so arranged by him as to form one Buddha-field, one soil, even, lovely, set off with trees of seven precious substances, trees five hundred yoganās in height and circumference, provided with boughs, flowers, and fruits in proportion¹. At the foot of each tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganās in height and width, consisting of celestial gems, glittering and beautiful. The Tathāgatas arriving one after the other occupied the throne near the foot of each tree, and sat cross-legged. In like manner the Tathāgata Śākyamuni prepared twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of other

¹ The reading is somewhat doubtful: ārohaparināhonupūrva- (var. lect. °haḥ, anupūrva-)śākhāpatrapushpaphalopeta(ḥ).

worlds, in every direction of space, in order to give room to the Tathâgatas who were arriving one after the other. Those twenty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds in every direction of space were likewise so made by him as to be without villages, towns, &c. [as above]. They were without bodies of gods, &c. [as above]; all those beings had been removed to other worlds. These Buddha-fields also were of lapis lazuli, &c. [as above]. All those jewel trees measured five hundred *yoganas*, and near them were thrones, artificially made and measuring five *yoganas*. Then those Tathâgatas sat down cross-legged, each on a throne at the foot of a jewel tree.

At that moment the Tathâgatas produced by the Lord Sâkyamuni, who in the east were preaching the law to creatures in hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, all arrived from the ten points of space and sat down in the eight quarters. Thereupon thirty *koṭis* of worlds in each direction were occupied¹ by those Tathâgatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathâgatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Sâkyamuni, and after giving them bags with jewel flowers enjoined them thus: Go, young men of good family, to the *Grîdhra-kûṭa* mountain, where the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is; salute him reverentially and ask, in our name, after the state of health, well-being, lustiness, and comfort both of himself and the crowd of Bodhisattvas and disciples. Strew

¹ Burnouf seems to have read *atikrânta*, for his translation has 'franchirent,' whereas my MSS. have *âkrânta*. One of the MSS. has *lokadhâtukoḥibhyo* instead of *°ko/yo*.

him with this heap of jewels and speak thus: Would the Lord Tathâgata deign to open this great Stûpa of jewels? It was in this manner that all those Tathâgatas deputed their satellites.

And when the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, perceived that his creations, none wanting, had arrived; perceived that they were severally seated on their thrones, and perceived that the satellites of those Tathâgatas, &c., were present, he, in consideration of the wish expressed by those Tathâgatas, &c., rose from his seat and stood in the sky, as a meteor. And all the four classes of the assembly rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and stood gazing up to the face of the Lord. The Lord then, with the right fore-finger¹, unlocked the middle of the great Stûpa of jewels, which showed like a meteor, and so severed the two parts. Even as the double doors of a great city gate separate when the bolt is removed, so the Lord opened the great Stûpa, which showed like a meteor, by unlocking it in the middle with the right fore-finger. The great Stûpa of jewels had no sooner been opened than the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., was seen sitting cross-legged on his throne, with emaciated² limbs and faint body, as if absorbed in abstract meditation, and he pronounced these words: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sâkyamuni; thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. I repeat, thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law,

¹ Dakshinayâ hastângulyâ.

² Parisushkagâtra, var. lect. parisuddha°, with thoroughly pure or correct limbs. Burnouf had committed no mistake in reading parisushka°, though he accuses himself of having done so.

Lord Sâkyamuni, to the (four) classes of the assembly. I myself, Lord, have come hither to hear the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law.

Now the four classes of the assembly, on perceiving the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who had been extinct for many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Æons, speaking in this way, were filled with wonder and amazement. Instantly they covered the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., with heaps of divine and human flowers. And then the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., ceded to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the half of the seat on that very throne within that same great Stûpa of jewels and said : Let the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., sit down here. Whereon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., sat down upon that half-seat together with the other Tathâgata, so that both Tathâgatas were seen as meteors in the sky, sitting on the throne in the middle of the great Stûpa of jewels.

And in the minds of those four classes of the assembly rose this thought : We are far off from the two Tathâgatas ; therefore let us also, through the power of the Tathâgata, rise up to the sky. As the Lord apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those four classes of the assembly, he instantly, by magic power, established the four classes as meteors in the sky. Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, addressed the four classes : Who amongst you, monks, will endeavour to expound this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world ? The

fatal term, the time (of death), is now at hand ; the Tathâgata longs for complete extinction, monks, after entrusting to you this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. Here you see, monks, the great Seer, the extinct Chief, within the Stûpa of jewels, who now has come to hear the law. Who would not call up his energy for the law's sake ?

2. Albeit completely extinct for many koṭis of Æons, he yet now comes to hear the law ; for the law's sake he moves hither and thither ; very rare (and very precious) is a law like this.

3. This Leader practised¹ a vow when he was in a former existence ; even after his complete extinction he wanders through this whole world in all ten points of space.

4. And all these (you here see) are my proper bodies, by thousands of koṭis, like² the sands of the Ganges ; they have appeared that the law may be fulfilled³ and in order to see this extinct Master.

5. After laying out⁴ for each his peculiar field, as well as having (created) all disciples, men and gods, in order to preserve the true law, as long as the reign of the law shall last,

6. I have by magic power cleared many worlds,

¹ Nishevita.

² Yathâ.

³ Dharmakṛityasya kṛitena, literally, for the sake of the task or office of the law.

⁴ Khoritvâ, Sansk. khoritvâ and khorayitvâ, to inlay, make inlaid work, cut figures, fashion. Sâkyamuni is most distinctly represented as a creator—in the Indian sense, of course—in the same way as Brahma Hiranyagarbha is a creator.

destined as seats for those Buddhas, and transported all creatures.

7. It has (always) been my anxious care how this line of the law might be manifested. So (you see) Buddhas here in immense number staying at the foot of trees like a great multitude of lotuses.

8. Many *koṭis* of bases of trees are brightened by the Leaders sitting on the thrones which are perpetually occupied by them and brightened as darkness is by fire.

9. A delicious fragrance spreads from the Leaders of the world over all quarters, (a fragrance) by which, when the wind is blowing, all these creatures are intoxicated.

10. Let him who after my extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyâya quickly pronounce his declaration in the presence of the Lords of the world.

11. The Seer Prabhûtaratna who, though completely extinct, is awake, will hear the lion's roar of him who shall take this resolution¹.

12. Myself, in the second place, as well as the many Chiefs who have flocked hither by *koṭis*, will hear that resolution from the son of Gina, who is to exert himself to expound this law.

13. And thereby shall I always be honoured as well as Prabhûtaratna, the self-born Gina, who perpetually wanders through the quarters and intermediate quarters in order to hear such a law as this.

14. And these (other) Lords of the world here present, by whom this soil is so variegated and splendid, to them also will accrue ample and manifold honour from this Sûtra being preached.

¹ Vyavasâya.

15. Here on this seat you see me, together with the Lord next to me, in the middle of the Stûpa ; likewise many other Lords of the world here present, in many hundreds of fields.

16. Ye, young men of good family, mind, for mercy's sake towards all beings, that it is a very difficult task to which the Chief urges you.

17. One might expound many thousands of Sûtras, like to the sands of the Ganges, without overmuch difficulty.

18. One who after grasping the Sumeru in the fist were to hurl it a distance of koṭis of fields, would do nothing very difficult.

19. Nor would it be so very difficult if one could shake this whole universe by the thumb to hurl it a distance of koṭis of fields.

20. Nor would one who, after taking stand on the limit of the existing world, were to expound the law and thousands of other Sûtras, do something so very difficult.

21. But to keep and preach this Sûtra in the dreadful period succeeding the extinction of the Chief of the world, that is difficult¹.

22. To throw down the totality of ether-element after compressing it in one fist, and to leave it behind after having thrown it away, is not difficult.

23. But to copy a Sûtra like this in the period after my extinction, that is difficult².

24. To collect the whole earth-element at a nail's

¹ Yet the stars perform that extremely difficult task apparently with the greatest ease.

² Nay, it is impossible, if one does not avail oneself of a lamp or other artificial light.

end, cast it away, and then walk off to the Brahma-world¹,

25. Is not difficult, nor would it require a strength surpassing everybody's strength to do this work of difficulty.

26. Something more difficult than that will he do who in the last days after my extinction shall pronounce this Sūtra, were it but a single moment.

27. It will not be difficult for him to walk in the midst of the conflagration at the (time of the) end of the world, even if he carries with him a load of hay.

28. More difficult it will be to keep this Sūtra after my extinction and teach it to a single creature.

29. One may keep the eighty-four thousand divisions of the law² and expound them, with the

¹ Brahmaloka may mean either one of the twenty Brahma heavens, or all of them collectively. There are four arūpabrahmalokas, and sixteen rūpabrahmalokas.

² Dharmaskandha, Pāli Dhammakkhanda; see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 34 seq.; B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 14; Childers, *Pāli Dict.* p. 117, where the following definition is given: 'The Tipiṭaka is divided into eighty-four thousand dhammakkhanda, "articles" or "sections of the Law." They are divisions according to subject. Buddhaghosa, as an illustration of the meaning of this term, says that a Sutta, or discourse, dealing with one subject forms one dh., while a Sutta embracing several subjects forms several.' It is worth while to compare this number of divisions with the eighty-four thousand monasteries erected by king Asoka in the eighty-four (thousand) towns of India, as we know from the historical work *Dīpavaṃsa* VI, 95 seq., where we read (according to Dr. Oldenberg's transl.): 'Full and complete eighty-four thousand most precious sections of the Truth (dhammakkhanda) have been taught by the most excellent Buddha; I will build eighty-four thousand monasteries, honouring each single section of the Truth by one monastery.'

instructions and such as they have been set forth, to koṭis of living beings ;

30. This is not so difficult ; nor is it, to train at the present time monks, and confirm my disciples in the five parts of transcendent knowledge.

31. But more difficult is it to keep this Sūtra, believe in it, adhere to it, or expound it again and again.

32. Even he who confirms many thousands of koṭis of Arhats, blest with the possession of the six transcendent faculties (Abhiṅgās), like sands of the Ganges¹,

33. Performs something not so difficult by far as the excellent man does who after my extinction shall keep my sublime law.

34. I have often, in thousands of worlds, preached the law, and to-day also I preach it with the view that Buddha-knowledge may be obtained.

35. This Sūtra is declared the principal of all Sūtras ; he who keeps in his memory this Sūtra, keeps the body of the *Gina*.

36. Speak, O young men of good family, while the Tathāgata is (still) in your presence, who amongst you is to exert himself² in later times to keep the Sūtra.

37. Not only I myself shall be pleased, but the Lords of the world in general, if one would keep for a moment this Sūtra so difficult to keep.

38. Such a one shall ever be praised by all the Lords of the world, famed as an eminent hero, and quick in arriving at transcendent wisdom.

¹ The latter half of the stanza runs thus : *śaḍabhiṅgāmahā-bhāgān yathā Gaṅgāya vālikā*.

² Or, shall be capable.

39. He shall be entrusted with the leadership¹ amongst the sons of the Tathâgatas, he who, after having reached the stage of meekness², shall keep this Sûtra.

40. He shall be the eye of the world, including gods and men, who shall speak this Sûtra after the extinction of the Chief of men.

41. He is to be venerated by all beings, the wise man who in the last times shall preach this Sûtra (were it but) a single moment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the whole company of Bodhisattvas and the world, including gods and demons, and said: Of yore, monks, in times past I have, unwearied and without repose, sought after the Sûtra of the Lotus of the True Law, during immense, immeasurable Æons; many Æons before I have been a king, during many thousands of Æons. Having once taken the strong resolution to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment, my mind did not swerve from its aim. I exerted myself to fulfil the six Perfections (Pâramitâs), bestowing immense alms: gold, money, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones(?), coral, gold and silver, emerald, Musâragalva, red pearls; villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, royal capitals; wives, sons, daughters, slaves, male and female; elephants, horses, cars, up to the sacrifice of life and body, of limbs and members, hands, feet, head. And never did the thought of self-complacency³ rise in me. In

¹ Dhuravâha.

² Dântabhûmi. Dânta is tamed, subject, meek; and also a young tamed bullock.

³ Âgrahañittam.

those days the life of men lasted long, so that for a time of many hundred thousand years I was exercising the rule of a King of the Law for the sake of duty, not for the sake of enjoyment¹. After installing in government the eldest prince royal, I went in quest of the best law in the four quarters, and had promulgated with sound of bell the following proclamation : He who procures for me the best law² or points out what is useful, to him will I become a servant. At that time there lived a Seer ; he told me : Noble king, there is a Sûtra, called the Lotus of the True Law, which is an exposition of the best law. If thou consent to become my servant, I will teach thee that law. And I, glad, content, exulting and ravished at the words I heard from the Seer, became his pupil³, and said : I will do for thee the work of a servant. And so having agreed upon becoming the servant of the Seer, I performed the duties of a servitor, such as fetching grass, fuel, water, bulbs, roots, fruit, &c. I held also the office of a doorkeeper. When I had done such kind of work at day-time, I at night kept his feet while he

¹ This golden age evidently coincided with the reign of king Yima in Iran, of king Frôði in Denmark, of king Manu in India ; in short, with the dawn of humanity.

² Or, the best right.

³ Upeyitavân. The original must have had upeyivân. The whole story, so different in language, style, phraseology, choice of words and spirit from anything else in the Lotus, has been so profoundly altered that almost every word must be taken in another sense than what originally was attached to it. I am not sure that those who modified the ancient tale understood the meaning of upeyivân ; even the grammatical form was a puzzle, if not to them, at least to the scribes.

was lying on his couch¹, and never did I feel fatigue of body or mind. In such occupations I passed a full millennium.

And for the fuller elucidation of this matter the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas :

42. I have a remembrance of past ages when I was Dhârmika², the King of the Law, and exercised the royal sway for duty's sake, not for love's sake, in the interest of the best law³.

43. I let go out in all directions this proclamation: I will become a servant to him who shall explain Dharma⁴. At that time there was a far-seeing Sage, a revealer of the Sûtra called the True Law⁵.

44. He said to me: If thou wish to know Dharma, become my servant⁶; then I will explain it to thee. As I heard these words I rejoiced and carefully performed such work as a servant ought to do.

45. I never felt any bodily nor mental weariness since I had become a servant for the sake of the true law. I did my best⁷ for real truth's sake⁸, not with a view to win honour or enjoy pleasure.

¹ Sayanasya maññake pādān dhārayāmāsa, which is sheer nonsense; we have to read sayānasya. The plural pādān shows that not the feet are meant—for that is pādau in the dual—but the lower end of the couch; the plural, if applied to one person, is always metaphorical.

² The text of these verses is one mass of corruption, as is proved by the repeated offences against the metre.

³ Perhaps those who changed the original text intended to join the last sentence to the following.

⁴ In the intention of the original author: (what is) Right.

⁵ Sûtrasya saddharmanāmnaḥ; this term being prosodically inadmissible, the original must have had another word.

⁶ Rather absurd; the original must have had 'my pupil.'

⁷ Praṇidhi, here synonymous with avadhāna, prayatna.

⁸ Vastutvāhetoḥ, which is nonsense; probably to read vas-

46. That king meanwhile, strenuously and without engaging in other pursuits, roamed in every direction during thousands of koṭis of complete Æons without being able to obtain the Sūtra called Dharma¹.

Now, monks, what is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the king? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was myself, who at that time, at that juncture was the king. What then, monks, is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was this Devadatta himself, the monk², who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer. Indeed, monks, Devadatta was my good friend. By the aid of Devadatta³ have I accomplished the six perfect virtues (Pāramitās). Noble kindness, noble compassion, noble sympathy, noble indifference, the thirty-two signs of a great man, the eighty lesser marks⁴, the gold-coloured tinge, the ten powers, the fourfold absence of hesitation⁵, the four articles of sociability, the eighteen uncommon

tutatvahetoḥ. A later hand has added a marginal reading sarvasatva, obviously intended to give a Buddhistic tinge to the tale.

¹ The traces of alteration are so clearly visible that it is not necessary to point them out.

² Ayam-eva sa Devadatto bhikshus tena kālena tena samayena rishir abhūt. Hence it follows that Devadatta is present at the gathering. His name not being mentioned before, he must be concealed under another name; I take him to be identical with Prabhūtaratna.

³ Devadattam āgamyā, properly, having come to or reached D.

⁴ Anuvyañjana; they have been thoroughly treated of by Burnouf in an Appendix to the Lotus, p. 583 seq.; cf. Hodgson's Essays, p. 90, and S. Hardy's Manual, p. 369.

⁵ Vaisāradya; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 396; S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, p. 291.

properties, magical power, ability to save beings in all directions of space,—all this (have I got) after having come to Devadatta. I announce to you, monks, I declare to you : This Devadatta, the monk, shall in an age to come, after immense, innumerable Æons, become a Tathâgata named Devarâga (i. e. King of the gods), an Arhat, &c., in the world Devasopâna (i. e. Stairs of the gods). The lifetime of that Tathâgata Devarâga, monks, shall measure twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall preach the law in extension, and beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall through him forsake all evils and realise Arhatship. Several beings shall also elevate their minds to Pratyekabuddhaship, whereas beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall elevate their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become endowed with unflinching patience. Further, monks, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata Devarâga, his true law shall stay twenty intermediate kalpas. His body shall not be seen divided into different parts (and relics); it shall remain as one mass within a Stûpa of seven precious substances, which Stûpa is to be sixty hundred yoganas in height and forty yoganas in extension¹. All, gods and men, shall do worship to it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, unguents, powder, clothes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and celebrate it with stanzas and songs. Those who shall turn round that Stûpa from left to right or humbly salute it, shall some of them realise Arhatship, others attain Pratyekabuddhaship; others, gods and men, in immense number, shall raise their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, never to return.

¹ Âyâmena, which also means length.

Thereafter the Lord again addressed the assembly of monks: Whosoever in future, monks, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, shall hear this chapter of the Sûtra of the Lotus of the True Law, and by doing so be relieved from doubt, become pure-minded, and put reliance on it, to such a one the door of the three states of misfortune shall be shut: he shall not fall so low as to be born in hell, among beasts, or in Yama's kingdom. When born in the Buddha-fields in the ten points of space he shall at each repeated birth hear this very Sûtra, and when born amongst gods or men he shall attain an eminent rank. And in the Buddha-field where he is to be born he shall appear by metamorphosis on a lotus of seven precious substances, face to face with the Tathâgata.

At that moment a Bodhisattva of the name of *Pragñâkûta*, having come from beneath the Buddha-field of the Tathâgata *Prabhûtaratna*, said to the Tathâgata *Prabhûtaratna*: Lord, let us resort to our own Buddha-field. But the Lord *Sâkyamuni*, the Tathâgata, said to the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta*: Wait a while, young man of good family, first have a discussion with my Bodhisattva *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, to settle some point of the law. And at the same moment, lo, *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, rose seated on a centifolious lotus that was large as a carriage yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, from the bosom of the sea, from the abode of the Nâga-king *Sâgara* (i. e. Ocean). Rising high into the sky he went through the air to the *Grîdhra-kûta* mountain to the presence of the Lord. There *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, alighted from his lotus, reverentially saluted

the feet of the Lord Sâkyamuni and Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, went up to the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta* and, after making the usual complimentary questions as to his health and welfare, seated himself at some distance. The Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta* then addressed to *Mañgusrî*, the prince royal, the following question: *Mañgusrî*, how many beings hast thou educated¹ during thy stay in the sea? *Mañgusrî* answered: Many, innumerable, incalculable beings have I educated, so innumerable that words cannot express it, nor thought conceive it. Wait a while, young man of good family, thou shalt presently see a token. No sooner had *Mañgusrî*, the prince royal, spoken these words than instantaneously many thousands of lotuses rose from the bosom of the sea up to the sky, and on those lotuses were seated many thousands of Bodhisattvas, who flocked through the air to the *Grîdhrakûta* mountain, where they stayed, appearing as meteors. All of them had been educated by *Mañgusrî*, the prince royal, to supreme, perfect enlightenment². The Bodhisattvas amongst them who had formerly striven after the great vehicle extolled the virtues of the great vehicle and the six perfect virtues (*Pâramitâs*). Such as had been disciples extolled the vehicle of disciples. But all acknowledged the voidness (or vanity) of all laws (or things), as well as the virtues of the great vehicle. *Mañgusrî*, the prince royal, said to the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta*: Young man of good family, while I was staying in the bosom of the great ocean I have by all means

¹ Properly, lead, lead out.

² Here *Mañgusrî* appears in the character of Hermes *ψυχοπομπός*.

educated creatures, and here thou seest the result. Whereupon the Bodhisattva *Pragñākūṭa* questioned *Mañgusri*, the prince royal, in chanting the following stanzas :

47. O thou blessed one, who from thy wisdom art called the Sage¹, by whose power is it that thou to-day (or now) hast educated those innumerable beings? Tell it me upon my question, O thou god amongst men².

48. What law hast thou preached, or what *Sūtra*, in showing the path of enlightenment, so that those who are there with you have conceived the idea of enlightenment? that, once having gained a safe ford³, they have been decisively established in omniscience?

Mañgusri answered: In the bosom of the sea I have expounded the Lotus of the True Law and no other *Sūtra*. *Pragñākūṭa* said: That *Sūtra* is profound, subtle, difficult to seize; no other *Sūtra* equals it. Is there any creature able to understand this jewel of a *Sūtra* or to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment? *Mañgusri* replied: There is, young man of good family, the daughter of *Sāgara*, the *Nāga*-king, eight years old, very intelligent, of keen faculties, endowed with prudence in acts of body, speech, and mind, who has caught and kept all the teachings, in substance and form, of the *Tathāgatas*, who has acquired in one moment a thousand meditations and proofs of the essence of all laws⁴. She

¹ *Mahābhadrā pragñayā sūranāman*. I take *sūra* in the sense of *sūri*, though it is also possible that *sūra* stands for *sūra*, a hero.

² *Naradeva*.

³ *Labdhagāthāḥ*; I think we have to read *labdhagādhāḥ*, and have translated accordingly.

⁴ The reading is uncertain; *sarvadharmasatvasamādhānasamā-*

does not swerve from the idea of enlightenment, has great aspirations, applies to other beings the same measure as to herself; she is apt to display all virtues and is never deficient in them. With a bland smile on the face and in the bloom of an extremely handsome appearance she speaks words of kindness and compassion¹. She is fit to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattva *Pragñā-kūṭa* said: I have seen how the Lord *Sākyamuni*, the *Tathāgata*, when he was striving after enlightenment, in the state of a Bodhisattva, performed innumerable good works², and during many *Æons* never slackened in his arduous task. In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard-seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures³. Afterwards he arrived at enlightenment. Who then would believe that she should have been able to arrive at supreme, perfect knowledge in one moment?

At that very moment appeared the daughter of *Sāgara*, the *Nāga*-king, standing before their face. After reverentially saluting the feet of the Lord she stationed herself at some distance and uttered on that occasion the following stanzas:

dhisahasraikakshazapratilābhinī. A marginal correction by a later hand adds *sarva* between *dharma* and *satva*.

¹ The daughter of *Sāgara*, the Ocean, is *Lakshmi*, the smiling goddess of Beauty and Fortune, but from some traits in the sequel it would seem that she is identified with *Tārā*, the wife of *Brīhaspati* and the Moon.

² As *Hercules* performed his *deeds*.

³ As the sun shoots his rays everywhere, it is quite natural that his *dhātus*, i.e. particles, relics, have been spread all over the surface of the earth, and it is no untruth that the footprints (the *pādas*, rays) of the Lord *Sākyamuni* are to be found in Laos, in Ceylon, &c.

49. Spotless, bright, and of unfathomable light is that ethereal body, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, pervading space in all directions.

50. He is possessed of the secondary marks and praised by every being, and accessible to all, like an open market-place¹.

51. I have obtained enlightenment according to my wish ; the Tathâgata can bear witness to it ; I will extensively reveal the law that releases from sufferance.

Then the venerable Śāriputra said to that daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king : Thou hast conceived the idea of enlightenment, young lady of good family, without sliding back, and art gifted with immense wisdom, but supreme, perfect enlightenment is not easily won. It may happen, sister, that a woman displays an unflagging energy, performs good works for many thousands of Æons, and fulfils the six perfect virtues (Pâramitâs), but as yet there is no example of her having reached Buddhahip, and that because a woman cannot occupy the five ranks, viz. 1. the rank of Brahma ; 2. the rank of Indra ; 3. the rank of a chief guardian of the four quarters ; 4. the rank of *Kakravartin* ; 5. the rank of a Bodhisattva incapable of sliding back².

Now the daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king, had at the time a gem which in value outweighed the whole universe. That gem the daughter of Sâgara, the Nâga-king, presented to the Lord, and the Lord graciously accepted it. Then the daughter of Sâgara,

¹ *Antarâpanavâd yathâ*. I am not certain of the correctness of my translation. Burnouf has 's'il était leur concitoyen.'

² All these beings are in Sanskrit of masculine gender ; hence their rank cannot be taken by beings having feminine names.

the Nāga-king, said to the Bodhisattva Pragñākūṭa and the senior priest Śāriputra: Has the Lord readily accepted¹ the gem I presented him or has he not? The senior priest answered: As soon as it was presented by thee, so soon it was accepted by the Lord. The daughter of Sāgara, the Nāga-king, replied: If I were endowed with magic power, brother Śāriputra, I should sooner have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and there would have been none to receive this gem.

At the same instant, before the sight of the whole world and of the senior priest Śāriputra, the female sex of the daughter of Sāgara, the Nāga-king, disappeared; the male sex appeared² and she manifested herself as a Bodhisattva, who immediately went to the South to sit down at the foot of a tree made of seven precious substances, in the world Vimala (i. e. spotless), where he showed himself enlightened and preaching the law, while filling all directions of space with the radiance of the thirty-two characteristic signs and all secondary marks. All beings in the Saha-world beheld that Lord while he received the homage of all, gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and was engaged

¹ A marginal reading from a later hand adds: *anukampām upādāya*, by grace, by mercy, graciously.

² In ancient times such a change of sex is nothing strange. Sundry words for 'star,' e.g. *tārā*, *tārakā*, Latin *stella*, are feminine, whereas the names of some particular stars are masculine; so *Tārā*, the daughter of the Sea, *Stella Marina*, may have been identified with *Tishya*, or the Iranian *Tishtrya*, who equally rises from the sea; cf. *Tishter Yasht* (ed. Westergaard, p. 177). The daughter of the ocean seems to be identical with *Ardvi Sûra*, celebrated in *Abân Yasht*.

in preaching the law. And the beings who heard the preaching of that Tathâgata became incapable of sliding back in supreme, perfect enlightenment. And that world Vimala and this Saha-world shook in six different ways. Three thousand living beings from the congregational circle of the Lord Sâkyamuni gained the acquiescence in the eternal law¹, whereas three hundred thousand beings obtained the prediction of their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the Bodhisattva *Pragñâkûta* and the senior priest *Sâriputra* were silent.

¹ Anutpattikadharmakshânti.

CHAPTER XII.

EXERTION.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Bhaishagya¹ and the Bodhisattva Mahâpratibhâna, with a retinue of twenty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas, spoke before the face of the Lord the following words: Let the Lord be at ease in this respect; we will after the extinction of the Tathâgata expound this Paryâya to (all) creatures¹, though we are aware, O Lord, that at that period there shall be malign beings, having few roots of goodness, conceited, fond of gain and honour, rooted in unholiness, difficult to tame, deprived of good will, and full of unwillingness. Nevertheless, O Lord, we will at that period read, keep, preach, write, honour, respect, venerate, worship this Sûtra; with sacrifice of body and life, O Lord, we will divulge this Sûtra. Let the Lord be at ease.

Thereupon five hundred monks of the assembly, both such as were under training and such as were not, said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyâya, though in other worlds. Then all the disciples of the Lord, both such as were under training and such as were

¹ One would expect that this speech immediately followed st. 41 in the foregoing chapter, but the rules of composition in Buddhistic writings are so peculiar that it is unsafe to apply criticism.

not, who had received from the Lord the prediction as to their (future) supreme enlightenment, all the eight thousand monks raised their joined hands towards the Lord and said: Let the Lord be at ease. We also will divulge this Dharmaparyāya, after the complete extinction of the Lord, in the last days, the last period, though in other worlds. For in this Saha-world, O Lord, the creatures are conceited, possessed of few roots of goodness, always vicious in their thoughts, wicked, and naturally perverse.

Then the noble matron Gautamī, the sister of the Lord's mother, along with six hundred¹ nuns, some of them being under training, some being not, rose from her seat, raised the joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him. Then the Lord addressed the noble matron Gautamī: Why dost thou stand so dejected, gazing up to the Tathāgata? (She replied): I have not been mentioned by the Tathāgata, nor have I received from him a prediction of my destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. (He said): But, Gautamī, thou hast received a prediction with the prediction regarding the whole assembly. Indeed, Gautamī, thou shalt from henceforward, before the face of thirty-eight

¹ Ciphers do not count, so that only six must be reckoned. These six with Gautamī form the number of seven. The seven Matres or Mother-goddesses are known from Indian mythology. Kumāra, the prince royal (Skanda), is sometimes said to have six mothers, sometimes seven, sometimes one. The six are said to be the six clearly visible *Kṛttikās* (Pleiads); the seventh is the less distinct star of the Pleiads. His one mother is Durgā. It is by mistake that the dictionaries fix the number of *Kṛttikās* at six; there are seven, as appears e.g. from *Mahābhārata* III, 230, 11.

hundred thousand myriads of *kośis* of Buddhas¹, be a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law. These six thousand² nuns also, partly perfected in discipline, partly not, shall along with others become Bodhisattvas³ and preachers of the law before the face of the Tathâgatas. Afterwards, when thou shalt have completed the course of a Bodhisattva, thou shalt become, under the name of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana (i. e. lovely to see for all beings), a Tathâgata, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c. And that Tathâgata Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, O Gautamî, shall give a prediction by regular succession to those six thousand Bodhisattvas concerning their destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the nun Yasodharâ, the mother of Râhula, thought thus: The Lord has not mentioned my name. And the Lord comprehending in his own mind what was going on in the mind of the nun Yasodharâ said to her: I announce to thee, Yasodharâ, I declare to thee: Thou also shalt before the face of ten thousand *kośis*⁴ of Buddhas become a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law, and after regularly completing the course of a Bodhisattva thou shalt become a Tathâgata, named Rasmisatasahasraparipûrṇadhvaga, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the

¹ In the margin has been added by a later hand: 'after paying honour, respect, reverence, worship, and veneration.' A little further on we find the same marginal addition.

² A few lines before the number was six hundred. Both numbers come to the same, for ciphers do not count.

³ Here it is not added that Gautamî cum suis has to change sex (i.e. gender) in order to be fit for Bodhisattvaship. In fact, the *Kṛitikâs* are always feminine in Sanskrit.

⁴ Burnouf has read, ten hundred thousand myriads of *kośis*.

world Bhadra ; and the lifetime of that Lord Rasmisatasahasraparipûrṇadhvaga shall be unlimited.

When the noble matron Gautamī, the nun, with her suite of six thousand nuns, and Yasodharā, the nun, with her suite of four thousand nuns, heard from the Lord their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, they uttered, in wonder and amazement, this stanza :

1. O Lord, thou art the trainer, thou art the leader ; thou art the master of the world, including the gods ; thou art the giver of comfort, thou who art worshipped by men and gods. Now, indeed, we feel satisfied.

After uttering this stanza the nuns said to the Lord : We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyāya in the last days, though in other worlds.

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas who were gifted with magical spells and capable of moving forward the wheel that never rolls back. No sooner were those Bodhisattvas regarded by the Lord than they rose from their seats, raised their joined hands towards the Lord and reflected thus : The Lord invites us to make known the Dharmaparyāya. Agitated by that thought they asked one another : What shall we do, young men of good family, in order that this Dharmaparyāya may in future be made known as the Lord invites us to do ? Thereupon those young men of good family, in consequence of their reverence for the Lord and their own pious vow in their previous course, raised a lion's roar¹ before the Lord : We, O Lord, will in future, after the

¹ One might say, a cry of martial exultation.

complete extinction of the Lord, go in all directions in order that creatures shall write, keep, meditate, divulge this Dharmaparyāya, by no other's power but the Lord's. And the Lord, staying in another world, shall protect, defend, and guard us.

Then the Bodhisattvas unanimously in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

2. Be at ease, O Lord. After thy complete extinction, in the horrible last period of the world, we will proclaim this sublime Sūtra.

3. We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks¹ at the hands of foolish men.

4. At that dreadful last epoch men will be malign, crooked, wicked, dull, conceited, fancying to have come to the limit when they have not.

5. 'We do not care but to live in the wilderness and wear a patched cloth ; we lead a frugal life ;' so will they speak to the ignorant².

6. And persons greedily attached to enjoyments will preach the law to laymen and be honoured as if they possessed the six transcendent qualities.

7. Cruel-minded and wicked men, only occupied with household cares, will enter our retreat in the forest and become our calumniators.

8. The Tīrthikas³, themselves bent on profit and honour, will say of us that we are so, and—shame on such monks!—they will preach their own fictions⁴.

¹ *Danda-udgirana*, for which I think we have to read *danda-udgūraṇa*.

² *Durmatīn*.

³ Dissenters, as the foremost of whom generally appear the *Gainas*, from the Buddhist point of view.

⁴ *Tīrthikā vat' ime bhikṣhū svāni kāvyāni desayuh*. Here

9. Prompted by greed of profit and honour they will compose Sûtras of their own invention and then, in the midst of the assembly, accuse us of plagiarism¹.

10. To kings, princes, king's peers, as well as to Brahmans and commoners, and to monks of other confessions,

11. They will speak evil of us and propagate the Tirtha-doctrine². We will endure all that out of reverence for the great Seers.

12. And those fools who will not listen to us, shall (sooner or later) become enlightened³, and therefore will we forbear to the last.

13. In that dreadful, most terrible period of frightful general revolution will many fiendish monks stand up as our revilers.

14. Out of respect for the Chief of the world we will bear it, however difficult it be; girded with the girdle of forbearance will I⁴ proclaim this Sûtra.

15. I⁵ do not care for my body or life, O Lord,

we have the interjection *vata* (*bata*) in the sense of a *nindâ*, reproach, contempt. The Buddhists are fond of denouncing schismatics or heretics as impostors, and their works as forgeries; a model of such an accusation brought forward by the orthodox against the 'wicked' monks, the *Vaggiputtakas*, is to be found in *Dîpavaṃsa* V, 30 seqq.

¹ Or, perhaps, speak slander of us. The term used, *anuku//anâ*, is unknown to me from other passages, so that I have had recourse to etymology: *anu*, after, *ku//anâ*, stamping.

² These passages are not very explicit, but this much is clear that the Tîrthikas are somehow akin to the Buddhists, and distinguished from monks of other confession, who are wholly out of the pale of Buddha sects. The whole history of the church in India is one of family quarrels, at least down to the days of Hiouen Tshang.

³ Or, Buddhas, i.e. will sooner or later die.

⁴ *Prakâśaye*, a singular which I do not feel at liberty to render by a plural.

⁵ Again a singular, *anarthiko'smi*.

but as keepers of thine entrusted deposit we care for enlightenment.

16. The Lord himself knows that in the last period there are (to be) wicked monks who do not understand mysterious speech¹.

17. One will have to bear frowning looks, repeated disavowal (or concealment), expulsion from the monasteries, many and manifold abuses².

18. Yet mindful of the command of the Lord of the world we will in the last period undauntedly proclaim this Sûtra in the midst of the congregation.

19. We will visit towns and villages everywhere, and transmit to those who care for it thine entrusted deposit, O Lord.

20. O Chief of the world, we will deliver thy message; be at ease then, tranquil and quiet, great Seer.

21. Light of the world, thou knowest the disposition of all who have flocked hither from every direction, (and thou knowest that) we speak a word of truth.

¹ Sandhâbhâshya, here rather 'conciliatory speech;' this is the meaning which sandhâya sambhâshana has in Sanskrit.

² The rendering of the last words bahuku//î bahûvidhâh is conjectural. Burnouf has, 'emprisonner et frapper de diverses manières,' but hereby two meanings are assigned to ku//î.

CHAPTER XIII.

PEACEFUL LIFE.

Mañḡusṛī, the prince royal, said to the Lord: It is difficult, Lord, most difficult, what these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas will attempt out of reverence for the Lord. How are these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas to promulgate this Dharmaparyāya at the end of time, at the last period? Whereupon the Lord answered Mañḡusṛī, the prince royal: A Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, he who is to promulgate this Dharmaparyāya at the end of time, at the last period, must be firm in four things. In which things? The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, must be firm in his conduct and proper sphere if he wishes to teach this Dharmaparyāya. And how, Mañḡusṛī, is a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva firm in his conduct and proper sphere? When the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, is patient, meek, has reached the stage of meekness; when he is not rash, nor envious; when, moreover, Mañḡusṛī, he clings to no law whatever and sees the real character of the laws (or things); when he is refraining from investigating and discussing these laws, Mañḡusṛī; that is called the conduct of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. And what is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī? When the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Mañḡusṛī, does not serve, not court, not wait upon kings; does not serve, not court, not wait upon princes; when he does not approach them; when he does not

serve, not court, not wait upon persons of another sect, *Karakas*, *Parivrâgakas*, *Âgtvakas*¹, *Nir-granthas*², nor persons passionately fond of fine literature; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon adepts at worldly spells³, and votaries of a worldly philosophy⁴, nor keep any intercourse with them; when he does not go to see *Kândâlas*, jugglers, vendors of pork, poulterers, deer-hunters, butchers, actors and dancers, wrestlers, nor resort to places whither others flock for amusement and sport; when he keeps no intercourse with them unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and that freely⁵; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, who are adherents of the vehicle of disciples, nor keep intercourse with them; when he does not come in contact with them at the place of promenade or in the monastery, unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and even that freely. This, *Mañgusri*, is the proper sphere of a *Bodhisattva Mahâsattva*.

Again, *Mañgusri*, the *Bodhisattva Mahâsattva* does not take hold of some favourable opportunity or another to preach the law to females every now and anon, nor is he desirous of repeatedly seeing females; nor does he think it proper to visit families and then too often address a girl, virgin, or young wife, nor does he greet them too fondly in return. He does

¹ Three kinds of mendicant friars not belonging to the Buddhist, nor to the *Gaina* persuasion.

² *Gaina* monks.

³ *Lokâyatamantradhâraka*.

⁴ *Lokâyatikas*, the Sadducees or Epicureans of India.

⁵ *Anisrita*; Burnouf renders it, 'sans même s'arrêter.'

not preach the law to a hermaphrodite, keeps no intercourse with such a person, nor greets too friendly in return. He does not enter a house alone in order to receive alms, unless having the Tathâgata in his thoughts. And when he happens to preach the law to females, he does not do so by passionate attachment to the law, far less by passionate attachment to a woman. When he is preaching, he does not display his row of teeth, let alone a quick emotion on his physiognomy. He addresses no novice, male or female, no nun, no monk, no young boy, no young girl, nor enters upon a conversation with them; he shows no great readiness in answering their address¹, nor cares to give too frequent answers. This, Mañgusrt, is called the first proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva.

Further, Mañgusrt, a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva looks upon all laws (and things) as void; he sees them duly established², remaining unaltered, as they are in reality, not liable to be disturbed, not to be moved backward, unchangeable, existing in the highest sense of the word (or in an absolute sense), having the nature of space, escaping explanation and expression by means of common speech, not born, composed and simple, aggregated and isolated³, not expressible in words, independently established, manifesting them-

¹ Pratisamlâpanaguruka, literally 'making much of returning (one's) addressing.'

² Yathâvatpratishhitân, aviparîtasthâyino yathâbhûtân, &c. Burnouf adds, 'privées de toute essence,' i.e. nirâtmakân.

³ In the rendering of the last four terms I have followed Burnouf, as the reading in the Camb. MS. is evidently corrupt: *asamskrîtânasamtânâsammanâsannâbhilâpena pravayâhrîtân*. The original reading may have been *asamskrîtân nâsamskrîtân*, not composed, not simple; *nâsamân na samân*, not unlike

selves owing to a perversion of perception. In this way then, Mañgusṛī, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva constantly views all laws, and if he abides in this course, he remains in his own sphere. This, Mañgusṛī, is the second proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva.

And in order to expound this matter in greater detail, the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. The Bodhisattva who, undaunted and unabashed, wishes to set forth this Sūtra in the dreadful period hereafter,

2. Must keep to his course (of duty) and proper sphere; he must be retired and pure, constantly avoid intercourse with kings and princes.

3. Nor should he keep up intercourse with king's servants, nor with *Kāṇḍālas*, jugglers, and Tīrthikas in general¹.

4. He ought not to court conceited men, but catechise such as keep to the religion². He must also avoid such monks as follow the precepts of the Arhat³, and immoral men.

5. He must be constant in avoiding a nun who is fond of banter and chatter; he must also avoid notoriously loose female lay devotees.

6. He should shun any intercourse with such female lay devotees as seek their highest happiness

(i.e. equal to all), nor like; or, *nāsaṃtān* (in grammatical Sansk. *nāśato*) *na saṃtān*, not non-existent, not existent.

¹ Burnouf adds, 'ceux qui vendent des liqueurs fermentées,' which is wanting in my MS.: *kāṇḍālair mushāikaiskāpi tīrthikaiskāpi sarvaraḥ*.

² According to the reading, *vinayed āgamasthitā(n)*. A marginal reading has *vinayenā°*, a reading followed by Burnouf.

³ Or, Arhats: *Arhantasammatā(n) bhikhshūn*. The *Gainas* are meant.

in this transient world. This is called the proper conduct of a Bodhisattva.

7. But when one comes to him to question him about the law for the sake of superior enlightenment, he should, at any time, speak freely, always firm and undaunted.

8. He should have no intercourse with women and hermaphrodites; he should also shun the young wives and girls in families.

9. He must never address them to ask after their health¹. He must also avoid intercourse with vendors of pork and mutton.

10. With any persons who slay animals of various kind for the sake of profit, and with such as sell meat he should avoid having any intercourse.

11. He must shun the society of whoremongers, players, musicians, wrestlers, and other people of that sort.

12. He should not frequent whores, nor other sensual persons; he must avoid any exchange of civility with them.

13. And when the sage has to preach for a woman, he should not enter into an apartment with her alone, nor stay to banter.

14. When he has often to enter a village in quest of food, he must have another monk with him or constantly think of the Buddha.

15. Herewith have I shown the first sphere of proper conduct². Wise are they who, keeping this Sûtra in memory, live according to it.

16. And when one observes³ no law at all, low,

¹ Kausalyam hâsa prikkhîtum. I take hâsa to stand for âsa (Sansk. âsâm), if it be no error for tâsa (Sansk. tâsâm).

² Âkâragokaro hy esha.

³ Karate.

superior or mean, composed or uncomposed, real or not real ;

17. When the wise man does not remark, ' This is a woman,' nor marks, ' This is a man ;' when in searching he finds no laws (or things), because they have never existed ;

18. This is called the observance¹ of the Bodhisattvas in general. Now listen to me when I set forth what should be their proper sphere.

19. All laws (i.e. the laws, the things) have been declared to be non-existing, not appearing, not produced, void, immovable, everlasting ; this is called the proper sphere of the wise.

20. They have been divided into existing and non-existing, real and unreal, by those who had wrong notions ; other laws also, of permanency, of being produced, of birth from something already produced², are wrongly assumed.

21. Let (the Bodhisattva) be concentrated in mind, attentive, ever firm as the peak of Mount Sumeru, and in such a state (of mind) look upon all laws (and things) as having the nature of space³,

22. Permanently equal to space, without essence, immovable, without substantiality⁴. These, indeed, are the laws, all and for ever. This is called the proper sphere of the wise.

23. The monk observing this rule of conduct given by me may, after my extinction, promulgate this Sûtra in the world, and shall feel no depression. ✓

24. Let the sage first, for some time, coerce his

¹ Âkâra.

² Gâtâda bhûti (Sansk. gâtâd bhûtih).

³ I. e. as being void.

⁴ Satyena ; in the margin âtmanâ.

thoughts, exercise meditation with complete absorption, and correctly perform all that is required for attaining spiritual insight¹, and then, after rising (from his pious meditation), preach with unquailing mind.

25. The kings of this earth and the princes who listen to the law protect him. Others also, both laymen (or burghers) and Brahmans, will be found together in his congregation.

Further, Mañgusri, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time, the last period, the last five hundred years², when the true law is in a state of decay, is going to propound this Dharmaparyāya, must be in a peaceful state (of mind) and then preach the law, whether he knows it by heart or has it in a book. In his sermon he will not be too prone to carping at others, not blame other preaching friars, not speak scandal nor propagate scandal. He does not mention by name other monks, adherents of the vehicle of disciples, to propagate scandal. He cherishes even no hostile feelings against them, because he is in a peaceful state. All who come, one after the other, to hear the sermon he receives with benevolence, and preaches the law to them without invidiousness³. He refrains from entering upon a

¹ Kālena ko kīttayamātu (Sansk. °yamāt) *pañḍitaḥ pravilayanam tatha ghaṭayitvā*, *vipasyidharmam imu sarva yoniso utthāya*, &c. I take *ghaṭayitvā* in the sense of *ghaṭayitvā=yuktvā*.

² I.e. " the latter part of the millennium. According to the declaration of the Buddha in *Kullavagga* X, 1, 6, the true law (*Saddhamma*) is to stand a millennium, though at the same time, owing to the institution of female monks, the number of 1000 years should be reduced to half.

³ *Anupārigrāhikayā*, *ananyusūkanayā dhammam derayati*; °*sūkanayā* is certainly wrong; cf. stanza 30 below.

dispute; but if he is asked a question, he does not answer in the way of (those who follow) the vehicle of disciples¹; on the contrary, he answers as if he had attained Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

26. The wise man² is always at ease³, and in that state he preaches the law, seated on an elevated pulpit which has been prepared for him on a clean and pretty spot.

27. He puts on a clean, nice, red robe, dyed with good colours⁴, and a black woollen garment and a long undergarment ;

28. Having duly washed his feet and rubbed his head and face with smooth ointments⁵, he ascends the pulpit, which is provided with a footbank and covered with pieces of fine cloth of various sorts, and sits down.

29. When he is thus seated on the preacher's pulpit and all who have gathered round him are

¹ Srâvakayâna. It is instructive to see that the Buddha here espouses the party of the great vehicle.

² I.e. preacher, minister of religion. The word used, *paṇḍita*, has passed into the languages of the Indian Archipelago in the sense of a minister of religion.

³ Sukhasthita, which in the preceding passage I have rendered by 'being in a peaceful state,' because there the mental state is more prominent.

⁴ *Kauksham ka so kīvara prāvaritvā suraktaraṅgam suprasataraṅgaiḥ*.

⁵ According to the ten commandments (*Dasasīla*) the use of ointments is forbidden to the monks, but the preacher need not be a monastic man. In Nepāl it is the Vagra-Ātārya who devotes himself to the active ministry of religion; see Hodgson's Essays, p. 52.

attentive, he proceeds to deliver many discourses, pleasing by variety, before monks and nuns,

30. Before male and female lay devotees, kings and princes. The wise man always (takes care to) deliver a sermon diversified in its contents and sweet, free from invidiousness¹.

31. If occasionally he is asked some question, even after he has commenced, he will explain the matter anew in regular order, and he will explain it in such a way that his hearers gain enlightenment.

32. The wise man is indefatigable; not even the thought of fatigue will rise in him; he knows no listlessness, and so displays to the assembly the strength of charity.

33. Day and night the wise man preaches this sublime law with myriads of koṭis of illustrations; he edifies and satisfies his audience without ever requiring anything.

34. Solid food, soft food, nourishment and drink, cloth, couches, robes, medicaments for the sick, all this does not occupy his thoughts, nor does he want anything from the congregation.

35. On the contrary, the wise man is always thinking: How can I and these beings become Buddhas? I will preach this true law, upon which the happiness of all beings depends², for the benefit of the world.

36. The monk who, after my extinction, shall preach in this way, without envy, shall not meet with trouble, impediment, grief or despondency.

37. Nobody shall frighten him, beat or blame

¹ Ananyasūyantu; perhaps we must read anabhyasūyantu.

² Etat samasatvasukhopadhānam saddharmam srāvemi hitāya loke.

him; never shall he be driven away, because he is firm in the strength of forbearance.

38. The wise man who is peaceful, so disposed as I have just said, possesses hundreds of kotis of advantages, so many that one would not be able to enumerate them in hundreds of Æons.

Again, Mañgusri, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who lives after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who keeps this Sūtra is not envious, not false, not deceitful; he does not speak disparagingly of other adherents of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, nor defame, nor humble them. He does not bring forward the shortcomings of other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, neither of the adherents of the vehicle of disciples nor of those of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas. He does not say: You young men of good family, you are far off from supreme, perfect enlightenment; you give proof of not having arrived at it; you are too fickle in your doings and not capable of acquiring true knowledge. He does not in this way bring forward the shortcomings of any adherent of the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. Nor does he show any delight in disputes about the law, or engage in disputes about the law, and he never abandons the strength of charity towards all beings. In respect to all Tathāgatas he feels as if they were his fathers, and in respect to all Bodhisattvas as if they were his masters. And as to the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in all directions of space, he is assiduous in paying homage to them by good will and respect. When he preaches the law, he preaches no less and no more than the law, without partial predilection for (any part of) the law, and

he does not show greater favour to one than to another, even from love of the law.

Such, Mañgusī, is the third quality with which a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva is endowed who is to expound this Dharmaparyāya after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay; who will live at ease¹ and not be annoyed in the exposition of this Dharmaparyāya. And in the synod² he will have allies, and he will find auditors at his sermons who will listen to this Dharmaparyāya, believe, accept, keep, read, penetrate, write it and cause it to be written, and who, after it has been written and a volume made of it, will honour, respect, esteem, and worship it.

This said the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following :

39. The wise man, the preacher, who wishes to expound this Sūtra must absolutely renounce falsehood, pride, calumny, and envy.

40. He should never speak a disparaging word of anybody; never engage in a dispute on religious belief; never say to such as are guilty of shortcomings, You will not obtain superior knowledge.

41. He is always sincere, mild, forbearing; (as) a (true) son of Sugata he will repeatedly preach the law without any feeling of vexation.

42. 'The Bodhisattvas in all directions of space, who out of compassion for creatures are moving in the world, are my teachers;' (thus thinking) the wise man respects them as his masters.

¹ Sukhya[m] sparsam viharati, which answers to the Pāli phrase phāsu viharati.

² Dharmasaṅgītyām.

43. Cherishing the memory of the Buddhas, the supreme amongst men, he will always feel towards them as if they were his fathers, and by forsaking all idea of pride he will escape hindrance.

44. The wise man who has heard this law, should be constant in observing it. If he earnestly strives after a peaceful life, *koṭis* of beings will surely protect him.

Further, *Mañgusṛī*, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, living at the time of destruction of the true law after the extinction of the Tathāgata, who is desirous of keeping this Dharmaparyāya, should live as far as possible away from laymen and friars, and lead a life of charity. He must feel affection for all beings who are striving for enlightenment and therefore make this reflection : To be sure, they are greatly perverted in mind, those beings who do not hear, nor perceive, nor understand the skilfulness and the mystery¹ of the Tathāgata, who do not inquire for it, nor believe in it, nor even are willing to believe in it. Of course, these beings do not penetrate, nor understand this Dharmaparyāya. Nevertheless will I, who have attained² this supreme, perfect knowledge, powerfully³ bend to it the mind of every one, whatever may be the position he occupies, and bring about that he accepts, understands, and arrives at full ripeness.

By possessing also this fourth quality, *Mañgusṛī*, a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, who is to expound the law after the extinction of the Tathāgata, will be

¹ Sandhābhāshita.

² Abhisambudhya.

³ Balena; in the margin added by a later hand, *riddhi*; this is the reading followed by Burnouf, 'par la force de mes facultés surnaturelles.'

unmolested, honoured, respected, esteemed, venerated by monks, nuns, and lay devotees, male and female, by kings, princes, ministers, king's officers, by citizens and country people, by Brahmans and laymen; the gods of the sky will, full of faith, follow his track to hear the law, and the angels will follow his track to protect him; whether he is in a village or in a monastery, they will approach him day and night to put questions about the law, and they will be satisfied, charmed with his explanation. For this Dharmaparyāya, Mañgusṛī, has been blessed by all Buddhas. With the past, future, and present Tathāgata, Mañgusṛī, this Dharmaparyāya is for ever blessed. Precious¹ in all worlds, Mañgusṛī, is the sound, rumour, or mentioning of this Dharmaparyāya.

It is a case, Mañgusṛī, similar to that of a king, a ruler of armies, who by force has conquered his own kingdom, whereupon other kings, his adversaries, wage war against him. That ruler of armies has soldiers of various description to fight with various enemies. As the king sees those soldiers fighting, he is delighted with their gallantry, enraptured, and in his delight and rapture he makes to his soldiers several donations, such as villages and village grounds, towns and grounds of a town; garments and head-gear; hand-ornaments, necklaces, gold threads, earrings, strings of pearls, bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones(?), corals; he, moreover, gives elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers, male and female slaves, vehicles, and litters. But to none he makes a present

¹ Durlabha, also meaning rare, difficult to be got.

of his crown jewel, because that jewel only fits on the head of a king. Were the king to give away that crown jewel, then that whole royal army, consisting of four divisions, would be astonished and amazed. In the same manner, Mañgusrt, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., exercises the reign of righteousness (and of the law) in the triple world which he has conquered by the power of his arm and the power of his virtue. His triple world is assailed by Mâra, the Evil One. Then the Âryas, the soldiers of the Tathâgata, fight with Mâra. Then, Mañgusrt, the king of the law, the lord of the law, expounds to the Âryas, his soldiers, whom he sees fighting, hundred thousands of Sûtras in order to encourage the four classes. He gives them the city of Nirvâna, the great city of the law ; he allures them with that city of Nirvâna, but he does not preach to them such a Dharmaparyâya as this. Just as in that case, Mañgusrt, that king, ruler of armies, astonished at the great valour of his soldiers in battle gives them all his property, at last even his crown jewel, and just as that crown jewel has been kept by the king on his head to the last, so, Mañgusrt, the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., who as the great king of the law in the triple world exercises his sway with justice, when he sees disciples and Bodhisattvas fighting against the Mâra of fancies or the Mâra of sinful inclinations, and when he sees that by fighting they have destroyed affection, hatred, and infatuation, overcome the triple world and conquered all Mâras, is satisfied, and in his satisfaction he expounds to those noble (ârya) soldiers this Dharmaparyâya which meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, a Dharmaparyâya never before preached,

never before explained. And the Tathâgata bestows on all disciples the noble crown jewel, that most exalted crown jewel which brings omniscience to all. For this, *Mañgusrt*, is the supreme preaching of the Tathâgatas; this is the last Dharmaparyâya of the Tathâgatas; this is the most profound discourse on the law, a Dharmaparyâya meeting opposition in all the world. In the same manner, *Mañgusrt*, as that king of righteousness and ruler of armies took off the crown jewel which he had kept so long a time and gave it (at last) to the soldiers, so, *Mañgusrt*, the Tathâgata now reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others, (the mystery) which must be known by the Tathâgatas.

And in order to elucidate this matter more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas :

45. Always displaying the strength of charity, always filled with compassion for all creatures, expounding this law, the Sugatas have approved this exalted Sûtra.

46. The laymen, as well as the mendicant friars, and the Bodhisattvas who shall live at the end of time, must all show the strength of charity, lest those who hear the law reject it.

47. But I, when I shall have reached enlightenment and be established in Tathâgataship, will initiate (others), and after having initiated disciples¹ preach everywhere this superior enlightenment.

48. It is (a case) like that of a king, ruler of armies, who gives to his soldiers various things, gold, elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers; he also

¹ Tato upaneshyi upâyayitvâ samstâvayishye imam agrabodhim.

gives towns and villages, in token of his contentment.

49. In his satisfaction he gives to some hand-ornaments, silver and gold thread; pearls, gems, conch-shells, stones(?), coral; he also gives slaves of various description.

50. But when he is struck with the incomparable daring of one amongst the soldiers, he says: Thou hast admirably done this; and, taking off his crown, makes him a present of the jewel.

51. Likewise do I, the Buddha, the king of the law, I who have the force of patience and a large treasure of wisdom, with justice govern the whole world, benign, compassionate, and pitiful.

52. And seeing how the creatures are in trouble, I pronounce thousands of koṭis of Sûtrântas, when I perceive the heroism of those living beings who by pure-mindedness overcome the sinful inclinations of the world.

53. And the king of the law, the great physician, who expounds hundreds of koṭis of Paryâyas, when he recognises that creatures are strong, shows them this Sûtra, comparable to a crown jewel.

54. This is the last Sûtra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my Sûtras, which I have always kept and never divulged. Now I am going to make it known; listen all.

55. There are four qualities to be acquired by those who at the period after my extinction desire supreme enlightenment and perform my charge¹. The qualities are such as follows.

56. The wise man knows no vexation, trouble,

¹ Vyâparana.

sickness ; the colour of his skin is not blackish ; nor does he dwell in a miserable town.

57. The great Sage has always a pleasant look, deserves to be honoured, as if he were the Tathâgata himself, and little angels shall constantly be his attendants.

58. His body can never be hurt by weapons, poison, sticks, or clods, and the mouth of the man who utters a word of abuse against him shall be closed.

59. He is a friend to all creatures in the world. He goes all over the earth as a light, dissipating the gloom of many *koṭis* of creatures, he who keeps this Sûtra after my extinction.

60. In his sleep he sees visions in the shape of Buddha ; he sees monks and nuns appearing on thrones and proclaiming the many-sided law.

61. He sees in his dream gods and goblins, (numerous) as the sands of the Ganges, as well as demons and Nâgas of many kinds, who lift their joined hands and to whom he expounds the eminent law.

62. He sees in his dream the Tathâgata preaching the law to many *koṭis* of beings with lovely voice, the Lord with golden colour.

63. And he stands there with joined hands glorifying the Seer, the highest of men, whilst the *Gina*, the great physician, is expounding the law to the four classes.

64. And he, glad to have heard the law, joyfully pays his worship, and after having soon reached the knowledge which never slides back, he obtains, in dream, magical spells.

65. And the Lord of the world, perceiving his good

intention, announces to him his destiny of becoming a leader amongst men : Young man of good family (says he), thou shalt here reach in future supreme, holy knowledge.

66. Thou shalt have a large field and four classes (of hearers), even as myself, that respectfully and with joined hands shall hear from thee the vast and faultless law.

67. Again he sees his own person occupied with meditating on the law in mountain caverns ; and by meditating he attains the very nature of the law and, on obtaining complete absorption, sees the *Gina*.

68. And after seeing in his dream the gold-coloured one, him who displays a hundred hallowed signs, he hears the law, whereafter he preaches it in the assembly. Such is his dream.

69. And in his dream he also forsakes his whole realm, harem, and numerous kinsfolk ; renouncing all pleasures he leaves home (to become an ascetic), and betakes himself to the place of the terrace of enlightenment.

70. There, seated upon a throne at the foot of a tree to seek enlightenment, he will¹, after the lapse of seven days, arrive at the knowledge of the *Tathâgatas*. •

71. On having reached enlightenment he will rise up from that place to move forward the faultless wheel and preach the law during an inconceivable number of thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

72. After having revealed perfect enlightenment and led many *koṭis* of beings to perfect rest, he

¹ *Anuprâpsyate*.

himself will be extinguished like a lamp when the oil is exhausted. So is that vision.

73. Endless, Mañgughosha, are the advantages which constantly are his who at the end of time shall expound this Sûtra of superior enlightenment that I have perfectly explained.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISSUING OF BODHISATTVAS FROM THE GAPS OF
THE EARTH.

Out of the multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who had flocked from other worlds, Bodhisattvas eight (times) equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹ then rose from the assembled circle. Their joined hands stretched out towards the Lord to pay him homage, they said to him : If the Lord will allow us, we also would, after the extinction of the Lord, reveal this Dharmaparyāya in this Saha-world ; we would read, write, worship it, and wholly devote ourselves² to that law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to grant to us also this Dharmaparyāya. And the Lord answered : Nay, young men of good family, why should you occupy yourselves with this task ? I have here in this Saha-world thousands of Bodhisattvas equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, forming the train of one Bodhisattva ; and of such Bodhisattvas there is a number equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, each of these Bodhisattvas having an equal number

¹ The text has *ash/au Gaṅgānadīvālikāsamā Bodhisattvās*. Burnouf renders the passage by 'en nombre égal à celui des sables de huit Ganges.' Perhaps we must understand eight to mean eight thousand, just as e. g. *Dīpavaṃsa* VI, 98 the word eighty-four denotes eighty-four thousand.

² *Yogam āpadyemahi*.

in their train, who at the end of time, at the last period after my extinction, shall keep, read, proclaim this Dharmaparyāya.

No sooner had the Lord uttered these words than the Saha-world burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas with gold-coloured bodies and the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, who had been staying in the element of ether underneath this great earth, close to this Saha-world. These then on hearing the word of the Lord came up from below the earth. Each of these Bodhisattvas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges¹ rivers; (each had) a troop, a great troop, as teacher of a troop. Of such Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a troop, a great troop, as teachers of a troop, there were hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis equal to the sands of sixty Ganges² rivers, who emerged from the gaps of the earth in this Saha-world. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of fifty Ganges rivers; much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of forty Ganges rivers; of 30³, 20, 10, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 Ganges river; of

$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{50}$, $\frac{1}{100}$, $\frac{1}{1000}$, $\frac{1}{100,000}$, $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$, $\frac{1}{100 \times 10,000,000}$, $\frac{1}{1000 \times 10,000,000}$

¹ Or, a train of sixty thousand Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges.

² Shashṭy eva, which is ungrammatical, for shashṭir eva, or it is a corrupt reading.

³ The text goes on repeating the same words, save the difference of number; I have given the contents in a shortened form.

$\frac{1}{100 \times 1000 \times 10,000,000}$ $\frac{1}{100 \times 1000 \times 10,000 \times 10,000,000}$ part of the river Ganges. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having a train of many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas; of one koṭi; of one hundred thousand; of one thousand; of 500; of 400; of 300; of 200; of 100; of 50; of 40; of 30; of 20; of 10; of 5, 4, 3, 2. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having one follower. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas standing isolated. They cannot be numbered, counted, calculated, compared, known by occult science, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who emerged from the gaps of the earth to appear in this Saha-world. And after they had successively emerged they went up to the Stūpa of precious substances which stood in the sky, where the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the extinct Tathāgata, was seated along with the Lord Śākyamuni on the throne. Whereafter they saluted the feet of both Tathāgatas, &c., as well as the images of Tathāgatas produced by the Lord Śākyamuni from his own body, who all together were seated on thrones at the foot of various jewel trees on every side in all directions, in different worlds. After these Bodhisattvas had many hundred thousand times saluted, and thereon circumambulated the Tathāgatas, &c., from left to right, and celebrated them with various Bodhisattva hymns, they went and kept themselves at a little distance, the joined hands stretched out to honour the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c.

And while those Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating the Tathāgatas by various Bodhi-

sattva hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away, during which fifty intermediate kalpas the Lord Sâkyamuni remained silent, and likewise the four classes of the audience. Then the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon¹, and they saw this Saha-world assume the appearance of hundred thousands of worlds² replete with Bodhisattvas³. The four Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who were the chiefest of that great host of Bodhisattvas, viz. the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Visishṭakâritra (i. e. of eminent conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Ananta-kâritra (i. e. of endless conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Visuddhakâritra (i. e. of correct conduct), and the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Supratishṭhita-kâritra (i. e. of very steady conduct), these four Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas standing at

¹ If we take kalpa or Æon (i. e. a day of twenty-four hours) to contain eighty intermediate kalpas, it is impossible that either fifty or five intermediate kalpas should be equal to an afternoon. A so-called Asaṅkhyeya kalpa has twenty intermediate kalpas, and is, in reality, equal to six hours, so that five intermediate kalpas will embrace a time of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour. If we might take an Asaṅkhyeya to be the equivalent of a day of twenty-four hours, the reckoning would be correct, for then five intermediate kalpas would be equal to six hours; we can, however, produce no authority for Asaṅkhyeya kalpa ever being used in the (esoteric) sense of a day and night.

² Lokadhâtusatasahasrâkârâparigrhîtam, which ought to be °kârap°, or °kâram p°. Instances of the peculiar construction of parigrhîta after the analogy of prâpta are found, Lalita-vistara, pp. 109, 112, 181, 368. A marginal would-be correction has °kâsam p°.

³ The afternoon being at an end, the innumerable spheres of the stars become visible.

the head of the great host, the great multitude of Bodhisattvas stretched out the joined hands towards the Lord and addressed him thus : Is the Lord in good health ? Does he enjoy well-being and good ease ? Are the creatures decorous, docile, obedient, correctly performing their task¹, so that they give no trouble to the Lord ?

And those four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas addressed the Lord with the two following stanzas :

1. Does the Lord of the world, the illuminator, feel at ease ? Dost thou feel free from bodily dis-ease, O Perfect One ?

2. The creatures, we hope, will be decorous, docile, performing the orders² of the Lord of the world, so as to give no trouble.

And the Lord answered the four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas : So it is, young men of good family, I am in good health, well-being, and at ease. And these creatures of mine are decorous, docile, obedient, well performing what is ordered ; they give no trouble when I correct them³ ; and that, young men of good family, because these creatures, owing to their being already prepared under the ancient, perfectly enlightened Buddhas, have but to see and hear me to put trust

¹ *Suvisodhakâḥ*. The rendering doubtful ; see next note.

² *Susodhaka*. This, as well as *suvisodhaka*, properly means 'well cleaning,' and applies, at least originally, to servants or pupils who are charged with sweeping the house or precincts. I have tried to give the expression a spiritual look ; Burnouf renders it by '*faciles à purifier*,' which is quite plausible, because in a similar compound, *subodha*, we find *bodha* used in a passive sense, the word meaning 'easy to be understood.'

³ *Na ka khedaṃ ganayanti visodhyamânâs*.

in me, to understand and fathom the Buddha-knowledge. And those who fulfilled their duties in the stage of disciples have now been introduced by me into Buddha-knowledge and well instructed in the highest truth.

And at that time the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas uttered the following stanzas:

3. Excellent, excellent, O great Hero! we are happy to hear that those creatures are decorous, docile, well performing their duty¹;

4. And that they listen to thy profound knowledge, O Leader, and that after listening to it they have put trust in it and understand it.

This said, the Lord declared his approval to the four Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, saying: Well done, young men of good family, well done, that you so congratulate the Tathāgata.

And at that moment the following thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya and the eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges²: We never yet saw so great a host, so great a multitude of Bodhisattvas; we never yet heard of such a multitude, that after issuing from the gaps of the earth has stood in the presence of the Lord to honour, respect, venerate, worship him and greet him with joyful shouts³. Whence have these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas flocked hither?

¹ Susodhaka; cf. above.

² *Ashānām Gaṅgānadīvālikopamānām Bodhisattvakośinayutasa-tasahasrānām*. Burnouf renders, 'à celui des sables de huit Ganges.'

³ Pratisammodante.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya, feeling within himself doubt and perplexity, and inferring from his own thoughts those of the eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges, stretched out his joined hands towards the Lord and questioned him about the matter by uttering the following stanzas :

5. Here are many thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, numberless, whom we never saw before ; tell us, O supreme of men !

6. Whence and how do these mighty persons come ? Whence have they come here under the form of great bodies¹ ?

7. All are great Seers, wise and strong in memory, whose outward appearance is lovely to see ; whence have they come ?

8. And each of those Bodhisattvas, O Lord of the world, has an immense train, like the sands of the Ganges.

9. The train of (each) glorious Bodhisattva is equal to the sands of sixty Ganges in full². All are striving after enlightenment.

10. Of such heroes and mighty possessors of a troop the followers are equal to the sands of sixty Ganges³.

¹ The rendering is doubtful ; the text has mahâtma-bhâva-rûpena.

² Gaṅgâvâlikasamâ shashî paripûrnâ yâsavinâḥ, parivâro Bodhisattvasya. It is in the teeth of grammar to render the passage in this way, but from the following we must infer that no other translation will suit the case.

³ The translation is uncertain ; the text has evam rūpâna vîrânâṃ varshavantâna tâyinâṃ, shashîr eva pramâṇena Gaṅgavâlikâ ime. Instead of varshavantâna I would read vargavantâna, which

11. There are others, still more numerous, with an unlimited train, like the sands of fifty, forty, and thirty Ganges ;

12, 13. Who have a train equal to the (sands of) twenty Ganges. Still more numerous are the mighty sons of Buddha, who have each a train (equal to the sands) of ten, of five Ganges. Whence, O Leader, has such an assembly flocked hither ?

14. There are others who have each a train of pupils and companions equal to the sands of four, three, or two Ganges.

15. There are others more numerous yet ; it would be impossible to calculate their number in thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

16. (Equal to) a half Ganges, one third, one tenth, one twentieth, is the train of those heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas.

17. There are yet others who are incalculable ; it would be impossible to count them even in hundreds of *koṭis* of *Æons*.

18. Many more yet there are, with endless trains ; they have in their attendance *koṭis*, and *koṭis* and again *koṭis*, and also half *koṭis*.

19. Other great Seers again, beyond computation, very wise Bodhisattvas are seen in a respectful posture.

20. They have a thousand, a hundred, or fifty attendants ; in hundreds of *koṭis* of *Æons* one would not be able to count them.

21. The suite of (some of these) heroes consists of twenty, of ten, five, four, three, or two ; those are countless.

Burnouf seems to have had before him, for his translation has 'suivis chacun de leur assemblée.'

22. As to those who are walking alone and come to their rest alone, they have now flocked hither in such numbers as to be beyond computation.

23. Even if one with a magic wand in his hand would try for a number of Æons equal to the sands of the Ganges to count them, he would not reach the term.

24. Where do all those noble, energetic heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas, come from?

25. Who has taught them the law (or duty)? and by whom have they been destined to enlightenment? Whose command do they accept? Whose command do they keep?

26. Bursting forth at all points of the horizon through the whole extent of the earth they emerge, those great Sages endowed with magical faculty and wisdom.

27. This world on every side is being perforated, O Seer, by the wise Bodhisattvas, who at this time are emerging.

28. Never before have we seen anything like this. Tell us the name of this world, O Leader.

29. We have repeatedly roamed in all directions of space, but never saw these Bodhisattvas.

30. We never saw a single infant¹ of thine, and now, on a sudden, these appear to us. Tell us their history, O Seer.

31. Hundreds, thousands, ten thousands of Bodhisattvas, all equally filled with curiosity, look up to the highest of men.

32. Explain to us, O incomparable, great hero, who knowest no bounds², where do these heroes, these wise Bodhisattvas, come from?

¹ Stanapa.

² Nirâvadhe, which I identify with Sansk. niravadhe, the voc.

Meanwhile the Tathâgatas, &c., who had flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of worlds, they, the creations of the Lord Sâkyamuni, who were preaching the law to the beings in other worlds ; who all around¹ the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., were seated with crossed legs on magnificent jewel thrones² at the foot of jewel trees in every direction of space ; as well as the satellites of those Tathâgatas were struck with wonder and amazement at the sight of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas emerging from the gaps of the earth and established in the element of ether, and they (the satellites) asked each their own Tathâgata : Where, O Lord, do so many Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, so innumerable, so countless, come from ? Whereupon those Tathâgatas, &c., answered severally to their satellites : Wait awhile, young men of good family ; this Bodhisattva Mahâsattva here, called Maitreya, has just received from the Lord Sâkyamuni a revelation about his destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He has questioned the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., about the matter, and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is going to explain it ; then you may hear.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Maitreya : Well done, Agita, well done ; it is a sublime subject, Agita, about which thou questionest me. Then the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas : Be attentive all, young men of good

case of niravadhi. Burnouf has, 'toi qui es affranchi de l'accumulation [des éléments constitutifs de l'existence].'

¹ Samantâd ; Burnouf's 'en présence' is wanting in my MS.

² Or, thrones of magnificent jewels.

family ; be well prepared and steady on your post, you and the entire host of Bodhisattvas ; the Tathâgata, the Arhat, &c., is now going to exhibit the sight of the knowledge of the Tathâgata, young men of good family, the leadership of the Tathâgata, the work of the Tathâgata, the sport¹ of the Tathâgata, the might of the Tathâgata, the energy of the Tathâgata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas :

33. Be attentive all, young men of good family ; I am to utter an infallible word ; refrain from disputing² about it, O sages : the science of the Tathâgata is beyond reasoning.

34. Be all steady and thoughtful ; continue attentive all. To-day you will hear a law as yet unknown, the wonder of the Tathâgatas.

35. Never have any doubt, ye sages, for I shall strengthen you, I am the Leader who speaketh infallible truth, and my knowledge is unlimited.

36. Profound are the laws known to the Sugata, above reasoning and beyond argumentation. These laws I am going to reveal ; ye, hear which and how they are.

After uttering these stanzas the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya : I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee : These Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, Agita, so innumerable, incalculable, inconceivable, incomparable, uncountable, whom you never saw before, who just now have issued from

¹ I.e. magic display of creative power, *lîlâ*, synonymous with *mâyâ*.

² *Vivâda*, the original reading, though afterwards effaced and replaced by *vishâda*, despondency.

the gaps of the earth, these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Agita, have I roused, excited, animated, fully developed to supreme, perfect enlightenment after my having arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment in this world. I have, moreover, fully matured, established, confirmed, instructed, perfected these young men of good family in their Bodhisattvaship. And these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Agita, occupy in this Saha-world the domain of the ether-element below. Only thinking of the lesson they have to study, and devoted to thoroughly comprehend it, these young men of good family have no liking for social gatherings, nor for bustling crowds; they do not put off their tasks, and are strenuous¹. These young men of good family, Agita, delight in seclusion², are fond of seclusion. These young men of good family do not dwell in the immediate vicinity of gods and men, they not being fond of bustling crowds. These young men of good family find their luxury in the pleasure of the law, and apply themselves to Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

37. These Bodhisattvas, immense, inconceivable and beyond measure, endowed with magic power, wisdom, and learning, have progressed in knowledge for many *koṭis* of *Æons*.

38. It is I who have brought them to maturity for enlightenment, and it is in my field that they

¹ It will be remarked that these Bodhisattvas are represented as pupils or young monks under training, *Srāmaṇeras*.

² *Vivekārāmāḥ*; *viveka* at the same time means 'discrimination.'

have their abode; by me alone have they been brought to maturity; these Bodhisattvas are my sons.

39. All have devoted themselves to a hermit life¹ and are assiduous in shunning places of bustle; they walk detached, these sons of mine, following my precepts in their lofty course.

40. They dwell in the domain of ether, in the lower portion of the field, those heroes who, unwearied, are striving day and night to attain superior knowledge.

41. All strenuous, of good memory, unshaken in the immense strength of their intelligence, those serene sages preach the law, all radiant, as being my sons.

42. Since the time when I reached this superior (or foremost) enlightenment, at the town of Gayâ, at the foot of the tree, and put in motion the all-surpassing wheel of the law, I have brought to maturity all of them for superior enlightenment.

43. These words I here speak are faultless, really true; believe me, all of you who hear me: verily, I have reached superior enlightenment, and it is by me alone that all have been brought to maturity.

The Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya and those numerous hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas were struck with wonder, amazement, and surprise, (and thought): How is it possible that within so short a moment, within the lapse of so short a time so many Bodhisattvas, so countless, have been roused and made fully ripe to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment? Then the Bodhi-

¹ Âranyadhutâbhiyukta; âranya dhuta, essentially the same as Pâli âraññakaṅga, is one of the thirteen Dhutāṅgas.

sattva Mahāsattva Maitreya asked the Lord : How then, O Lord, has the Tathāgata, after he left, when a prince royal, Kapilavastu, the town of the Sākyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, not far from the town of Gayā, somewhat more than forty years since, O Lord ? How then has the Lord, the Tathāgata, within so short a lapse of time, been able to perform the endless task of a Tathāgata, to exercise the leadership of a Tathāgata, the energy of a Tathāgata ? How has the Tathāgata, within so short a time, been able to rouse and bring to maturity for supreme, perfect enlightenment this host of Bodhisattvas, this multitude of Bodhisattvas; a multitude so great that it would be impossible to count the whole of it, even if one were to continue counting for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons ? These Bodhisattvas, so innumerable, O Lord, so countless, having long followed a spiritual course of life and planted roots of goodness under many hundred thousands of Buddhas, have in the course of many hundred thousands of Æons become finally ripe.

It is just as if some man, young and youthful, a young man with black hair and in the prime of youth, twenty-five years of age, would represent centenarians as his sons, and say : ‘ Here, young men of good family, you see my sons ; ’ and if those centenarians would declare : ‘ This is the father who begot us. ’ Now, Lord, the speech of that man would be incredible, hard to be believed by the public. It is the same case with the Tathāgata, who but lately has arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and with these Bodhisattvas Mahā-

sattvas, so immense in number, who for many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, having observed a spiritual course of life, have long since come to certainty in regard to Tathâgata-knowledge; who are able to plunge in and again rise from the hundred thousand sorts of meditation¹; who are adepts at the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom, have accomplished the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom²; who are clever on the Buddha-ground, able in the (ecclesiastical) Council and in Tathâgata duties; who are the wonder³ and admiration of the world; who are possessed of great vigour, strength, and power. And the Lord says: From the very beginning have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them to be fit for this Bodhisattva position. It is I who have displayed this energy and vigour after arriving at supreme, perfect enlightenment. But, O Lord, how can we have faith in the words of the Tathâgata, when he says: The Tathâgata speaks infallible truth? The Tathâgata must know that the Bodhisattvas who have newly entered the vehicle are apt to fall into doubt on this head; after the extinction of the Tathâgata those who hear this Dharmaparyâya will not accept, not believe, not trust it. Hence, O Lord, they will design acts tending to the ruin of the law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to explain us this matter, that we may be free from perplexity, and that the Bodhisattvas who in future shall hear it, be they young

¹ *Samâdhimukhasatasahasrasamâpadyanavyutthânakusalâh*. I suppose that for *mukha*, point, principal point, side, face, we have to read *sukha*, ecstasy.

² *Mahâbhigñâparikarmaniryâtâ mahâbhigñâkrîtaparikarmânâh*.

³ *Pandîtâ Buddhabhûmau saṅgitikusalâh, Tathâgatadharmânâm*.

men of good family or young ladies, may not fall into doubt.

On that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya addressed the Lord with the following stanzas :

44. When thou wert born in Kapilavastu, the home of the Sākya, thou didst leave it and reach enlightenment at the town of Gayā¹. That is a short time ago, O Lord of the world.

45. And now thou hast so great a crowd of followers, these sages who for many koṭis of Æons have fulfilled their duties, stood firm in magic power, unshaken, well disciplined, accomplished in the might of wisdom ;

46. These, who are untainted as the lotus is by water ; who to-day have flocked hither after rending the earth, and are standing all with joined hands, respectful and strong in memory, the sons of the Master of the world².

47. How will these Bodhisattvas believe this great wonder ? Expel (all) doubt, tell the cause, and show how the matter really is.

¹ The succinct form in which the events of the legendary life of the Sākya prince are told is remarkable, especially if we bear in mind that the first going out (nishkramaṇa) of a young boy (kumāra) usually takes place four months after his birth ; the rite of 'giving rice food,' annaprāsana, takes place in the sixth month ; this rite has its counterpart in Sugâtā's providing Gautama with milk porridge and honey. Another rite, that of shaving the hair with the exception of a tuft on the crown, the kûḍâkarman, commonly follows the annaprāsana ; in the case of Gautama, however, it is represented to be subsequent on the kumāra having left his home. In so far as he cut off his hair at the time of his entering a spiritual life, the act agrees with the kûḍâkarman at the upanayana or initiation of boys.

² Lokâdhipatisya putrâḥ.

48. It is as if there were some man, a young man with black hair, twenty years old or somewhat more, who presented as his sons some centenarians,

49. And the latter, covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, declared the (young) man to be their father. But such (a young man) never having sons of such appearance, it would be difficult to believe, O Lord of the world, that they were sons to so young a man.

50. In the same manner, O Lord, we are unable to conceive how these numerous Bodhisattvas of good memory and excelling in wisdom, who have been well instructed during thousands of kotis of Æons ;

51. Who are firm, of keen intelligence, lovely and agreeable to sight, free from hesitation in the decisions on law, praised by the Leaders of the world ;

52. Who in freedom live in the wood¹; who unattached in the element of ether constantly display their energy, who are the sons of Sugata striving after this Buddha-ground ;

53. How will this be believed when the Leader of the world shall be completely extinct? After hearing it from the Lord's own mouth we shall never more feel any doubt.

54. May Bodhisattvas never come to grief by having doubt on this head. Grant us, O Lord, a truthful account how these Bodhisattvas have been brought to maturity by thee.

¹ Vane, which, especially in the more ancient language, also means a cloud, the region of clouds.

CHAPTER XV.

DURATION OF LIFE OF THE TATHĀGATA.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. A second time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young gentlemen of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. A third and last time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas : Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathāgata speaking a veracious word. Then the entire host of Bodhisattvas with Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva at their head, stretched out the joined hands and said to the Lord : Expound this matter, O Lord ; expound it, O Sugata ; we will believe in the word of the Tathāgata. A second time the entire host, &c. &c. A third time the entire host, &c. &c.

The Lord, considering that the Bodhisattvas repeated their prayer up to three times, addressed them thus : Listen then, young men of good family. The force of a strong resolve which I assumed¹ is such, young men of good family, that this world, including gods, men, and demons, acknowledges : Now has the Lord Sākyamuni, after going out from the home of the Sākyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, on the summit of the terrace of

¹ Or, the power of supremacy which forms my attribute, *ma m ādhish/hānabalādhānam*.

enlightenment at the town of Gayâ. But, young men of good family, the truth is that many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* ago I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. By way of example, young men of good family, let there be the atoms of earth of fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds; let there exist some man who takes one of those atoms of dust and then goes in an eastern direction fifty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of worlds further on, there to deposit that atom of dust; let in this manner the man carry away from all those worlds the whole mass of earth, and in the same manner, and by the same act as supposed, deposit all those atoms in an eastern direction¹. Now, would you think, young men of good family, that any one should be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine (the number of) those worlds? The Lord having thus spoken, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya and the entire host of Bodhisattvas replied: They are incalculable, O Lord, those worlds, countless, beyond the range of thought. Not even all the disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, O Lord, with their *Ârya*-knowledge, will be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine them. For us also, O Lord, who are Bodhisattvas standing on the place from whence there is no turning back, this point lies beyond the sphere of our comprehension; so innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds.

This said, the Lord spoke to those Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas as follows: I announce to you, young men of good family, I declare to you: However numerous

¹ This passage is a repetition, in shorter form, of what is found in chapter VII; see p. 153.

be those worlds where that man deposits those atoms of dust and where he does not, there are not, young men of good family, in all those hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of worlds so many dust atoms as there are hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* since I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment¹. From the moment, young men of good family, when I began preaching the law to creatures in this Saha-world and in hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds, and (when) the other Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c., such as the Tathâgata Dīpaṅkara and the rest whom I have mentioned in the lapse of time (preached), (from that moment) have I, young men of good family, for the complete Nirvâṇa of those Tathâgatas, &c., created all that with the express view to skilfully preach the law². Again, young men of good family, the Tathâgata, considering the different degrees of faculty and strength of succeeding generations,

¹ *Sâkyamuni* here declares, in the most emphatic manner, not only that he has existed from eternity, but that he is the All-wise, the Buddha from the beginning. The world thinks that he has become all-wise at Gayâ, a short time before, but in reality he has been the All-wise from eternity. In other words, the meaning of his being a common man who had reached enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree near Gayâ, is declared by himself to be a delusion. Further, it will be remarked that *Sâkyamuni* and the Tathâgata Mahâbhigñâṇânâbhībhū in chapter VII are identical, though apparently diversified.

² *Teshâm ka Tathâgatânâm Arhatâm samyaksambuddhânâm parinirvânâya mayaiva tâni, kulaputrâ, upâyakausalyadharmadesanâyâ (abhi) nirhâranirmitâni*. Burnouf translates as if he read *te—°nirmitâh*, so that 'those Tathâgatas—have been created.' Both readings come essentially to the same; in either case *Sâkyamuni* is the creator, the really existing being; the other Tathâgatas are emanations from him or apparent beings.

reveals at each (generation) his own name, reveals a state in which Nirvâṇa has not yet been reached¹, and in different ways he satisfies the wants of (different) creatures through various Dharmaparyâyas². This being the case, young men of good family, the Tathâgata declares to the creatures, whose dispositions are so various and who possess so few roots of goodness, so many evil propensities : I am young of age, monks ; having left my father's home, monks, I have lately arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment³. When, however, the Tathâgata, who so long ago arrived at perfect enlightenment, declares himself to have but lately arrived at perfect enlightenment, he does so in order to lead creatures to full ripeness and make them go in. Therefore have these Dharmaparyâyas been revealed ; and it is for the education of creatures, young men of good family, that the Tathâgata has revealed all Dharmaparyâyas. And, young men of good family, the word that the Tathâgata delivers on behalf of the education of creatures, either under his own appearance or under another's, either on his own authority⁴ or under the mask⁵ of another, all that the Tathâ-

¹ Instead of the last clause we find in the margin, 'reveals (or declares) at each his own Nirvâṇa.' The material difference is slight, for the temporal appearances of the everlasting being are final and multifarious, but the being itself is one and everlasting. Sâkyamuni is, in reality, the one and everlasting brahma.

² The Tathâgata, in his proper being well understood, is not only the Devâtideva, the supreme god of gods, of Buddhism, but of all religions in the world ; from him are all scriptures.

³ In various periods mankind wants renewed revelation ; hence Vishṇu, for Dharma's sake, descends on earth.

⁴ Âtmârambanena (sic), properly, on his own base.

⁵ Aparâvaranena. One may also render it by 'under the cloak of another.'

gata declares, all those Dharmaparyāyas spoken by the Tathāgata are true. There can be no question of untruth from the part of the Tathāgata in this respect. For the Tathāgata sees the triple world as it really is: it is not born, it dies not; it is not conceived, it springs not into existence; it moves not in a whirl, it becomes not extinct; it is not real, nor unreal; it is not existing, nor non-existing; it is not such, nor otherwise¹, nor false. The Tathāgata sees the triple world, not as the ignorant, common people, he seeing things always present to him; indeed, to the Tathāgata, in his position, no laws are concealed. In that respect any word that the Tathāgata speaks is true, not false. But in order to produce the roots of goodness in the creatures, who follow different pursuits and behave according to different notions, he reveals various Dharmaparyāyas with various fundamental principles. The Tathāgata then, young men of good family, does what he has to do. The Tathāgata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life, he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the Tathāgata makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated. And even now, young gentlemen of good family, I have not accomplished my ancient Bodhisattva-course, and the measure of my lifetime is not full. Nay, young men of good family, I shall yet have twice as many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* before the measure of my lifetime be full².

¹ Or, it is not as it ought to be, nor wrong.

² Virtually he has existed from the very beginning, from an infinite period; infinity multiplied by two remains infinity.

I announce final extinction, young men of good family, though myself I do not become finally extinct¹. For in this way, young men of good family, I bring (all) creatures to maturity, lest creatures in whom goodness is not firmly rooted, who are unholy, miserable, eager of sensual pleasures, blind and obscured by the film of wrong views, should, by too often seeing me, take to thinking: 'The Tathâgata is staying²,' and fancy that all is a child's play³; (lest they) by thinking 'we are near that Tathâgata' should fail to exert themselves in order to escape the triple world and not conceive how precious⁴ the Tathâgata is. Hence, young men of good family, the Tathâgata skilfully utters these words: The apparition of the Tathâgatas, monks, is precious (and rare). For in the course of many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons* creatures may happen to see a Tathâgata or not to see him⁵. Therefore and upon that ground, young men of good family, I say: The apparition of the Tathâgatas, monks, is precious (and rare).

¹ All this is perfectly true in the mouth of a personification of the sun, of time, of eternity, or of *λόγος*, but quite unintelligible in the mouth of some individual of the human race. Moments of time expire, time never ceases. The termination of every day, month, year, &c. must remind us of our being mortal, and is a call from the Buddha to us, an inducement to lead a virtuous and holy life.

² I. e. time stands still; we shall never die.

³ In the margin added, not realise the idea of his (i. e. time's) preciousness.

⁴ Durlabha.

⁵ Nobody is certain whether the present day is his last or not; in other words, whether he has seen the Tathâgata for the last time, or shall see him again to-morrow, &c. Therefore the Tathâgata is so precious.

By being more and more convinced of the apparition of the Tathâgatas being precious (or rare) they will feel surprised and sorry, and whilst not seeing the Tathâgata they will get a longing to see him. The good roots developing from their earnest thought relating to the Tathâgata¹ will lastingly tend to their weal, benefit, and happiness; in consideration of which the Tathâgata announces final extinction, though he himself does not become finally extinct, on behalf of the creatures who have to be educated. Such, young men of good family, is the Tathâgata's manner of teaching²; when the Tathâgata speaks in this way, there is from his part no falsehood.

Let us suppose an analogous case, young men of good family. There is some physician, learned, intelligent, prudent, clever in allaying all sorts of diseases. That man has many sons, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred³. The physician once being abroad, all his children incur a disease from poison or venom. Overcome with the grievous pains⁴ caused by that poison or venom which burns them they lie rolling on the ground. Their father, the physician, comes home from his journey at the time when his sons are suffering from that poison or venom. Some of them have perverted notions, others have right notions, but all suffer the same pain. On seeing their father they cheerfully greet

¹ I.e. the good designs germinating in man when he is thinking of the shortness of life, the transitoriness of time.

² *Desanâpar'yâya*.

³ A marginal reading improves upon the more ancient text by adding, or a thousand.

⁴ *Duḥkhâbhir vedanâbhiḥ*.

him and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare! Now deliver us from our evil, be it poison or venom; let us live, dear father. And the physician, seeing his sons befallen with disease, overcome with pain and rolling on the ground, prepares a great remedy, having the required colour, smell, and taste, pounds it on a stone and gives it as a potion to his sons, with these words: Take this great remedy, my sons, which has the required colour, smell, and taste. For by taking this great remedy, my sons, you shall soon be rid of this poison or venom; you shall recover and be healthy. Those amongst the children of the physician that have right notions, after seeing the colour of the remedy, after smelling the smell and tasting the flavour, quickly take it, and in consequence of it are soon totally delivered from their disease. But the sons who have perverted notions cheerfully greet their father and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare; do heal us. So they speak, but they do not take the remedy offered, and that because, owing to the perverseness of their notions, that remedy does not please them, in colour, smell, nor taste. Then the physician reflects thus: These sons of mine must have become perverted in their notions owing to this poison or venom, as they do not take the remedy nor hail me¹. Therefore will I by some able device induce these sons to take this remedy. Prompted by this desire he speaks to those sons as follows: I am old, young men of good family, decrepit, advanced in years, and my term of life is near at hand; but be not sorry, young men

¹ One would rather have expected, joyfully accept my injunction.

of good family, do not feel dejected; here have I prepared a great remedy for you; if you want it you may take it. Having thus admonished them, he skilfully betakes himself to another part of the country and lets his sick sons know that he has departed life. They are extremely sorry and bewail him extremely: So then he is dead, our father and protector; he who begat us; he, so full of bounty! now are we left without a protector. Fully aware of their being orphans and of having no refuge, they are continually plunged in sorrow, by which their perverted notions make room for right notions. They acknowledge that remedy possessed of the required colour, smell, and taste to have the required colour, smell, and taste, so that they instantly take it, and by taking it are delivered from their evil. Then, on knowing that these sons are delivered from evil, the physician shows himself again. Now, young men of good family, what is your opinion? Would any one charge¹ that physician with falsehood on account of his using that device? No, certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. He proceeded: In the same manner, young men of good family, I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment since an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons, but from time to time I display such able devices to the creatures, with the view of educating them, without there being in that respect any falsehood on my part.

In order to set forth this subject more extensively the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

¹ Kodayet; a would-be correction by a later hand has samvadet.

1. An inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, never to be measured, is it since I reached superior (or first) enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law.

2. I roused many Bodhisattvas and established them in Buddha-knowledge. I brought myriads of kotis of beings, endless, to full ripeness in many kotis of Æons.

3. I show the place of extinction, I reveal to (all) beings a device¹ to educate them, albeit I do not become extinct at the time, and in this very place continue preaching the law.

4. There I rule myself as well as all beings, I². But men of perverted minds, in their delusion, do not see me standing there³.

5. In the opinion that my body is completely extinct, they pay worship, in many ways, to the relics, but me they see not. They feel (however) a certain aspiration by which their mind becomes right⁴.

6. When such upright (or pious), mild, and gentle creatures leave off their bodies, then I assemble the crowd of disciples and show myself here⁵ on the *Gṛidhrakūṭa*.

7. And then I speak thus to them, in this very

¹ Upāyam. It has been remarked above that upāya likewise denotes the world, the energy of nature (*pragñā*).

² Tatrāham ātmānam adhish/hīhāmi, sarvāna satvāna tathaiva kāmam. Adhish/hā is constructed both with the accusative case and the genitive.

³ Tatraiva.

⁴ I. e. comes into the right disposition, or becomes pious.

⁵ This important word has been omitted by Burnouf. The Tathāgata represents himself to be Dharmarāga, the judge of the departed, the god rewarding the pious and brave after their death.

place: I was not completely extinct at that time; it was but a device of mine, monks; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living.

8. Honoured by other beings, I show them my superior enlightenment, but you would not obey my word, unless the Lord of the world enter Nirvâṇa.

9. I see how the creatures are afflicted, but I do not show them my proper being. Let them first have an aspiration to see me; then I will reveal to them the true law.

10. Such has always been my firm resolve during an inconceivable number of thousands of koṭis of Æons, and I have not left this *Grīdhra-kūṭa* for other abodes¹.

11. And when creatures behold this world and imagine that it is burning, even then my Buddha-field is teeming with gods and men.

12. They dispose of manifold amusements, koṭis of pleasure gardens, palaces, and aerial cars; (this field) is embellished by hills of gems and by trees abounding with blossoms and fruits.

13. And aloft gods are striking musical instruments and pouring a rain of Mandâras² by which they are covering me, the disciples and other sages who are striving after enlightenment.

14. So is my field here, everlastingly; but others fancy that it is burning; in their view this world is most terrific, wretched, replete with number of woes³.

¹ Sayyâsana.

² The form constantly used in Buddhist writings, both in Pâli and Sanskrit, is Mandârava. The whole description of Heaven, or Paradise, bears the stamp of being taken, with more or less modification, from a non-Buddhistic source.

³ There are different beliefs about the realm of the dead; the

15. Ay, many kotis of years they may pass without ever having mentioned my name, the law, or my congregation¹. That is the fruit of sinful deeds.

16. But when mild and gentle beings are born in this world of men, they immediately see me revealing the law, owing to their good works.

17. I never speak to them of the infinitude of my action. Therefore, I am, properly, existing since long², and yet declare: The *Ginas* are rare (or precious).

18. Such is the glorious power of my wisdom that knows no limit, and the duration of my life is as long as an endless period; I have acquired it after previously following a due course.

19. Feel no doubt concerning it, O sages, and leave off all uncertainty: the word I here pronounce is really true; my word is never false.

20. For even as that physician skilled in devices, for the sake of his sons whose notions were perverted, said that he had died although he was still alive, and even as no sensible man would charge that physician with falsehood;

21. So am I the father of the world, the Self-

Brahma-world and Paradise are usually depicted as places of bliss, but Yama's kingdom is often represented as a kind of hell, though at other times the same King of righteousness is said to have gathered round him the blessed company of the pious departed.

¹ Elsewhere we find *Visvanâtha*, the Universal Lord, called *Saṅgamaśvara*, the Lord of the gathering. Yama is *Vaivasvata Saṅgamana ganânam*, he of solar race, the gatherer of men, *Rig-veda* X, 14, 1.

² *Tenâha sush/û ha kîrasya bhomi*. The phrase admits of being translated, 'therefore, truly, I am (repeatedly) born after a long time.'

born¹, the Healer², the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated, and ignorant I teach final rest, myself not being at rest.

22. What reason should I have to continually manifest myself? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune,

23. Then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so³, (and consider): How can I incline them to enlightenment? how can they become partakers of the Buddha-laws⁴?

¹ Lokapitâ Svayambhûh. The juxtaposition of these two words shows to an evidence that Sâkyamuni is represented as Brahma, the uncreated Being, existing from eternity, the Father of the world, All-father.

² In a moral sense the Saviour, mythologically Apollo.

³ I.e. I am so in reality, tathâtathâham. Burnouf's rendering, 'I am the Tathâgata,' points to a reading tathâgato 'ham, which comes to the same.

⁴ Katham nu bodhâya sanâmayeya (Sansk. sannâmayeya) katha buddhadharmâna bhaveyu lâbhinah.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF PIETY.

While this exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's lifetime was being given, innumerable, countless creatures profited by it. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya : While this exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's lifetime was being given, Agita, sixty-eight hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, comparable to the sands of the Ganges¹, have acquired the faculty to acquiesce in the law that has no origin. A thousand times more Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas have obtained Dhâraṇî²; and other Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one third of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyâya obtained the faculty of unhampered view. Other Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas again, equal to the dust atoms of two-third parts of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyâya obtained the Dhâraṇî that makes hundred thousand koṭis of revolutions.

¹ Ash/ashash/śnām Gaṅgâ° Bodhisattvakośnayutaratasahasrâṇām. Burnouf connects ash/ashash/śnām with Gaṅgâ, and translates, 'soixante huit Ganges.' His version is justified by the analogy of other passages.

² Dhâraṇî usually denotes a magic spell, a talisman. Here and there it interchanges with dhâraṇâ, support, the bearing in mind, attention. The synonymous rakshâ embraces the meanings of talisman and protection, support. It is not easy to decide what is intended in the text.

Again, other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a whole macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya moved forward the wheel that never rolls back. Some Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a mean universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya moved forward the wheel of spotless radiance. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a small universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya come so far that they will reach supreme, perfect enlightenment after eight births. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of four worlds of four continents¹, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require four births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of three four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require three births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of two four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require two births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one four-continental world, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya become such as to require but one birth before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, equal to the dust atoms of eight macrocosms consisting of three parts, have by hearing this Dharmaparyāya conceived the idea of supreme, perfect enlightenment².

¹ Or, perhaps, of one whole world of four continents.

² The number 8 being the half of 16, the number of kalās of a

No sooner had the Lord given this exposition determining the duration and periods of the law, than there fell from the upper sky a great rain of Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers that covered and overwhelmed all the hundred thousand myriads of koṣis of Buddhas who were seated on their thrones at the foot of the jewel trees in hundred thousands of myriads of koṣis of worlds. It also covered and overwhelmed the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., the latter sitting fully extinct on his throne, as well as that entire host of Bodhisattvas and the four classes of the audience. A rain of celestial powder of sandal and agallochum trickled down from the sky, whilst higher up in the firmament the great drums resounded, without being struck, with a pleasant, sweet, and deep sound. Double pieces of fine heavenly cloth fell down by hundreds and thousands from the upper sky; necklaces, half-necklaces, pearl necklaces, gems, jewels, noble gems, and noble jewels were seen high in the firmament, hanging down from every side in all directions of space, while all around thousands of jewel censers, containing priceless, exquisite incense, were moving of their own accord. Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas were seen holding above each Tathâgata, high aloft, a row of jewel umbrellas stretching as high as the Brahma-world. So acted the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas in respect to all the innumerable hundred

whole circle, it may be inferred that the description in the text alludes to the stars of that half of the sphere which is at the time below the horizon. Those stars then have reached Nirvâṇa, though not the immortal one.

thousands of myriads of koṭis of Buddhas¹. Severally they celebrated these Buddhas in appropriate stanzas, sacred hymns in praise of the Buddhas.

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya uttered the following stanzas :

1. Wonderful is the law which the Sugata has expounded, the law we never heard before ; how great the majesty of the Leaders is, and how infinite the duration of their life !

2. And on hearing such a law imparted by the Sugata from face to face, thousands of koṭis of creatures, the genuine sons of the Leader of the world, have been pervaded with gladness.

3. Some have reached the point of supreme enlightenment from whence there is no return, others are standing on the lower stage² ; some have reached the standpoint of having an unhampered view, and others have obtained thousands of koṭis of Dhāraṇīs³.

4. There are others, (as) atoms⁴, who have reached supreme Buddha-knowledge. Some, again, will after eight births become Ginas seeing the infinite⁵.

5. Among those who hear this law from the Master, some will obtain enlightenment and see the truth⁶ after four births, others after three, others after two.

¹ The version followed by Burnouf is somewhat longer.

² Dhāraṇīye dharāyām, which is ambiguous, because the latter may stand for adharāyām. That dhāraṇī can denote bhūmi I infer from the phrase (bhūmi) lokadhārinī, Taitt. Âraṇyaka X, 1.

³ The translation doubtful.

⁴ Paramāṇu ; the literal rendering is, others, extremely faint (or small).

⁵ Cf. the phrase 'to see Nirvāṇa.'

⁶ Evidently the same as 'seeing Nirvāṇa,' as appears from what is added and the analogy with the preceding stanza.

6. Some among them will become all-knowing¹ after one birth, in the next following existence². Such will be the perfect result of learning the duration of life of the Chief.

7. Innumerable, countless as the atoms of the eight fields, are the *koṭis* of beings who by hearing this law have conceived the idea of superior enlightenment.

8. Such is the effect produced by the great Seer, when he reveals this Buddha-state that is endless and has no limit, which is as immense as the element of ether.

9. Many thousand *koṭis* of angels, Indras, and Brahma-angels, like the sands of the Ganges, have flocked hither from thousands of *koṭis* of distant fields and have poured a rain of Mandâravas.

10. They move in the sky like birds, and strew fragrant powder of sandal and agallochum, to cover ceremoniously the Chief of *Ginas* withal.

11. High aloft tymbals without being struck emit sweet sounds; thousands of *koṭis* of white cloth whirl down upon the Chiefs.

12. Thousands of *koṭis* of jewel censers of costly incense move of their own accord on every side to honour the mighty³ Lord of the world.

13. Innumerable wise Bodhisattvas hold myriads of *koṭis* of umbrellas, elevated and made of noble jewels, like chaplets⁴, up to the Brahma-world.

14. The sons of Sugata, in their great joy, have

¹ Another term for seeing Nirvâna.

² These four descriptions of Bodhisattvas agree in the main with the four degrees of holiness, of *Srotaâpanna*, *Sakridâgâmin*, *Anâgâmin*, and *Arhat*.

³ *Tâyin*.

⁴ *Utansakân* (sic).

attached beautiful triumphal streamers at the top of the banner staffs¹ in honour of the Leaders whom they celebrate in thousands of stanzas.

15. Such a marvellous, extraordinary, prodigious, splendid² phenomenon, O Leader, is being displayed by all those beings who are gladdened by the exposition of the duration of life (of the Tathâgata).

16. Grand is the matter now (occurring) in the ten points of space, and (great) the sound raised by the Leaders; thousands of kotis of living beings are refreshed and gifted with virtue for enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya: Those beings, Agita, who during the exposition of this Dharmaparyâya in which the duration of the Tathâgata's life is revealed have entertained, were it but a single thought of trust, or have put belief in it, how great a merit are they to produce, be they young men and young ladies of good family? Listen then, and mind it well, how great the merit is they shall produce. Let us suppose the case, Agita, that some young man or young lady of good family, desirous of supreme, perfect enlightenment, for eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practises the five perfections of virtue (Pâramitâs), to wit, perfect charity in alms, perfect morality, perfect forbearance, perfect energy, perfect meditation—perfect wisdom being excepted³;

¹ Dhvagâgre; a marginal reading has dhvagâm ka (sic).

² Etâdrisâskarya visisham adbhutâh (r. adbhutam), vikitra darsent' ima(m) adya Nâyaka.

³ Virahitâh pragñâpâramitâyâ(h). The five specified virtues are identical with those enumerated in Lalita-vistara, p. 38, and slightly different from those as found in the Pâli scriptures. Out of the five virtues, four, viz. sîla, kshânti, virya, dhyâna, answer to

let us, on the other hand, suppose the case, *Agita*, that a young man or young lady of good family, on hearing this *Dharmaparyâya* containing the exposition of the duration of the *Tathâgata*'s life, conceives were it but a single thought of trust or puts belief in it; then that former accumulation of merit¹, that accumulation of good connected with the five perfections of virtue, (that accumulation) which has come to full accomplishment in eight hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*, does not equal one hundredth part of the accumulation of merit in the second case; it does not equal one thousandth part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching². One who is possessed of such an accumulation of merit, *Agita*, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, will not miss supreme, perfect enlightenment; no, that is not possible.

dama, *kshamâ*, *dhr̥iti*, *dh̥i* in *Manu* VI, 92, where *vidyâ* is the equivalent to the *Pâramitâ* of *pragñâ*.

¹ *Puṇyâbhisamskâra*, which may be said to be the common Buddhistic equivalent of *karmâsaya*, explained by Hindu scholastics to be the accumulation of moral merit and demerit. The term properly means 'one's moral disposition (at a given time as a necessary result of one's previous acts).' In a certain sense it may be contended that the sum of one's previous actions determines one's moral state at a given moment. As *âsaya* means disposition, character, and accumulation, we can understand how the Indian scholastics came to misunderstand the real purport of the word in *karmâsaya*. As to *abhisamskâra*, it properly means '(mental or moral) disposition, character, impression, conception.'

² *Upanisâm api*, *upanishadam api na kshamate*. *Upanisâ* is nothing else but the *Prâkrit* form of Sansk. *upanishad*. In *Pâli* it is explained by *raho*, mystery, secret lore, and *kâraṇa*; the latter may mean 'mathematical operation.' See, however, the Editor's note on *Sukhâvatî-vyûha*, p. 31.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

17. Let a man who is seeking after this knowledge, superior Buddha-knowledge, undertake to practise in this world the five perfect virtues ;

18. Let him, during eight thousand koṭis of complete Æons, continue giving repeated alms to Buddhas and disciples ;

19. Regaling Pratyekabuddhas and koṭis of Bodhisattvas by giving meat, food and drink, clothing and lodging¹ ;

20. Let him build on earth refuges and monasteries of sandal-wood, and pleasant convent gardens provided with walks ;

21. Let him after so bestowing gifts, various and diversified, during thousands of koṭis of Æons, direct his mind to enlightenment² ;

22. Let him then, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, keep unbroken the pure moral precepts which have been recommended by the perfect Buddhas and acknowledged by the wise ;

23. Let him further develop the virtue of forbearance, be steady in the stage of meekness³, be constant, of good memory, and patiently endure many censures ;

24. Let him, moreover, for the sake of Buddha-

¹ These Pratyekabuddhas can hardly be other persons than hermits, and the Bodhisattvas must be the ministers of religion, who otherwise are called *Panditas*, and *Vandiyas*, whence our Bonzes.

² I. e., if I rightly understand it, let him, after having lived in the world, retire from a busy life to take orders.

³ I. e. of a monk under training.

knowledge, bear the contemptuous words of unbelievers who are rooted in pride ;

25. Let him, always zealous, strenuous, studious, of good memory, without any other pre-occupation in his mind, practise meditation, during *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

26. Let him, whether living in the forest or entering upon a vagrant life¹, go about, avoiding sloth and torpor², for *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

27. Let him as a philosopher, a great philosopher³ who finds his delight in meditation, in concentration of mind, pass eight thousand *koṭis* of *Æons* ;

28. Let him energetically pursue enlightenment with the thought of his reaching all-knowingness, and so arrive at the highest degree of meditation ;

29. Then the merit accruing to those who practise the virtues oft described, during thousands of *koṭis* of *Æons*,

30. (Is less than that of) a man or a woman who, on hearing the duration of my life, for a single moment believes in it ; this merit is endless.

31. He who renouncing doubt, vacillation, and misgiving shall believe even for a short moment, shall obtain such a reward.

32. The Bodhisattvas also, who have practised those virtues during *koṭis* of *Æons*, will not be startled at hearing of this inconceivably long life of mine.

33. They will bow their heads (and think) : ' May I also in future become such a one and release *koṭis* of living beings !

¹ *Kaṅkramam abhiruhya*.

² *Styānamiddhañka vargitvā*. *Middha*, well known from Buddhist writings, is a would-be Sanskrit form ; it ought to be *mṛiddha*, from Vedic *mṛidhyati*.

³ I. e. a Yogin, a contemplative mystic.

34. 'As the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Lion of the Sâkya race, after he had occupied his seat on the terrace of enlightenment, raised his lion's roar ;

35. 'So may I in future be sitting on the terrace of enlightenment, honoured by all mortals, to teach so long a life¹ !'

36. Those who are possessed of firmness of intention² and have learnt the principles, will understand the mystery³ and feel no uncertainty⁴.

Again, Agita, he who after hearing this Dharma-paryâya, which contains an exposition of the duration of the Tathâgata's life, apprehends it, penetrates and understands it, will produce a yet more immeasurable accumulation of merit conducive to Buddha-knowledge ; unnecessary to add that he who hears such a Dharmaparyâya as this or makes others hear it ; who keeps it in memory, reads, comprehends or makes others comprehend it ; who writes or has it written, collects or has it collected into a volume, honours, respects, worships it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, streamers, (lighted) oil lamps, ghee lamps or lamps filled with scented oil, will produce a far greater accumulation of merit conducive to Buddha-knowledge.

And, Agita, as a test whether that young man or young lady of good family who hears this exposition

¹ It is difficult to say what difference there is between becoming Buddha or becoming Brahma, except in sound.

² Or strong application, the word used in the text being *adhyo-sâya* (Sansk. *adhyavasâya*).

³ *Sandhâbhâshya*.

⁴ The tenor of this stanza, and even the words, remind one of the *Sândilyavidyâ* in *Khândogya-upanishad* III, 14, 4.

of the duration of the Tathâgata's life most decidedly believes in it may be deemed the following. They will behold me teaching the law¹ here on the *Gridhrakûta*², surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, attended by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the centre of the congregation of disciples. They will behold here my Buddha-field in the Saha-world, consisting of lapis lazuli and forming a level plain; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads; set off with jewel trees. They will behold the towers that the Bodhisattvas use as their abodes³. By this test, Agita, one may know if a young man or young lady of good family has a most decided belief. Moreover, Agita, I declare that a young man of good family who, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, shall not reject, but joyfully accept this Dharmaparyâya when hearing it, that such a young man of good family also is earnest in his belief; far more one who keeps it in memory or reads it. He who after collecting this Dharmaparyâya into a volume carries it on his shoulder⁴ carries the Tathâgata on his shoulder. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, need make no Stûpas for me, nor monasteries; need not give to the congregation of monks medicaments for the

¹ And, pronouncing judgment.

² We have seen above that this is the true abode of the Dharmarâga.

³ *Kû/âgâraparibhogeshu Bodhisatvavâsam vâ drakshyanti*, properly, they will behold the dwelling of the Bodhisattvas in the towers which those Bodhisattvas have received for their use. About the technical meaning of *kû/âgâra* in Nepâl, see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 49.

⁴ I. e. holds it in high esteem and treats it with care.

sick or (other) requisites¹. For, Agita, such a young man or young lady of good family has (spiritually) built for the worship of my relics Stûpas of seven precious substances reaching up to the Brahma-world in height, and with a circumference in proportion, with the umbrellas thereto belonging, with triumphal streamers, with tinkling bells and baskets; has shown manifold marks of respect to those Stûpas of relics with diverse celestial and earthly flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers, by various sweet, pleasant, clear-sounding tymbals and drums, by the tune, noise, sounds of musical instruments and castanets, by songs, nautch and dancing of different kinds, of many, innumerable kinds; has done those acts of worship during many, innumerable thousands of koṭis of Æons. One who keeps in memory this Dharmaparyâya after my complete extinction, who reads, writes, promulgates it, Agita, shall also have built monasteries, large, spacious, extensive, made of red sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, eight stories, fit for a thousand monks, adorned with gardens and flowers, having walks furnished with lodgings, completely provided with meat, food and drink and medicaments for the sick, well equipped with all comforts. And those numerous, innumerable beings, say a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand or a koṭi or hundred koṭis or thousand koṭis or hundred thousand koṭis or ten thousand times hundred thousand koṭis, they

¹ This agrees with the teaching of the Vedânta that Brahma-knowledge is independent of good works; see e. g. Brahma-sûtra III, 4, 25.

must be considered to form the congregation of disciples seeing me from face to face, and must be considered as those whom I have fully blessed¹. He who, after my complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyâya, read, promulgate, or write it, he, I repeat, Agita, need not build Stûpas of relics, nor worship the congregation; not necessary to tell, Agita, that the young man or young lady of good family who, keeping this Dharmaparyâya, shall crown it by charity in alms, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, or wisdom, will produce a much greater accumulation of merit; it is, in fact, immense, incalculable, infinite². Just as the element of ether, Agita, is boundless, to the east, south, west, north, beneath, above, and in the intermediate quarters, so immense and incalculable an accumulation of merit, conducive to Buddha-knowledge, will be produced by a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, read, write, or cause to be written, this Dharmaparyâya. He will be zealous in worshipping the Tathâgata shrines; he will laud the disciples of the Tathâgata, praise the hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of virtues of the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, and expound them to others; he will be accomplished in forbearance, be moral, of good character³, agreeable to live with, and tolerant, modest, not jealous of others, not wrathful, not vicious in mind, of good memory, strenuous and always busy, devoted to meditation in striving after the state of a Buddha, attaching great value to

¹ Paribhukta.

² The Vedântin does not deny the relative value of good works; see e. g. Brahma-sûtra III, 4, 26-27.

³ Kalyânadharman.

abstract meditation, frequently engaging in abstract meditation, able in solving questions and in avoiding hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of questions. Any Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, Agita, who, after the Tathāgata's complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyāya, will have the good qualities I have described. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, must be considered to make for the terrace of enlightenment; that young man or young lady of good family steps towards the foot of the tree of enlightenment in order to reach enlightenment. And where that young man or young lady of good family, Agita, stands, sits, or walks, there one should make a shrine¹, dedicated to the Tathāgata, and the world, including the gods, should say: This is a Stūpa of relics of the Tathāgata.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37. An immense mass of merit, as I have repeatedly mentioned, shall be his who, after the complete extinction of the Leader of men, shall keep this Sūtra.

38. He will have paid worship to me, and built Stūpas of relics, made of precious substances, variegated, beautiful, and splendid;

39. In height coming up to the Brahma-world, with rows of umbrellas, great in circumference², gorgeous, and decorated with triumphal streamers;

40. Resounding with the clear ring of bells, and decorated with silk bands, while jingles moved by

¹ One would rather expect, that place one should consider to be a shrine.

² *Parināhavantaḥ*. There is no word for Burnouf's 'proportionné' (*anupūrva*) in the text.

the wind form another ornament at (the shrines of) *Gina* relics¹.

41. He will have shown great honour to them by flowers, perfumes, and ointments; by music, clothes, and the repeated (sound of) tymbals.

42. He will have sweet musical instruments struck at those relics, and lamps with scented oil kept burning all around.

43. He who at the period of depravation shall keep and teach this *Sûtra*, he will have paid me such an infinitely varied worship.

44. He has built many *koṭis* of excellent monasteries of sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, and eight terraces high;

45. Provided with couches, with food hard and soft; furnished with excellent curtains, and having cells by thousands.

46. He has given hermitages and walks embellished by flower-gardens; many elegant objects² of various forms and variegated.

47. He has shown manifold worship to the host of disciples in my presence, he who, after my extinction, shall keep this *Sûtra*.

48. Let one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this *Sûtra*.

49. Let a man cause this to be written and

¹ *Sobhante Ginadhâtushu*. Burnouf gives a different translation of this passage: 'ces Stûpas, enfin, reçoivent leur éclat des reliques du Djina.'

² I am quite uncertain about the word in the text, *ukkhadaka*. It seems to be connected with the Pâli *ussada*, about which Childers, s. v., remarks that it probably means 'a protuberance.' Burnouf renders the word in our text by 'coussin.'

have it well put together in a volume; let him always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments.

50. Let him constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, along with full-blown lotuses and suitable¹ oblations of *Michelia Champaka*.

51. The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which is not to be measured.

52. Even as there is no measure of the element of ether, in none of the ten directions, so there is no measure of this mass of merit.

53. How much more will this be the case with one who is patient, meek, devoted, moral, studious, and addicted to meditation;

54. Who is not irascible, not treacherous, reverential towards the sanctuary, always humble towards monks, not conceited, nor neglectful;

55. Sensible and wise, not angry when he is asked a question; who, full of compassion for living beings, gives such instruction as suits them.

56. If there be such a man who (at the same time) keeps this *Sûtra*, he will possess a mass of merit that cannot be measured.

57. If one meets such a man as here described, a keeper of this *Sûtra*, one should do homage to him.

58. One should present him with divine flowers, cover him with divine clothes, and bow the head to salute his feet, in the conviction of his being a *Tathâgata*.

59. And at the sight of such a man one may

¹ *Yuktaiḥ*. Burnouf must have read *muktaiḥ*, for his translation has 'pearls.'

directly make the reflection that he is going towards the foot of the tree to arrive at superior, blessed enlightenment for the weal of all the world, including the gods.

60. And wherever such a sage is walking, standing, sitting, or lying down ; wherever the hero pronounces were it but a single stanza from this Sûtra ;

61. There one should build a Stûpa for the most high of men, a splendid, beautiful (Stûpa), dedicated to the Lord Buddha, the Chief, and then worship it in manifold ways.

62. That spot of the earth has been enjoyed by myself ; there have I walked myself, and there have I been sitting ; where that son of Buddha has stayed, there I am.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDICATION OF THE MERITORIOUSNESS OF JOYFUL
ACCEPTANCE.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya said to the Lord : O Lord, one who, after hearing this Dharmaparyāya being preached, joyfully¹ accepts it, be that person a young man of good family or a young lady, how much merit, O Lord, will be produced by such a young man or young lady of good family ?

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya uttered this stanza :

1. How great will be the merit of him who, after the extinction of the great Hero, shall hear this exalted Sūtra and joyfully accept it ?

And the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya : If any one, Agita, either a young man of good family or a young lady, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, hears the preaching of this Dharmaparyāya, let it be a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, a man of ripe understanding or a boy or girl ; if the hearer joyfully accepts it, and then after the sermon rises up to go elsewhere, to a monastery, house, forest, street, village, town, or province, with the motive and express aim to expound the law such as he has understood, such as he has heard it, and according to the measure of his power,

¹ Or, gratefully.

to another person, his mother, father, kinsman, friend, acquaintance, or any other person ; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and, in consequence, communicates it to another ; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and communicates it to another ; if this other, again, after hearing, joyfully accepts it, and so on in succession until a number of fifty is reached ; then, Agita, the fiftieth person to hear and joyfully accept the law so heard, let it be a young man of good family or a young lady, will have acquired an accumulation of merit connected with the joyful acceptance, Agita, which I am going to indicate to thee. Listen, and take it well to heart ; I will tell thee.

It is, Agita, as if the creatures existing in the four hundred thousand Asaṅkhyeyas¹ of worlds, in any of the six states of existence, born from an egg, from a womb, from warm humidity, or from metamorphosis, whether they have a shape or have not, be they conscious or unconscious, neither conscious nor unconscious, footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed, as many beings as are contained in the world of creatures,—(as if) all those had flocked together to one place. Further, suppose some man appears, a lover of virtue, a lover of good, who gives to that whole body the pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments they desire, like, and relish. He gives to each of them all Gambudvīpa for his pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments ; gives bullion, gold, silver, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conches, stones (?), coral, carriages yoked with horses, with bullocks, with elephants ; gives palaces and

¹ An incalculable great number.

towers. In this way, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence continues spending his gifts for fully eighty years. Then, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence reflects thus: All these beings have I allowed to sport and enjoy themselves, but now they are covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, old, decrepit, eighty years of age, and near the term of their life. Let me therefore initiate them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathâgata, and instruct them. Thereupon, Agita, the man exhorts all those beings, thereafter initiates them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathâgata, and makes them adopt it. Those beings learn the law from him, and in one moment, one instant, one bit of time, all become Srotaâpannas, obtain the fruit of the rank of Sakrîdâgâmin and of Anâgâmin, until they become Arhats, free from all imperfections, adepts in meditation, adepts in great meditation and in the meditation with eight emancipations. Now, what is thine opinion, Agita, will that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, on account of his doings, produce great merit, immense, incalculable merit? Whereupon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya said in reply to the Lord: Certainly, Lord; certainly, Sugata; that person, Lord, will already produce much merit on that account, because he gives to the beings all that is necessary for happiness; how much more then if he establishes them in Arhatship!

This said, the Lord spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya as follows: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee; (take) on one side the master of munificence, the great master of munificence,

who produces merit by supplying all beings in the four hundred thousand Asaṅkhyeyas of worlds with all the necessities for happiness and by establishing them in Arhatship; (take) on the other side the person who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, hears, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya and joyfully accepts it; if (we compare) the mass of merit connected with the joyful acceptance and the mass of merit connected with the charity of the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, then the greater merit will be his who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, after hearing were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya, joyfully accepts it. Against this accumulation of merit, Agita, this accumulation of roots of goodness connected with that joyful acceptance, the former accumulation of merit connected with the charity of that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, and connected with the confirmation in Arhatship, does not fetch the $\frac{1}{100}$ part, not the $\frac{1}{100,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{1,000,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{1000 \times 10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{100,000 \times 10,000,000}$, not the $\frac{1}{100,000 \times 10,000 \times 10,000,000}$ part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. So immense, incalculable, Agita, is the merit which a person, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the tradition of the law, produces by joyfully accepting, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyāya; how much more then (will) he (produce), Agita, who hears this Dharmaparyāya in my presence and then joyfully accepts it? I declare, Agita, that his

accumulation of merit shall be even more immense, more incalculable.

And further, Agita, if a young man of good family or a young lady, with the design to hear this discourse on the law, goes from home to a monastery, and there hears this Dharmaparyâya for a single moment, either standing or sitting, then that person, merely by the mass of merit resulting from that action, will after the termination of his (present) life, and at the time of his second existence when he receives (another) body, become a possessor of carriages yoked with bullocks, horses, or elephants, of litters, vehicles yoked with bulls¹, and of celestial aerial cars. If further that same person at that preaching sits down, were it but a single moment, to hear this Dharmaparyâya, or persuades another to sit down or shares with him his seat, he will by the store of merit resulting from that action gain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, thrones of a *Kakravartin*. And, Agita, if some one, a young man of good family or a young lady, says to another person: Come, friend, and hear the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and if that other person owing to that exhortation is persuaded to listen, were it but a single moment, then the former will by virtue of that root of goodness, consisting in that exhortation, obtain the advantage of a connection with Bodhisattvas who have acquired *Dhâraṇī*. He will become the reverse of dull, will get keen faculties, and have wisdom; in the course of a hundred thousand existences he will never have a fetid mouth, nor an offensive one; he will have no

¹ *Rishabhayânânâm*.

diseases of the tongue, nor of the mouth; he will have no black teeth, no unequal, no yellow, no ill-ranged, no broken teeth, no teeth fallen out; his lips will not be pendulous, not turned inward, not gaping, not mutilated, not loathsome¹; his nose will not be flat, nor wry; his face will not be long, nor wry, nor unpleasant. On the contrary, Agita, his tongue, teeth, and lips will be delicate and well-shaped; his nose long; his face perfectly round²; the eyebrows well-shaped; the forehead well-formed. He will receive a very complete organ of manhood. He will have the advantage that the Tathâgata renders sermons intelligible³ to him and soon come in connection with Lords, Buddhas. Mark, Agita, how much good is produced by one's inciting were it but a single creature; how much more then by him who reverentially hears, reverentially reads, reverentially preaches, reverentially promulgates the law!

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

2. Listen how great the merit is of one who, the fiftieth in the series (of tradition), hears a single stanza from this Sûtra and with placid mind joyfully adopts it.

3. Suppose there is a man in the habit of giving

¹ Burnouf has some terms wanting in my text; they have been added by a later hand in the margin, but the characters are indistinct.

² *Pranîtamukhamandala*; a marginal reading has *prînamukha*°.

³ *Tathâgatañ kâvavâdânubhâsakam pratilabhate*. I am not sure of the real meaning of *anubhâsaka*; it may as well be 'suggesting.' Burnouf has, 'c'est de la bouche du Tathâgata qu'il recevra les avis et l'enseignement.'

alms to myriads of *koṭis* of beings, whom I have heretofore indicated by way of comparison¹; all of them he satisfies during eighty years.

4. Then seeing that old age has approached for them, that their brow is wrinkled and their head grey (he thinks): Alas, how all beings come to decay! Let me therefore admonish them by (speaking of) the law.

5. He teaches them the law here on earth and points to the state of *Nirvâṇa* hereafter. 'All existences' (he says) 'are like a mirage; hasten to become disgusted with all existence.'

6. All creatures, by hearing the law from that charitable person, become at once *Arhats*, free from imperfections, and living their last life.

7. Much more merit than by that person will be acquired by him who through unbroken tradition shall hear were it but a single stanza and joyfully receive it. The mass of merit of the former is not even so much as a small particle of the latter's.

8. So great will be one's merit, endless, immeasurable, owing to one's hearing merely a single stanza, in regular tradition; how much more then if one hears from face to face!

9. And if somebody exhorts were it but a single creature and says: Go, hear the law, for this *Sûtra* is rare in many myriads of *koṭis* of *Æons*;

10. And if the creature so exhorted should hear the *Sûtra* even for a moment, hark what fruit is to result from that action. He shall never have a mouth disease;

¹ From this reference to the preceding prose we must gather that these stanzas are posterior to or coeval with the prose version.

11. His tongue is never sore ; his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal ; his lips never become loathsome ;

12. His face is not wry, nor lean, nor long ; his nose not flat ; it is well-shaped, as well as his forehead, teeth, lips, and round face.

13. His aspect is ever pleasant to men ; his mouth is never fetid, it constantly emits a smell sweet as the lotus.

14. If some wise man, to hear this Sûtra, goes from his home to a monastery and there listen, were it but for a single moment, with a placid mind, hear what results from it.

15. His body is very fair ; he drives with horse-carriages, that wise man, and is mounted on elevated carriages drawn by elephants and variegated with gems.

16. He possesses litters covered with ornaments and carried by numerous men. Such is the blessed fruit of his going to hear preaching.

17. Owing to the performance of that pious work he shall, when sitting in the assembly there, obtain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, seats of kings¹.

¹ The purport of this passage seems to be that lay devotees who are regular in attending the sermon, besides receiving terrestrial blessings, will rank high as churchwardens and be entitled to conspicuous places apart in the chapel. The gist of the whole chapter, at any rate, is that it is highly meritorious to come to church.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A RELIGIOUS PREACHER¹.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Satatasamitābhiyukta (i.e. ever and constantly strenuous). Any one, young man of good family, who shall keep, read, teach, write this Dharmaparyāya or have it written, let that person be a young man of good family or a young lady², shall obtain eight hundred good qualities of the eye, twelve hundred of the ear, eight hundred of the nose, twelve hundred of the tongue, eight hundred of the body, twelve hundred of the mind³. By these many hundred good qualities the whole of the six organs shall be perfect, thoroughly perfect. By means of the natural, carnal eye derived from his parents being perfect, he shall see the whole triple universe,

¹ Dharmabhāṇakānṛisamsāh. The use of *ānṛisamsa*, as a synonym to *guṇa*, is not limited to Buddhist writings, as we see from the inscription at Bassac in Camboja, st. 18. It is, of course, the Pāli *ānisamsa*.

² The words 'or a young lady' are wanting in my MS., but Burnouf's text had them, and from the sequel it would seem that they have to be added. It is certainly remarkable that we find mention being made of female preachers, who may be compared with the brahmavādinīs of ancient times, and, further up, with the wise women of the Teutons, the Velledas and Völvas, the Pythonissas of the Greeks, and the Valians of the Indian Archipelago.

³ We may also render, of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and thought.

outwardly and inwardly, with its mountains and woody thickets, down to the great hell *Aviṭi* and up to the extremity of existence. All that he shall see with his natural eye, as well as the creatures to be found in it, and he shall know the fruit of their works.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1. Hear from me what good qualities shall belong to him who unhesitatingly and undismayed shall preach this *Sûtra* to the congregated assembly.

2. First, then, his eye (or, organ of vision) shall possess eight hundred good qualities by which it shall be correct, clear, and untroubled.

3. With the carnal eye derived from his parents he shall see the whole world from within and without.

4. He shall see the *Meru* and *Sumeru*, all the horizon and other mountains, as well as the seas.

5. He, the hero, sees all, downward to the *Aviṭi* and upward to the extremity of existence. Such is his carnal eye.

6. But he has not yet got the divine eye, it having not yet been produced¹ in him; such as here described is the range of his carnal eye.

Further, *Satatasamitâbhiyukta*, the young man of good family or the young lady² who proclaims this *Dharmaparyâya* and preaches it to others, is possessed of the twelve hundred good qualities of the ear. The various sounds that are uttered in the triple universe, downward to the great hell *Aviṭi*

¹ No *kâpi gâyate*. Burnouf's translation, 'il n'aura pas encore la science,' points to a reading, *gñâyate*.

² This time the word is also found in my MS.

and upward to the extremity of existence, within and without, such as the sounds of horses¹, elephants, cows, peasants², goats, cars; the sounds of weeping and wailing; of horror, of conch-trumpets, bells, tymbals; of playing and singing; of camels, of tigers³; of women, men, boys, girls; of righteousness (piety) and unrighteousness (impiety); of pleasure and pain; of ignorant men and âryas; pleasant and unpleasant sounds; sounds of gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human; of monks, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathâgatas; as many sounds as are uttered in the triple world, within and without, all those he hears with his natural organ of hearing when perfect. Still he does not enjoy the divine ear, although he apprehends the sounds of those different creatures, understands, discerns the sounds of those different creatures, and when with his natural organ of hearing he hears the sounds of those creatures, his ear is not overpowered by any of those sounds. Such, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, is the organ of hearing that the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva⁴ acquires; yet he does not possess the divine ear.

¹ Burnouf's version shows a few unimportant various readings.

² Ganapadasabdâḥ, rather strange between the others. I suppose that ganapada is corrupted from some word meaning a sheep, but I find no nearer approach to it than gâlakini, a ewe; cf. st. 8 below.

³ I follow Burnouf, who must have read vyâghra; my MS. has vâdya.

⁴ This term, as it is here used, refers, so far as I can see, to the ministers of religion, the preachers. It is, however, just possible that we have to take it in the more general and original sense of any 'rational being,' for all the advantages enumerated belong to everybody who is not blind, not deaf, &c.

Thus spoke the Lord ; thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added :

7. The organ of hearing of such a person becomes (or, is) cleared and perfect, though as yet it be natural ; by it he perceives the various sounds, without any exception, in this world.

8. He perceives the sounds of elephants, horses, cars, cows, goats, and sheep ; of noisy kettle-drums, tabours, lutes, flutes, Vallakt-lutes.

9. He can hear singing, lovely and sweet, and, at the same time, is constant enough not to allow himself to be beguiled by it ; he perceives the sounds of *koṭis* of men, whatever and wherever they are speaking.

10. He, moreover, always hears the voice of gods and *Nāgas* ; he hears the tunes, sweet and affecting, of song, as well as the voices of men and women, boys and girls.

11. He hears the cries of the denizens of mountains and glens ; the tender notes¹ of *Kalaviṅkas*, cuckoos², peafowls³, pheasants, and other birds.

12. He also (hears) the heart-rending cries of those who are suffering pains in the hells, and the yells uttered by the Spirits, vexed as they are by the difficulty to get food ;

13. Likewise the different cries produced by the demons and the inhabitants of the ocean. All these

¹ *Valgusabda*.

² Here we see that *kalaviṅkas* are distinguished from *kokilas*, cuckoos.

³ The voice of the peafowl is proverbially unharmonious, but that is no reason why the poet should have omitted this item from his enumeration ; such peculiarities give a relish to this kind of spiritual poetry.

sounds the preacher is able to hear from his place on earth, without being overpowered by them.

14. From where he is stationed here on the earth he also hears the different and multifarious sounds through which the inhabitants of the realm of brutes are conversing with each other.

15. He apprehends all the sounds, without any exception, whereby the numerous angels living in the Brahma-world, the Akanishṭhas and Ābhāsvaras¹, call one another.

16. He likewise always hears the sound which the monks on earth are raising when engaged in reading, and when preaching the law to congregations, after having taken orders under the command of the Sugatas.

17. And when the Bodhisattvas here on earth have a reading together and raise their voices in the general synods, he hears them severally.

18. The Bodhisattva who preaches this Sūtra shall, at one time, also hear the perfect law² that the Lord Buddha, the tamer of men³, announces to the assemblies.

19. The numerous sounds produced by all beings in the triple world, in this field, within and without, (downward) to the Avīṭi and upward to the extremity of existence, are heard by him.

20. (In short), he perceives the voices of all beings, his ear being open. Being in the possession of his six senses⁴, he will discern the different sources (of sound), and that while his organ of hearing is the natural one ;

¹ Two classes of angels of the Brahma-heaven.

² I. e. judgment.

³ I. e. in his quality of Dharmarāga.

⁴ I. e. not being out of his wits.

21. The divine ear is not yet operating in him; his ear continues in its natural state. Such as here told are the good qualities belonging to the wise man who shall be a keeper of this Sûtra.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who keeps, proclaims, studies, writes this Dharmaparyâya becomes possessed of a perfect organ of smell with eight hundred good qualities. By means of that organ he smells the different smells that are found in the triple world, within and without, such as fetid smells, pleasant and unpleasant smells, the fragrance of diverse flowers, as the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Michelia Champaka, trumpet-flower; likewise the different scents of aquatic flowers, as the blue lotus, red lotus, white esculent water-lily and white lotus. He smells the odour of fruits and blossoms of various trees bearing fruits and blossoms, such as sandal, Xanthochymus, Tabernæmontana, agallochum¹. The manifold hundred-thousand mixtures of perfumes he smells and discerns, without moving from his standing-place. He smells the diverse smells of creatures, as elephants, horses, cows, goats, beasts, as well as the smell issuing from the body of various living beings in the condition of brutes. He perceives the smells exhaled by the body of women and men, of boys and girls. He smells, even from a distance, the odour of grass, bushes, herbs, trees. He perceives those smells such as they really are, and is not surprised nor stunned by them. Staying on this very earth he smells the odour of gods and the

¹ There is something strange in enumerating these plants, after speaking of fruits.

fragrance of celestial flowers, such as Erythrina, Bauhinia, Mandârava and great Mandârava, Mañgûsha and great Mañgûsha. He smells the perfume of the divine powders of sandal and agallochum, as well as that of the hundred-thousands of mixtures of different divine flowers. He smells the odour exhaled by the body of the gods, such as Indra, the chief of the gods, and thereby knows whether (the god) is sporting, playing, and enjoying himself in his palace Vaigayanta or is speaking the law to the gods of paradise in the assembly-hall of the gods, Sudharmâ, or is resorting to the pleasure-park for sport¹. He smells the odour proceeding from the body of the sundry other gods, as well as that proceeding from the girls and wives of the gods, from the youths and maidens amongst the gods, without being surprised or stunned by those smells. He likewise smells the odour exhaled by the bodies of all Devanikâyas, Brahmakâyikas, and Mahâbrahmas². In the same manner he perceives the smells coming from disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathâgatas. He smells the odour arising from the seats of the Tathâgatas and so discovers where those Tathâgatas, Arhats, &c. abide. And by none of all those different smells is his organ of smell hindered, impaired, or vexed; and, if required, he may give an account of those smells to others without his memory being impaired by it.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

22. His organ of smell is quite correct, and he

¹ The parallel passage in the poetical version, st. 41, is much less confused, and for that reason probably more original.

² Three classes of aerial beings, archangels.

perceives the manifold and various smells, good or bad, which exist in this world ;

23. The fragrance of the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Xanthochymus, sandal, agallochum, of several blossoms and fruits.

24. He likewise perceives the smells exhaled by men, women, boys, and girls, at a considerable distance, and by the smell he knows where they are.

25. He recognises emperors, rulers of armies, governors of provinces, as well as royal princes and ministers, and all the ladies of the harem by their (peculiar) scent.

26. It is by the odour that the Bodhisattva discovers sundry jewels of things, such as are found on the earth and such as serve as jewels for women.

27. That Bodhisattva likewise knows by the odour the various kinds of ornament that women use for their body, robes, wreaths, and ointments.

28. The wise man who keeps this exalted Sûtra recognises, by the power of a good-smelling organ, a woman¹ standing, sitting, or lying ; he discovers wanton sport and magic power².

29. He perceives at once where he stands, the fragrance of scented oils, and the different odours of flowers and fruits, and thereby knows from what source the odour proceeds.

30. The discriminating man recognises by the odour the numerous sandal-trees in full blossom in the glens of the mountains, as well as all creatures dwelling there.

31. All the beings living within the compass of

¹ Sthitâm nishannâm sayitâm tathaiva.

² Krîdâratim riddhibalam ka.

the horizon or dwelling in the depth of the sea or in the bosom of the earth the discriminating man knows how to distinguish from the (peculiar) smell.

32. He discerns the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons; he discovers the sports of demons and their luxury. Such, indeed, is the power of his organ of smell.

33. By the smell he tracks the abodes of the quadrupeds in the woods, lions, tigers, elephants, snakes, buffaloes, cows, gayals.

34. He infers from the odour, whether the child that women, languid from pregnancy, bear in the womb be a boy or a girl.

35. He can discern if a woman is big with a dead child¹; he discerns if she is subject to throes², and, further, if a woman, the pains being removed, shall be delivered of a healthy boy.

36. He guesses the various designs of men, he smells (so to say) an air of design³; he finds out the odour of passionate, wicked, hypocritical, or quiet persons.

37. That Bodhisattva by the scent smells treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, bullion, silver, chests, and metal pots⁴.

38. Necklaces of two sorts, gems, pearls, nice priceless jewels he knows by the scent⁵, as well as things priceless and brilliant in general.

39. That great man from his very place on earth

¹ Âpannasatvâ.

² Vinâmadharmâ.

³ Abhiprâyagandha.

⁴ It need hardly be remarked that 'to smell' is here used in the same sense as in the English saying 'to smell a rat.'

⁵ The word gandha also means 'some resemblance, faint likeness, an air.'

smells the flowers here above (in the sky) with the gods, such as Mandâravas, Mañgûshakas, and those growing on the coral tree.

40. By the power of his organ of smell he, without leaving his stand on earth, perceives how and whose are the aerial cars, of lofty, low, and middling size, and other brilliant forms shooting¹ (through the firmament).

41. He likewise finds out the paradise, the gods (in the hall) of Sudharmâ and in the most glorious palace of Vaigayanta², and the angels who there are diverting themselves.

42. He perceives, here on earth, an air of them; by the scent he knows the angels, and where each of them is acting, standing, listening, or walking.

43. That Bodhisattva tracks by the scent the houris who are decorated with many flowers, decked with wreaths and ornaments and in full attire; he knows wherever they are dallying or staying at the time.

44. By smell he apprehends the gods, Brahmas, and Brahmakâyas moving on aerial cars aloft, upwards to the extremity of existence; he knows whether they are absorbed in meditation³ or have risen from it.

¹ *Kavanti*, Sansk. *kyavanti*, altered by a later hand into *bhavanti*.

² A sculptured representation of Indra's palace of Vaigayanta and the hall Sudharmâ is found on the bas reliefs of the Stûpa of Bharhut; see plate xvi in General Cunningham's splendid work on that Stûpa.

³ The real meaning is, perhaps, to say that he knows whether those inhabitants of the empyreum are plunged in glimmer or disengaged from mist, &c.

45. He perceives the Âbhâsvara angels falling (and shooting) and appearing, even those that he never saw before. Such is the organ of smell of the Bodhisattva who keeps this Sûtra.

46. The Bodhisattva also recognises all monks under the rule of the Sugata, who are strenuously engaged in their walks and find their delight in their lessons and reading.

47. Intelligent as he is, he discerns those among the sons of Gina who are disciples and those who used to live at the foot of trees, and he knows that the monk so and so is staying in such and such a place.

48. The Bodhisattva knows by the odour whether other Bodhisattvas are of good memory, meditative, delighting in their lessons and reading, and assiduous in preaching to congregations¹.

49. In whatever point of space the Sugata, the great Seer, so benign and bounteous, reveals the law in the midst of the crowd of attending disciples, the Bodhisattva by the odour recognises him as the Lord of the universe.

50. Staying on earth, the Bodhisattva also perceives those beings who hear the law and rejoice at it, and the whole assembly of the Gina.

51. Such is the power of his organ of smell. Yet it is not the divine organ he possesses, but (the natural one) prior to the perfect, divine faculty of smell.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who keeps, teaches,

¹ Such Bodhisattvas may be said to stand in the odour of sanctity.

proclaims, writes this Dharmaparyâya shall have an organ of taste possessed of twelve hundred good faculties of the tongue. All flavours he takes on his tongue will yield a divine, exquisite relish. And he tastes in such a way that he is not to relish anything unpleasant; and even the unpleasant flavours that are taken on his tongue will yield¹ a divine relish. And whatever he shall preach in the assembly, the creatures will be satisfied by it; they will be content, thoroughly content, filled with delight. A sweet, tender, agreeable, deep voice goes out from him, an amiable voice which goes to the heart, at which those creatures will be ravished and charmed; and those to whom he preaches, after having heard his sweet voice, so tender and melodious, will, even (if they are) gods, be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, and serve him². And the angels and houris will be of opinion, &c. The Indras, Brahmas, and Brahmakâyikas will be of opinion, &c. The Nâgas and Nâga girls will be of opinion, &c. The demons and their girls will be of opinion, &c. The Garudâs and their girls will be of opinion, &c. The Kinnaras and their girls, the great serpents and their girls, the goblins and their girls, the imps and their girls will be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, serve him, and hear his sermon, and all will show him honour, respect, esteem, worship, reverence, and veneration. Monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees will likewise be desirous of seeing him. Kings, royal princes, and grandees (or ministers) will also be

¹ Mokshyante, properly, 'will emit.'

² In the margin added *śravanâya*, 'to hear.'

desirous of seeing him. Kings ruling armies and emperors possessed of the seven treasures¹, along with the princes royal, ministers, ladies of the harem, and their retinue will be desirous of seeing him and paying him their homage. So sweet will be the speech delivered by that preacher, so truthful and according to the teaching of the Tathâgata will be his words. Others also, Brahmans and laymen, citizens and peasants, will always and ever follow that preacher till the end of life. Even the disciples of the Tathâgata will be desirous of seeing him ; likewise the Pratyekabuddhas and the Lords Buddhas. And wherever that young man of good family or young lady shall stay, there he (or she) will preach, the face turned to the Tathâgata, and he (or she) will be a worthy vessel of the Buddha-qualities. Such, so pleasant, so deep will be the voice of the law going out from him.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

52. His organ of taste is most excellent, and he will never relish anything of inferior flavour ; the flavours are no sooner put on his tongue than they become divine and possessed of a divine taste².

53. He has a tender voice and delivers sweet words, pleasant to hear, agreeable, charming ; in the

¹ The seven treasures or jewels of an emperor are the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the gem, the empress, the major domo (according to others, the retinue of householders), and the viceroy or marshal. See Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 127 ; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 580 ; Senart, *Légende du Buddha*, pp. 22-60 ; Lalita-vistara, pp. 15-19.

² Nikshiptamâtrâs ka bhavanti divyâ rasena divyena samarpitâs ka.

midst of the assembly he is used to speak with a melodious and deep voice.

54. And whosoever hears him when he is delivering a sermon with myriads of *koṭis* of examples, feels a great joy and shows him an immense veneration.

55. The gods, Nâgas, demons, and goblins always long to see him, and respectfully listen to his preaching. All those good qualities are his.

56. If he would, he might make his voice heard by the whole of this world; his voice is (so) fine, sweet, deep, tender, and winning.

57. The emperors on earth, along with their children and wives, go to him with the purpose of honouring him, and listen all the time to his sermon with joined hands.

58. He is constantly followed by goblins, crowds of Nâgas, Gandharvas, imps, male and female, who honour, respect, and worship him.

59. Brahma himself becomes his obedient servant; the gods Îsvara and Mahesvara, as well as Indra and the numerous heavenly nymphs, approach him.

60. And the Buddhas, benign and merciful for the world, along with their disciples, hearing his voice, protect him by showing their face, and feel satisfaction in hearing him preaching.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes this Dharmaparyâya shall have the eight hundred good qualities of the body. It will be pure, and show a hue clear as the lapis lazuli; it will be pleasant to see for the creatures. On that perfect body he will see the whole triple universe; the beings who in the triple world disappear and appear, who are low or lofty, of good or of bad colour, in

fortunate or in unfortunate condition, as well as the beings dwelling within the circular plane of the horizon and of the great horizon, on the chief mountains Meru and Sumeru, and the beings dwelling below in the Avīṭi and upwards to the extremity of existence; all of them he will see on his own body. The disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathāgatas dwelling in the triple universe, and the law taught by those Tathāgatas and the beings serving the Tathāgatas, he will see all of them on his own body, because he receives the proper body of all those beings, and that on account of the perfectness of his body.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

61. His body becomes thoroughly pure, clear as if consisting of lapis lazuli; he who keeps this sublime Sūtra is always a pleasant sight for (all) creatures.

62. As on the surface of a mirror an image is seen, so on his body this world. Being self-born, he sees no other beings¹. Such is the perfectness of his body.

63. Indeed, all beings who are in this world, men, gods, demons, goblins, the inhabitants of hell, the spirits, and the brute creation are seen reflected on that body.

64. The aerial cars of the gods up to the extremity of existence, the rocks, the ridge of the

¹ This seems to mean that the thinking subject or thinking power only (svayambhū or brahma) has real existence, the objects being products from one's own mind. In so far it may be said that the thinking subject sees no other real beings.

horizon, the Himâlaya, Sumeru, and great Meru, all are seen on that body.

65. He also sees the Buddhas on his body, along with the disciples and other sons of Buddha; likewise the Bodhisattvas who lead a solitary life, and those who preach the law to congregations.

66. Such is the perfectness of his body, though he has not yet obtained a divine body; the natural property of his body is such.

Further, Satatasamitâbhiyukta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva who after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata keeps, teaches, writes, reads this Dharmaparyâya shall have a mental organ possessed of twelve hundred good qualities of intellect. By this perfect mental organ he will, even if he hears a single stanza, recognise its various meanings. By fully comprehending the stanza he will find in it the text to preach upon for a month, for four months, nay, for a whole year. And the sermon he preaches will not fade from his memory. The popular maxims of common life, whether sayings or counsels, he will know how to reconcile with the rules of the law. Whatever creatures of this triple universe are subject to the mundane whirl, in any of the six conditions of existence, he will know their thoughts, doings, and movements. He will know and discern their motions, purposes, and aims. Though he has not yet attained the state of an Ârya, his intellectual organ will be thoroughly perfect. And all he shall preach after having pondered on the interpretation of the law will be really true; he speaks what all Tathâgatas have spoken, all that has been declared in the Sûtras of former Ginâs.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

67. His mental organ is perfect, lucid, right, and untroubled. By it he finds out the various laws, low, high, and mean.

68. On hearing the contents of a single stanza, the wise man catches the manifold significatons (hidden) in it, and he is able for a month, four months, or even a year to go on expounding both its conventional and its true sense.

69. And the beings living in this world, within or without, gods, men, demons, goblins, Nâgas, brutes,

70. The beings stationed in any of the six conditions of existence, all their thoughts the sage knows instantaneously. These are the advantages of keeping this Sûtra.

71. He also hears the holy sound of the law which the Buddha, marked with a hundred blessed signs, preaches all over the world, and he catches what the Buddha speaks.

72. He reflects much on the supreme law, and is in the wont of constantly dilating upon it; he is never hesitating. These are the advantages of keeping this Sûtra.

73. He knows the connections and knots¹; he discerns in all laws contrarities²; he knows the meaning and the interpretations, and expounds them according to his knowledge.

74. The Sûtra which since so long a time has been

¹ Sandhivisandhi, I am not sure of the real purport of these terms; Burnouf renders 'concordances et combinaisons.'

² Sarveshu dharmeshu vilakshazâni; the rendering is uncertain; Burnouf has, 'ne voit entre toutes les lois aucune différence.'

expounded by the ancient Masters of the world is the law which he, never flinching, is always preaching in the assembly.

75. Such is the mental organ of him who keeps or reads this Sûtra ; he has not yet the knowledge of emancipation, but one that precedes it.

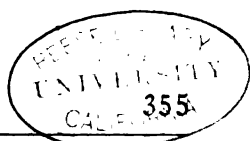
76. He who keeps this Sûtra of the Sugata stands on the stage of a master ; he may preach to all creatures and is skilful in koṭis of interpretations.

CHAPTER XIX.

SADĀPARIBHŪTA.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mahâsthâmaprâpta. In a similar way, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, one may infer from what has been said that he who rejects such a Dharmaparyâya as this, who abuses monks, nuns, lay devotees male or female, keeping this Sûtra, insults them, treats them with false and harsh words, shall experience dire results, to such an extent as is impossible to express in words. But those that keep, read, comprehend, teach, amply expound it to others, shall experience happy results, such as I have already mentioned: they shall attain such a perfection of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as just described.

In the days of yore, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, at a past period, before incalculable Æons, nay, more than incalculable, immense, inconceivable, and even long before, there appeared in the world a Tathâgata, &c., named Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c. &c., in the Æon Vinirbhoga, in the world Mahâsambhava. Now, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., in that world Vinirbhoga, showed the law in the presence of the world, including gods, men, and demons; the law containing the four noble truths and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation,



woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvâna, he showed to the disciples; the law connected with the six Perfections of virtue and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment, he showed to the Bodhisattvas. The lifetime of that Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., lasted forty hundred thousand myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the sands of the river Ganges¹. After his complete extinction his true law remained hundred thousands of myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the atoms (contained) in Gambudvîpa, and the counterfeit of the true law continued hundred thousands of myriads of koîis of Æons equal to the dust-atoms in the four continents. When the counterfeit of the true law of the Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., after his complete extinction, had disappeared in the world Mahâsambhava, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, another Tathâgata Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, Arhat, &c., appeared, endowed with science and conduct. So in succession, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, there arose in that world Mahâsambhava twenty hundred thousand myriads of koîis of Tathâgatas, &c., called Bhîshmagargitasvararâga. At the time, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, after the complete extinction of the first Tathâgata amongst all those of the name of Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, Tathâgata, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., when his true law had disappeared and the counterfeit of the true law was

¹ According to Burnouf : 'autant de centaines de mille de myriades de koîis de Kalpas qu'il y a de grains de sable dans quarante Ganges.'

fading ; when the reign (of the law) was being oppressed by proud monks, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, called Sadâparibhûta. For what reason, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, was that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Sadâparibhûta? It was, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, because that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva was in the habit of exclaiming to every monk or nun, male or female lay devotee, while approaching them : I do not condemn you, worthies. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tathâgatas, &c. In this way, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva, when a monk, did not teach nor study ; the only thing he did was, whenever he descried from afar a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, to approach them and exclaim : I do not condemn you, sisters¹. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas and are to become Tathâgatas, &c. So, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva at that time used to address every monk or nun, male or female devotee. But all were extremely irritated and angry at it, showed him their displeasure, abused and insulted him : Why does he, unasked, declare that he feels no contempt for us ? Just by so doing he shows a contempt for us. He renders himself contemptible² by predicting our future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment ; we do not care for what is not true. Many years, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, went on during which that

¹ It may seem strange that we find no other word than this, but the reading of the text cannot be challenged.

² Paribhûtam âtmânâṃ karoti, yad, &c. Burnouf must have followed a different reading.

Bodhisattva Mahâsattva was being abused, but he was not angry at anybody, nor felt malignity, and to those who, when he addressed them in the said manner, cast a clod or stick at him, he loudly exclaimed from afar: I do not contemn you. Those monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees, being always and ever addressed by him in that phrase gave him the (nick)name of Sadâparibhûta¹.

Under those circumstances, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta happened to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law when the end of his life was impending, and the moment of dying drawing near. It was the Lord Bhîshmagargitasvararâga, the Tathâgata, &c., who expounded this Dharmaparyâya in twenty times twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of stanzas, which the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta heard from a voice in the sky, when the time of his death was near at hand. On hearing that voice from the sky, without there appearing a person speaking, he grasped this Dharmaparyâya and obtained the perfections already mentioned: the perfection of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind. With the attainment of these perfections he at the same time made a vow to prolong his life for twenty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of years, and promulgated this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. And all those proud beings, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees to whom he had said: I do not contemn you, and who had given him the name of Sadâparibhûta, became all his fol-

¹ I.e. both 'always contemned' (sadâ and paribhûta) and 'always not-contemned, never contemned' (sadâ and aparibhûta).

lowers to hear the law, after they had seen the power and strength of his sublime magic faculties, of his vow, of his readiness of wit, of his wisdom. All those and many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of other beings were by him roused to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Afterwards, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva disappeared from that place and propitiated twenty hundred kośis¹ of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the same name of Kândraprabhâsvararâga, under all of whom he promulgated this Dharmaparyâya. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the name of Dundubhisvararâga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he again, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, &c., all bearing the name of Meghasvararâga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. And under all of them he was possessed of the afore-mentioned perfectness of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind.

Now, Mahâsthâmaprâpta, that Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sadâparibhûta, after having honoured, respected, esteemed, worshipped, venerated, revered so many hundred thousand myriads of kośis of Tathâgatas, and after having acted in the same way towards

¹ From the sequel it appears that the text ought to have 'twenty hundred thousand myriads of kośis.'

many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of other Buddhas, obtained under all of them this very Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, and owing to his former root of goodness having come to full development, gained supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving, and think that he who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva called Sadāparibhūta was one, and he who under the rule of that Lord Bhīṣmagargitasvararāga, the Tathāgata, &c., was generally called Sadāparibhūta by the four classes, by whom so many Tathāgatas were propitiated, was another. But thou shouldst not think so. For it is myself who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta. Had I not formerly grasped and kept this Dharmaparyāya, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, I should not so soon have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. It is because I have kept, read, preached this Dharmaparyāya (derived) from the teaching of the ancient Tathāgatas, &c., Mahāsthāmaprāpta, that I have so soon arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. As to the hundreds of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, to whom under that Lord the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta promulgated this Dharmaparyāya by saying: I do not condemn you; you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas; you are to become Tathāgatas, &c., and in whom awoke a feeling of malignity towards that Bodhisattva, they in twenty hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Æons never saw a Tathāgata, nor heard the call of the law, nor the call of the assembly, and for ten thousand Æons they suffered terrible pain in the

great hell *Avīṭi*. Thereafter released from the ban, they by the instrumentality of that Bodhisattva Mahāsattva were all brought to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving as to who at that time, at that juncture were the persons hooting and laughing at the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. They are, in this very assembly, the five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Bhādrapāla, the five hundred nuns following *Simhā-~~ka~~ndrā*, the five hundred lay devotees¹ following *Sugata~~ka~~etanā*, who all of them have been rendered inflexible in supreme, perfect enlightenment. So greatly useful it is to keep and preach this Dharma-paryāya, as it tends to result for Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in supreme, perfect enlightenment. Hence, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas should, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, constantly keep, read, and promulgate this Dharmaparyāya.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. I remember a past period, when king Bhīṣmasvara², the *Gina*, lived, very mighty, and revered by gods and men, the leader of men, gods, goblins, and giants.

2. At the time succeeding the complete extinction of that *Gina*, when the decay of the true law

¹ Upāsaka, the masculine ; this does not suit, but on the other hand it must be admitted that the omission of male devotees is not to be accounted for. Not unlikely some words have been left out by inadvertence, not only in the Cambridge MS., but also in the MSS. known to Burnouf. Cf., however, st. 9.

² Bhīṣmasvaro *rāga gino yadāsi*.

was far advanced, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva, called by the name of Sadâparibhûta.

3. Other monks and nuns who did not believe but in what they saw¹, he would approach (and say): I never am to condemn you, for you observe the course leading to supreme enlightenment.

4. It was his wont always to utter those words, which brought him but abuse and taunts from their part. At the time when his death was impending he heard this Sûtra.

5. The sage, then, did not expire ; he resolved upon² a very long life, and promulgated this Sûtra under the rule of that leader.

6. And those many (persons) who only acknowledged the evidence of sensual perception³ were by him brought to full ripeness for enlightenment. Then, disappearing from that place, he propitiated thousands of koṭis of Buddhas.

7. Owing to the successive good actions performed by him, and to his constantly promulgating this Sûtra, that son of Gina reached enlightenment. That Bodhisattva then is myself, Sâkyamuni.

8. And those persons who only believed in perception by the senses⁴, those monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees who by the sage were admonished of enlightenment,

9. And who have seen many koṭis of Buddhas,

¹ Upalambhad^rish/îna ; I am not sure of the correctness of this translation ; Burnouf renders it by 'qui ne voyaient que les objets extérieurs,' which comes pretty much to the same.

² Pratish/îhitvâ (Sansk. pratish/hâya) *ka* sudîrgham âyuh, properly 'having stood still for a very long time of life.'

³ Upalambhika.

⁴ Aupalambhika.

are the monks here before me,—no less than five hundred,—nuns, and female lay devotees¹.

10. All of them have been by me brought to complete ripeness, and after my extinction they will all, full of wisdom, keep this Sûtra.

11. Not once in many, inconceivably many koṭis of Æons has such a Sûtra as this been heard. There are, indeed, hundreds of koṭis of Buddhas, but they do not elucidate this Sûtra.

12. Therefore let one who has heard this law exposed by the Self-born himself, and who has repeatedly propitiated him, promulgate this Sûtra after my extinction in this world.

¹ The text has upâsikâḥ.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCEPTION OF THE TRANSCENDENT POWER OF THE
TATHÂGATAS.

Thereupon those hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas equal to the dust-atoms of a macrocosm, who had issued from the gaps of the earth, all stretched their joined hands towards the Lord, and said unto him : We, O Lord, will, after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata, promulgate this Dharmaparyâya everywhere (or on every occasion) in all Buddha-fields of the Lord, wherever (or whenever) the Lord shall be completely extinct¹. We are anxious to obtain this sublime Dharmaparyâya, O Lord, in order to keep, read, publish, and write it.

Thereupon the hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, headed by Mañjuśrî ; the monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees living in this world ; the gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and the many Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas equal to the sands of the river Ganges, said unto the Lord : We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyâya after the complete extinction of the Tathâgata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send

¹ Hence follows that Nirvâṇa is repeatedly entered into by the Lord.

forth a voice¹, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (yet) planted roots of goodness.

Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Visishṭakāritra, followed by a troop, a great troop, the master of a troop, who was the very first of those afore-mentioned Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Visishṭakāritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyāya that the Tathāgata has brought you to ripeness.

Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stūpa², commenced smiling to one another, and from their opened mouths stretched out their tongues, so that with their tongues they reached the Brahma-world, and from those two tongues issued many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of rays³. From each of those rays issued many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas, with gold-coloured bodies and possessed of the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, and seated on thrones consisting of the interior of lotuses. Those

¹ From this it appears that the abode of the monks &c. in the assembly of the Lord Sâkyamuni is in the sky, at least occasionally. Their attribute of 'an invisible body' shows them to be identical with the videhas, the incorporeal ones, i. e. the spirits of the blessed departed, Arhats, Muktas, Pitaras. The Pitaras form the assembly of Dharmarâga.

² Cf. Chapter XI.

³ It is quite true that the moon as well as the sun is sahasra-râmi, possessed of thousand rays, but it is difficult to understand how the Bhagavat Prabhūtaratna can show his magic power in his state of extinction.

Bodhisattvas spread in all directions in hundred thousands of worlds, and while on every side stationed in the sky preached the law. Just as the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., produced a miracle of magic by his tongue, so, too, Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the other Tathâgatas, &c., who, having flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds, were seated on thrones at the foot of jewel trees, by their tongues produced a miracle of magic.

The Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and all those Tathâgatas, &c., produced that magical effect during fully a thousand¹ years. After the lapse of that millennium those Tathâgatas, &c., pulled back their tongue, and all simultaneously, at the same moment, the same instant, made a great noise as of expectoration² and of snapping the fingers, by which sounds all the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Buddha-fields in every direction of space were moved, removed, stirred, wholly stirred, tossed, tossed forward, tossed along, and all beings in all those Buddha-fields, gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human beheld, by the power of the Buddha, from the place where they stood, this Saha-world. They beheld the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of Tathâgatas seated severally on their throne at the foot of a jewel tree, and the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., wholly extinct, sitting on the throne in the centre of the

¹ Burnouf has 'a hundred thousand.'

² Utkâsana, better °sana.

Stûpa of magnificent precious substances, along with the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; they beheld, finally, those four classes of the audience. At this sight they felt struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. And they heard a voice from the sky calling: Worthies, beyond a distance of an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of worlds there is the world named Saha; there the Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni, the Arhat, &c., is just now revealing to the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, a Sûtrânta of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas, and belonging in proper to all Buddhas. Ye accept it joyfully with all your heart, and do homage to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.

On hearing such a voice from the sky all those beings exclaimed from the place where they stood, with joined hands: Homage to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata. Then they threw towards the Saha-world various flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, gold, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners, and triumphal streamers, as well as ornaments, parures, necklaces, gems and jewels of all sorts, in order to worship the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata¹, and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. Those flowers, incense, &c., and those necklaces, &c., came down upon this Saha-world, where they formed a great canopy of flowers hanging in the sky above the Tathâgatas there sitting, as well as those in the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of other worlds.

¹ In Burnouf's translation we find added: and the Tathâgata Prabhûtaratna.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas headed by Visiṣṭakāritra: Inconceivable, young men of good family, is the power of the Tathāgatas, &c. In order to transmit this Dharmaparyāya, young men of good family, I might go on for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons explaining the manifold virtues of this Dharmaparyāya through the different principles of the law, without reaching the end of those virtues. In this Dharmaparyāya I have succinctly taught all Buddha-laws (or Buddha-qualities), all the superiority, all the mystery, all the profound conditions of the Buddhas. Therefore, young men of good family, you should, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, with reverence keep, read, promulgate, cherish¹, worship it. And wherever on earth, young men of good family, this Dharmaparyāya shall be made known, read, written, meditated, expounded, studied or collected into a volume, be it in a monastery or at home, in the wilderness or in a town, at the foot of a tree or in a palace, in a building or in a cavern, on that spot one should erect a shrine in dedication to the Tathāgata. For such a spot must be regarded as a terrace of enlightenment; such a spot must be regarded as one where all Tathāgatas &c. have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment; on that spot have all Tathāgatas moved forward the wheel of the law; on that spot one may hold that all Tathāgatas have reached complete extinction.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

¹ Or develop; or meditate, bhāvayitavya. Burnouf seems to have read bhāṣhayitavya, for he translates it by 'expliquer.'

1. Inconceivable is the power to promote the weal of the world¹ possessed by those who, firmly established in transcendent knowledge, by means of their unlimited sight display their magic faculty in order to gladden all living beings on earth.

2. They extend their tongue over the whole world², darting thousands of beams to the astonishment of those to whom this effect of magic is displayed and who are making for supreme enlightenment.

3. The Buddhas made a noise of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, (and by it) called the attention of the whole world, of all parts of the world in the ten directions of space.

4. Those and other miraculous qualities they display in their benevolence and compassion (with the view) that the creatures, gladly excited at the time, may (also) keep the Sûtra after the complete extinction of the Sugata.

5. Even if I continued for thousands of koṭis of Æons speaking the praise of those sons of Sugata who shall keep this eminent Sûtra after the extinction of the Leader of the world,

6. I should not have terminated the enumeration of their qualities; inconceivable as the qualities of infinite space are the merits of those who constantly keep this holy Sûtra.

7. They behold me as well as these chiefs, and the Leader of the world now extinct; (they behold) all these numerous Bodhisattvas and the four classes.

8. Such a one now here³ propitiates me and all

¹ Lokahitânudharmatâ.

² Sarvalokam.

³ Ten' ihâdya. The connection between this stanza and the next would have been clearer if the two stanzas had been transposed.

these leaders, as well as the extinct chief of *Ginas* and the others in every quarter.

9. The future and past Buddhas stationed in the ten points of space will all be seen and worshipped by him who keeps this *Sûtra*.

10. He who keeps this *Sûtra*, the veritable law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man ; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment.

11. The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited ; like the wind he will nowhere meet impediments ; he knows the purport and interpretation of the law, he who keeps this exalted *Sûtra*.

12. He will, after some reflection, always find out the connection of the *Sûtras* spoken by the leaders ; even after the complete extinction of the leader he will grasp the real meaning of the *Sûtras*.

13. He resembles the moon and the sun ; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many Bodhisattvas.

14. The wise Bodhisattvas who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this *Sûtra* after my complete extinction will doubtless reach enlightenment.

CHAPTER XXI.

SPELLS.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-rāga rose from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder and fixed the right knee upon the ground lifted his joined hands up to the Lord and said: How great, O Lord, is the pious merit which will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who keeps this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, either in memory or in a book? Whereupon the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-rāga: Suppose, Bhaishagya-rāga, that some man of good family or a young lady honours, respects, reveres, worships hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathāgatas equal to the sands of eighty Ganges rivers; dost thou think, Bhaishagya-rāga, that such a young man or young lady of good family will on that account produce much pious merit? The Bodhisattva Bhaishagya-rāga replied: Yes, Lord; yes, Sugata. The Lord said: I announce to thee, Bhaishagya-rāga, I declare to thee: any young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagya-rāga, who shall keep, read, comprehend, and in practice follow, were it but a single stanza from this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, that young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagya-rāga, will on that account produce far more pious merit.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-rāga immediately said to the Lord : To those young men or young ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words ¹ for guard, defence, and protection ; such as, anye ² manye mane mamane *kitte karite* same, samitāvi, sānte, mukte, muktatame, same avishame, samasame, gaye, kshaye, akshīne, sānte sant, dhārāni ālokabhāshe, pratyavekshāni, nidhini, abhyantaravisishṭe, utkule mutkule, asade, parade, sukāṅkshṭ, asamasame, buddhavigilokite, dharmaparikshite, saṅghanirghoshāni, nirghoshāni bhayābhaya-sodhanṭ, mantrē mantrākshayate, rutakausalaye, akshaye, akshavanatāya, vakule valodā, amanyatāya ³. These words of charms and spells, O Lord, have been pronounced by reverend Buddhas (in number)

¹ Dhārānīpadāni.

² In giving these words I have followed the Camb. MS., even where the readings would seem to be incorrect.

³ The list in Burnouf's translation seems in many respects more correct ; it is as follows : anye manye, arau parau amane mamane *kitte karite* ; same samitā visānte, mukte muktatame same avisamasame, gaye kshaye akshaye akshīne sānte samite dhārāni ālokabhāse pratyavekshāni dhīru vivīru abhyantarāniviṣṭe abhyantarapārisuddhi, utkule mukule arade parade sukāṅkshi asamasame buddhavigilokite dharmaparikshite pratyavekshāni saṅghanirghoshāni nirghoshāni bhayavīsodhani mantrē mantrakshayate rutakausalaya akshayavanatā vakkulavaloka amanyatāye. All these words are, or ought to be, feminine words in the vocative. I take them to be epithets of the Great Mother, Nature or Earth, differently called Aditi, Pragñā, Māyā, Bhavānī, Durgā. Anyā may be identified with the Vedic anyā, inexhaustible, and synonymous with aditi. Most of the other terms may be explained as synonymous with pragñā (e.g. pratyavekshāni), with nature (kshaye akshaye), with the earth (dhārāni).

equal to the sands of sixty-two Ganges rivers. All these Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers, such keepers of the Sûtrânta.

The Lord expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagya-râga by saying : Very well, Bhaishagya-râga, by those talismanic words being pronounced out of compassion for creatures, the common weal of creatures is promoted ; their guard, defence, and protection is secured.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Pradâna-sûra said unto the Lord : I also, O Lord, will, for the benefit of such preachers, give them talismanic words, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise such preachers may find the occasion, be it a demon, giant, goblin, sorcerer, imp or ghost ; that none of these when seeking and spying for an occasion to surprise may find the occasion. And then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Pradâna-sûra instantly pronounced the following words of a spell : *gvale mahâgvale, ukke mukke, ade adâvati, tritye trityâvati, itîni viîîni kîîîni, trittî trityâvati svâhâ*¹. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced and approved by Tathâgatas, &c. (in number) equal to the sands of the river Ganges. All those Tathâgatas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers.

¹ With Burnouf: *gvale mahâgvale ukke mukke ate atâvati nrîtye nrîtyâvati ; itîni viîîni kîîîni nrîtyâvati svâhâ*. These terms are obviously names of the flame, mythologically called Agni's wife, the daughter of Daksha. As Siva may be identified with Agni, the feminine words again are epithets of Durgâ. *Gvalâ* and *Mahâgvalâ* are perfectly clear ; *ukkâ* is the Prâkrit form of Sanskrit *ulkâ*.

Thereupon Vaisravana, one of the four rulers of the cardinal points, said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit and weal of those preachers, out of compassion to them, for their guard, defence, and protection: *atte natte vanatte anade, nâdi kunadi svâhâ*¹. With these spells, O Lord, I shall guard those preachers over an extent of a hundred *yoganas*. Thus will those young men or young ladies of good family, who keep this *Sûtrânta*, be guarded, be safe.

At that meeting was present *Virûdhaka*, another of the four rulers of the cardinal points, sitting surrounded and attended by hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of *Kumbhândas*. He rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, lifted his joined hands up to the Lord, and spoke to him as follows: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit of people at large, and to guard, defend, protect such preachers as are qualified, who keep the *Sûtrânta* as mentioned; viz. *agane gane gauri gandhâri kândâli mâtaṅgi pukkasi saṅkule vrûsali svâhâ*². These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced by forty-two hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Buddhas*. All those *Buddhas* would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers as are qualified.

Thereupon the giantesses called *Lambâ*, *Vilambâ*³,

¹ Burnouf has *atte hatte natte*, &c.

² The list in Burnouf differs but slightly; a. g. g. *gandhâri kândâli m. pukkasi s. vrûlasisi s. Vrûsalî* or rather *vrusalî* must be the Sanskrit *vrîshalî*. *Gaurî*, *Kândâlikâ*, *Mâtaṅgî* are known from elsewhere as epithets of *Durgâ*; *Pukkasi* and *Vrîshalî* denote nearly the same as *Kândâli* and *Mâtaṅgî*.

³ With Burnouf, *Pralambâ*.

Kûṭadantī, Pushpadantī, Makuṭadantī¹, Kesinī, Akalā, Mālādhārī, Kuntī, Sarvasattvogahārī², and Hārītī, all with their children and suite went up to the place where the Lord was, and with one voice said unto him: We also, O Lord, will afford guard, defence, and protection to such preachers as keep this Sûtrānta; we will afford them safety, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise those preachers may find the occasion. And the giantesses all simultaneously and in a chorus gave to the Lord the following words of spells: iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me; nime nime nime nime nime; ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe; stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe, svāhā. No one shall overpower and hurt such preachers; no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome; no spirit causing epilepsy, no sorcerer of goblin race, no sorcerer of not-human race, no sorcerer of human race; no sorcerer producing tertian ague, quartian ague, quotidian ague. Even if in his dreams he has visions of women, men, boys or girls, it shall be impossible that they hurt him.

And the giantesses simultaneously and in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

1. His head shall be split into seven pieces, like a sprout of *Symplocos Racemosa*, who after hearing this spell would attack a preacher.
2. He shall go the way of parricides and matricides, who would attack a preacher.
3. He shall go the way of oil-millers and sesamum-pounders, who would attack a preacher.

¹ Burnouf has *Maṭuṭāntī*.

² Burnouf better, *Sarvasattvaugohārī*.

4. He shall go the way of those who use false weights and measures, who would attack a preacher.

Thereafter the giantesses headed by Kuntī said unto the Lord : We also, O Lord, will afford protection to such preachers ; we will procure them safety ; we will protect them against assault and poison. Whereupon the Lord said to those giantesses : Very well, sisters, very well ; you do well in affording guard, defence, and protection to those preachers, even to such who shall keep no more than the name of this Dharmaparyāya ; how much more then to those who shall keep this Dharmaparyāya wholly and entirely, or who, possessing the text of it in a volume, honour it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners, lamps with sesamum oil, lamps with scented oil, lamps with *Kāmpaka*-scented oil, with *Vārshika*-scented oil, with lotus-scented oil, with jasmine-scented oil ; who by such-like manifold hundred thousand manners of worshipping shall honour, respect, revere, venerate (this *Sūtra*), deserve to be guarded by thee and thy suite, Kuntī !

And while this chapter on spells was being expounded¹, sixty-eight thousand living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the law that has no origin.

¹ The chapter was, properly speaking, not expounded at all ; it simply contains a narrative with the speeches of different interlocutors. It may be observed that a poetical version is wanting.

CHAPTER XXII.

ANCIENT DEVOTION¹ OF BHAISHAGYARĀGA.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Nakshatrārāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā spoke to the Lord as follows: Wherefore, O Lord, does the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyarāga pursue his course² in this Saha-world, while he is fully aware of the many hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of difficulties he has to meet? Let the Lord, the Tathāgata, &c., deign to tell us any part of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagyarāga, that by hearing it the gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas from other worlds here present, and these great disciples here may be content, delighted, overjoyed.

And the Lord, out of regard to that request of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Nakshatrārāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, told him the following: Of yore, young man of good family, at a past epoch, at a time (as many) Æons ago as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, there appeared in the world a Tathāgata, &c., by the name of *Kandravimalasūrya-prabhāsaśrī*³, •endowed with science and conduct, a

¹ Pūrvayoga; cf. foot-note, p. 153.

² Praviṣṭarati.

³ I.e. moon-bright and illustrious by (or like) the radiance of the sun.

Sugata, &c. &c. Now that Tathāgata, &c., *Kandra-vimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī* had a great assembly of eighty koṭis¹ of Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas and an assembly of disciples equal to the sands of seventy-two Ganges rivers. His spiritual rule was exempt from the female sex, and his Buddha-field had no hell, no brute creation, no ghosts, no demons; it was level, neat, smooth as the palm of the hand. Its floor consisted of heavenly lapis lazuli, and it was adorned with trees of jewel and sandal-wood; inlaid with a multitude of jewels, and hung with long bands of silk, and scented by censers made of jewels. Under each jewel tree, at a distance not farther than a bow-shot, was made a small jewel-house², and on the top of those small jewel-houses stood a hundred koṭis of angels performing a concert of musical instruments and castanets, in order to honour the Lord *Kandra-vimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī*, the Tathāgata, &c., while that Lord was extensively expounding this Dharma-paryāya of the Lotus of the True Law to the great disciples and Bodhisattvas, directing himself³ to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana. Now, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the lifetime of that Lord *Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsaṛī*, the Tathāgata, &c., lasted forty-two thousand Æons, and likewise that of the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas and great disciples. It was under the spiritual rule of that Lord that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarva-

¹ Thus Camb. MS.; Burnouf has eighty hundred thousand myriads of koṭis.

² *Ratnadhāmaka*. I am not certain of the correctness of my translation; Burnouf renders it by 'char fait de pierreries.'

³ *Sarvasattvapriyadarsanam*—*adhishṭhānam* *kr̥tvā*; Burnouf has 'en commençant par le B. M. S.'

sattvapriyadarsana applied himself to his difficult course. He wandered twelve thousand years strenuously engaged in contemplation. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years he acquired the Samādhi termed Sarvarûpasandarsana (i. e. the sight or display of all forms). No sooner had he acquired that Samādhi than satisfied, glad, joyful, rejoicing, and delighted he made the following reflection : It is owing to this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law that I have acquired the Samādhi of Sarvarûpasandarsana. Then he made another reflection : Let me do homage to the Lord *Kāndravimala-sūryaprabhâsart* and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. No sooner had he entered upon such a meditation than a great rain of Mandârava and great Mandârava flowers fell from the upper sky. A cloud of *Kālānusārin* sandal was formed, and a rain of *Uragasāra* sandal poured down. And the nature of those essences was so noble that one karsha of it was worth the whole Saha-world.

After a while, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana rose from that meditation with memory and full consciousness, and reflected thus : This display of magic power is not likely to honour the Lord and Tathāgata so much as the sacrifice of my own body will do¹. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana instantly began to eat *Agallochum*, *Olibanum*, and the resin of *Boswellia Thurifera*, and to drink oil of *Kampaka*². So, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*,

¹ In the story of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana it is easy to recognise a Buddhist version of the myth of the Phoenix.

² In the Old English poem of the Phoenix, verse 192, we read that

the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana passed twelve years in always and constantly eating those fragrant substances and drinking oil of *Kam-paka*. After the expiration of those twelve years the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana wrapped his body in divine garments, bathed¹ it in oil, made his (last) vow, and thereafter burnt his own body with the object to pay worship to the Tathāgata and this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, eighty worlds² equal to the sands of the river Ganges were brightened by the glare of the flames from the blazing body of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, and the eighty³ Lords Buddhas⁴ equal to the sands of the Ganges in those worlds all shouted their applause, (and exclaimed): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that is the real heroism which the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas should develop; that is the real worship of the Tathāgata, the real worship of the law. No worshipping with flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners; no worshipping with material gifts or with *Uragasāra* sandal equals it. This, young man of good family,

the noble bird collects the sweetest herbs, blossoms, and perfumes; similarly verse 652. He feeds upon mildew, verse 260.

¹ The Phoenix bathes twelve times in the well before the sun's arrival, and as many times sips the cool water.

² According to the reading of the Camb. MS., *aśītir Gaṅgā°*; Burnouf has 'sables de 80 Ganges,' which seems preferable.

³ Here the same remark as in the preceding note.

⁴ In the Old English poem, verse 355 seq., we read that hosts of birds flock together from all points of space 'to celebrate in song the hero and saint.' Further on, verse 590, the birds are identified with the released souls accompanying Christ.

is the sublimest gift, higher than the abandoning of royalty, the abandoning of beloved children and wife. Sacrificing one's own body, young man of good family, is the most distinguished, the chiefest, the best, the very best, the most sublime worship of the law. After pronouncing this speech, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, those Lords Buddhas were silent.

The body of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana continued blazing for twelve thousand years without ceasing to burn. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years the fire was extinguished. Then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, having paid such worship to the Tathāgata, disappeared from that place, and (re)appeared under the (spiritual) reign of that very Lord Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsarī, the Tathāgata, &c., in the house of king Vimaladatta, by apparitional birth, and sitting cross-legged. Immediately after his appearance the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed his father and mother in the following stanza :

1. This, O exalted king, is the walk in which I have acquired meditation ; I have achieved a heroical feat, fulfilled a great vote by sacrificing my own dear body.

After uttering this stanza, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana said to his father and mother : Even now, father and mother, the Lord Kandravimalasūryaprabhāsarī, the Tathāgata, &c., is still living, existing, staying in the world, the Lord by worshipping whom I have obtained the spell of

knowing all sounds¹ and this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, consisting of eighty hundred thousand myriads of *ketis* of stanzas, of a hundred Niyutas², of Vivaras³, of a hundred Vivaras, which I have heard from that Lord. Therefore, father and mother, I should like to go to that Lord and worship him again. Instantaneously, Nakshatrârâgasâṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana rose seven *tâlas*⁴ high into the sky and sat cross-legged on the top of a tower of seven precious substances. So he went up to the presence of that Lord, and having approached him humbly saluted him, circumambulated him seven times from left to right, stretched the joined hands towards the Lord, and after thus paying his homage addressed him with the following stanza :

2. O thou whose face is so spotless and bright ; thou, king and sage ! How thy lustre sparkles in all quarters ! After having anciently paid thee homage, O Sugata, I now come again to behold thee, O Lord.

Having pronounced this stanza, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana said to the

¹ This comes rather unexpected ; of the Phœnix in the Old English poem, verse 131, we read that 'the sound of the bird's song is sweeter and more beautiful than all other singer-craft, and more delicious than any other tune.'

² Equal to a thousand billions. The cyphers being noughts, the whole number = 1. Eighty is the number of intermediate kalpas in one Mahâkalpa or Great Æon, i. e. one day and night. The turn (paryâya) of the True Law is the regular revolution of the sun.

³ Equal to a hundred thousand billions. As cyphers must be left out of account, all the numbers specified come to one.

⁴ The height of a palm-tree, or a span.

Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī*, the Tathāgata, &c. : Thou art then still alive, Lord ? Whereon the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī*, the Tathāgata, &c., replied : The time of my final extinction, young man of good family, has arrived ; the time of my death has arrived. Therefore, young man of good family, prepare my couch ; I am going to enter complete extinction. Then, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī* said to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* : I entrust to thee, young man of good family, my commandment (or mastership, rule) ; I entrust to thee these *Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas*, these great disciples, this Buddha-enlightenment, this world, these jewel cars, these jewel trees, and these angels, my servitors. I entrust to thee also, young man of good family, my relics after my complete extinction. Thou shouldst pay a great worship to my relics, young man of good family, and also distribute them and build many thousands of *Stūpas*. And, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, after the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī*, the Tathāgata, &c., had given these instructions to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* he in the last watch of the night entered absolute final extinction¹.

Thereupon, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana*, perceiving that the Lord *Kāndravimalasūryaprabhāsaśrī*, the Tathāgata, &c., had expired, made a pyre of *Uragasāra* sandal-wood and burnt the

¹ It is sufficiently clear that the *Nirvāṇa* of this Tathāgata is the end of a day of twenty-four hours, and that *Sarvasattvapriyadarsana* is the new day.

body of the Tathâgata. When he saw that the body was burnt to ashes and the fire extinct, he took the bones¹ and wept, cried and lamented. After having wept, cried and lamented, Nakshatra-râgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana caused to be made eighty-four thousand urns of seven precious substances, deposited in them the bones of the Tathâgata, founded eighty-four thousand Stûpas², reaching in height to the Brahma-world, adorned with a row of umbrellas, and equipped with silk bands and bells. After founding those Stûpas he made the following reflection: I have paid honour to the Tathâgata-relics of the Lord *Kandravimalasûryaprabhâsari*, but I will pay to those relics a yet loftier and most distinguished honour. Then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed that entire assembly of Bodhisattvas, those great disciples, those gods, Nâgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, *Garudās*, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human: Ye all, young men of good family, unani-

¹ In the Phoenix myth it is the bird himself that, after his resurrection, collects the relics; verses 269-272. Both versions come to the same, for the sun of to-day is essentially the same as yesterday's.

² Exactly the same number of monasteries was erected by Asoka, according to the *Dîpavamsa* VI, 96. The king was induced to build so many monasteries because there were eighty-four or, optionally, eighty-four thousand towns in India, a number precisely coinciding with that of the sections of the Law. Notwithstanding the difference in details, it may be assumed that there is some connection between the two tales, especially because Asoka was a namesake of Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, one of his epithets being Priyadarsana.

mously vow to pay worship to the relics of the Lord. Immediately after, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, in presence of those eighty-four thousand Stūpas, burnt his own arm which was marked by the one hundred auspicious signs, and so paid worship to those Stūpas containing the relics of the Tathāgata, during seventy-two thousand years. And while paying worship, he educated countless hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of disciples from that assembly, in consequence whereof all those Bodhisattvas acquired the Samādhi termed Sarvarūpasandarsana.

Then, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, the entire assembly of Bodhisattvas and all great disciples, seeing the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana deprived of a limb, said, with tears in their eyes, weeping, crying, lamenting: The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, our master and instructor, is now deprived of a limb, deprived of one arm. But the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana addressed those Bodhisattvas, great disciples, and angels in the following terms: Do not, young men of good family, weep, cry, lament at the sight of my being deprived of one arm. All the Lords Buddhas who be, exist, live in the endless, limitless worlds in every direction of space, have I taken to witness. Before their face have I pronounced a vow of truth, and by that truth, by that word of truth shall I, after the sacrifice of my own arm in honour of the Tathāgata, have a body of gold colour. By this truth, by this word of truth let this arm of mine become such as it was before, and let the great earth shake in six

different ways, and let the angels in the sky pour down a rain of flowers. No sooner, Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā, had the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana made that vow of truth, than the whole triple macrocosm was shaken in six different ways, and from the sky aloft fell a great rain of flowers. The arm of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana became again as it was before, and that by the power of knowledge and by the power of pious merit belonging to that Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. Perhaps, Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and think) that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana at that time, and that epoch, was another. But do not think so; for the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaishagyarâga here was at that time, and that epoch, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana. So many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of difficult things, Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, and sacrifices¹ of his body does this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana accomplish. Now, Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā, the young man or young lady of good family striving in the Bodhisattva vehicle towards the goal and longing for supreme, perfect enlightenment, who at the Tathâgata-shrines shall burn a great toe, a finger, a toe, or a whole limb, such a young man or young lady of good family, I assure thee, shall produce far more² pious merit, far more than results from giving up a king-

¹ Âtmabhâvaparityâgâms ka. The Phoenix in the poem, verse 364 seq., repeatedly, every thousand years, dies in the flames to arise anew from his ashes, and to be reborn.

² Bahutaram khalv api.

dom, sons, daughters, and wives, the whole triple world with its woods, oceans, mountains, springs, streams, tanks, wells, and gardens. And, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the young man or young lady of good family, striving in the Bodhisattva-vehicle for the goal, who after filling with the seven precious substances this whole triple world should give it in alms to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, that young man or young lady of good family, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, does not produce so much pious merit as a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, were it but a single verse from this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. I positively declare that the accumulation of merit of the latter is greater than if a person, after filling the whole triple world with the seven precious substances, bestows it in alms on all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, or Pratyekabuddhas.

Just as the great ocean, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, surpasses all springs, streams, and tanks, so, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses all Sûtras spoken by the Tathâgata¹. Just as the Sumeru, the king of mountains, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, all elevations at the cardinal points², horizon circles and great horizons³, so,

¹ Or, the Tathâgatas. The same alternative in the sequel. All Sûtras in the world have their source in the Tathâgata, of course ; just as all Vedas, Itihâsas, &c. are the breathing out, the uttering of the sentient principle, the âtman ; Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa XIV, 5, 4, 10.

² Kâlaparvata, literally, 'time mountain,' because the points of rising and setting are called parvata, giri, &c., mountain in Sanskrit.

³ The whole horizon is also an apparent elevation and therefore likewise called parvata, &c.

Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses as a king all the Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. As the moon, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, as a luminary, takes the first rank amongst the whole of the asterisms, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law ranks first amongst all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata, though it surpasses hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of moons. As the orb of the sun, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, dispels gloomy darkness, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law dispels all the gloomy darkness of unholy works. As Indra, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, is the chief of the gods of paradise, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is the chief of Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. As Brahma Sahāmpati, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, is the king of all Brahmakāyika gods and exercises the function of a father in the Brahma world, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law exercises the function of a father to all beings, whether under training or past it, to all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and those who in the Bodhisattva-vehicle are striving for the goal. As the Srotaāpanna, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, as well as the Sakrīdāgāmin, Anāgāmin, Arhat¹, and Pratyekabuddha, excels the ignorant people and the profanum vulgus, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitā-

¹ Terms denoting the four degrees of sanctification, answering to the Prathamakalpika, Madhubhūmika, Pragñāgyotis, and Atikrāntabhāvanīya in the Yoga system ; Yogasāstra III, 50, commentary.

bhigñā, the Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law must be held to excel and surpass all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata; and such as shall keep this king of Sūtras, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, must be held to surpass others (who do not). As a Bodhisattva is accounted superior to all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law is accounted superior to all Sūtrāntas spoken by the Tathāgata. Even as the Tathāgata is the crowned king of the law¹ of all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, so, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya is a Tathāgata in respect to those who in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas are striving to reach the goal. This Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains. It is like a tank for the thirsty, like a fire for those who suffer from cold, like a garment for the naked, like the caravan leader for the merchants, like a mother for her children, like a boat for those who ferry over, like a leech for the sick, like a lamp for those who are wrapt in darkness, like a jewel for those who want wealth, like the ocean for the rivers, like a torch for the dispelling of darkness. So, Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā, this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law delivers from all evils, extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl². And he who shall hear this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True

¹ Dharmarāgaḥ paṭṭabaddhaḥ, i. e. properly the legitimate crowned king.

² In other words, this Dharmaparyāya is Death or Nirvāṇa.

Law, who shall write it and cause it to be written, will produce an accumulation of pious merit the term of which is not to be arrived at even by Buddha-knowledge; so great is the accumulation of pious merit that will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who after teaching or learning it, writing it or having it collected into a volume, shall honour, respect, venerate, worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with music, with joining of hands, with lamps burning with ghee, scented oil, *Kampaka* oil, jasmine oil, trumpet-flower oil, *Vârshikâ* oil or double jasmine oil.

Great will be the pious merit, *Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā*, to be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady striving to reach the goal in the *Bodhisattva*-vehicle, who shall keep this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of *Bhaishagyarâga*, who shall read and learn it. And, *Nakshatrarâga*, should a female, after hearing this *Dharmaparyâya*, grasp and keep it, then this existence will be her last existence as a woman. Any female, *Nakshatrarâgasāṅkusumitâbhigñā*, who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of *Bhaishagyarâga*, will after disappearing from earth be (re)born in the world *Sukhâvatī*, where the Lord *Amitâyus*¹, the *Tathâgata*, &c., dwells, exists, lives surrounded by a host of *Bodhisattvas*. There will he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no

¹ Another name of *Amitâbha*.

envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him. With his birth he will also receive the five transcendent faculties, as well as the acquiescence in the eternal law, and, once in possession thereof, Nakshatrarâga-saṅkusumitâbhigñā, he as a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva will see Tathāgatas equal to the sands of seventy-two rivers Ganges¹. So perfect will be his organ of sight that by means thereof he shall see those Lords Buddhas, which Lords Buddhas will applaud him (and say): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that after hearing this Dharma-paryāya of the Lotus of the True Law which has been promulgated by the spiritual proclamation of the Lord Sākyamuni, the Tathāgata, &c., thou hast studied, meditated, examined, minded it, and expounded it to other beings, other persons. This accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family, cannot be burnt by fire, nor swept away by water. Even a thousand Buddhas would not be able to determine this accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family. Thou hast subdued the opposition of the Evil One, young man of good family. Thou, young man of good family, hast victoriously emerged² from the battle of mundane existence, hast crushed the enemies annoying thee³. Thou, young man of good family, hast been superintended by thousands of Buddhas; thine equal, young man of good family, is not to be found in the world, including the gods⁴, with the only exception of the

¹ Or, to seventy-two times the sands of the river Ganges.

² Uttirṇabhavaśaṅgrāma.

³ Marditasatrukaṇṭhaka (sic; cf. Pāli kaṇṭhaka).

⁴ In the margin are added the words, also found in Burnouf's translation, 'including Māras, Brahmans, and ascetics.'

Tathâgata; there is no other, be he disciple, Pratyekabuddha, or Bodhisattva, able to surpass thee in pious merit, knowledge, wisdom or meditation. Such a power of knowledge, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, will be acquired by that Bodhisattva.

Any one, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, who on hearing this chapter of the ancient devotion of Bhaishagyarâga approves it, will emit from his mouth a breath sweet as of the lotus, and from his limbs a fragrance as of sandal-wood. Such temporal advantages as I have just now indicated will belong to him who approves this Dharmaparyâya. On that account then, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, I transmit to thee this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, that at the end of time, the last period, in the latter half of the millennium it may have course here in Gambudvīpa and not be lost; that neither Māra the Fiend, nor the celestial beings called Māra-kāyikas, Nāgas, goblins, imps may find the opportunity of hurting it. Therefore, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, I bequeath this Dharmaparyâya; it is to be like a medicament for sick and suffering creatures in Gambudvīpa. No sickness shall overpower him who has heard this Dharmaparyâya, no decrepitude, no untimely death. Whenever a person striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas happens to see such a monk as keeps this Sûtrānta, then he should strew him with sandal-powder and blue lotuses, and reflect thus: This young man of good family is going to reach the terrace of enlightenment; he will spread the bundle

of grass¹ on the terrace of enlightenment; he will put to flight the party of Mâra, blow the conch trumpet of the law, beat the drum of the law, cross the ocean of existence. Thus, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, should a young man of good family, striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattva, reflect when seeing a monk who keeps this Sûtra, and he will acquire such advantages as have been indicated by the Tathâgata.

While this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyarâga was being expounded, eighty-four thousand Bodhisattvas attained the spell connected with skill in all sounds. And the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., intimated his approval (by saying): Well done, well done, Nakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā; thou hast done well in thus questioning the Tathâgata, who is endowed with such inconceivable qualities and properties.

¹ This is an allusion to the bundles of grass the Bodhisattva received from Svastika, the grass-cutter, when he was on his way to occupy his seat at the foot of the Bo tree; see *Lalita-vistara*, p. 357; *Gâtaka* I, p. 70 (English translation by Professor Rhys Davids, p. 95).

CHAPTER XXIII.

GADGADASVARA.

At that moment the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., darted a flash of light from the circle of hair between his eyebrows, one of the characteristic signs of a great man, by which flash of light hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, equal to the sands of eighteen rivers Ganges, became illuminated. Beyond those Buddha-fields, equal, &c., is the world called Vairokanarasmipratimandita (i.e. embellished by the rays of the sun). There dwells, lives, exists the Tathâgata named Kamaladala-vimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, who, surrounded and attended by a large and immense assembly of Bodhisattvas, preached the law. Immediately the ray of light flashing from the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., filled the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita with a great lustre. In that world Vairokanarasmipratimandita there was a Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Gadgadasvara, who had planted roots of goodness, who had before seen similar luminous flashes emitted by many Tathâgatas, &c., and who had acquired many Samâdhis, such as the Samâdhi Dhvagâgrakeyûra (i.e. bracelet at the upper end of the banner staff), Saddharma-pundarîka (i.e. the Lotus of the True Law), Vimaladatta (i.e. given by Vimala), Nakshatrarâgavikrîdita (i.e. sport of the

king of asterisms, the moon god), Anilambha¹, *Gñānamudrā* (i.e. the seal of science), *Kandrapradīpa* (i.e. moon-light²), *Sarvarutakausalya* (i.e. skill in all sounds), *Sarvapūnyasamukhaya* (i.e. compendium or collection of all piety), *Prasādavati* (i.e. the favourably-disposed lady), *Riddhivikrīḍita* (i.e. sport of magic), *Gñānolkā* (i.e. torch of knowledge), *Vyūharāga* (i.e. king of expansions or speculations), *Vimalaprabhā* (i.e. spotless lustre), *Vimalagarbha* (i.e. of spotless interior part), *Apkrītsna*³, *Sūryāvarta* (i.e. sun-turn); in short, he had acquired many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of *Samādhis* equal to the sands of the river Ganges. Now, the flash of light came down upon that *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara*. Then the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara* rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee on the ground, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord Buddha, and said to the *Tathāgata Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*: O Lord, I would resort to the Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon the Lord *Sākyamuni*, the *Tathāgata*, &c.; to see and salute *Mañgusri*, the prince royal; to see the *Bodhisattvas Bhaishagyarāga*, *Pradānasūtra*, *Nakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, *Viśiṣṭakāritra*, *Vyūharāga*, *Bhaishagyarāgasamudgata*.

Then the Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarāgasāṅkusumitābhigñā*, the *Tathāgata*, &c., said to the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara*: On coming to the Saha-world, young man of good family, thou

¹ Of uncertain meaning.

² Burnouf has read *Kandraprabha*, moon-bright.

³ I.e. belonging to the mystic rite, called *Āpokasīna* in Pāli; for which I refer to Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 252 seq.

must not conceive a low opinion of it. That world, young man of good family, has ups and downs, consists of earth, is replete with mountains of Kâla, filled with gutters¹. The Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., is short of stature², and so are the Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, whereas thou, young man of good family, hast got a body forty-two hundred thousand yoganas³ high, and myself have got a body sixty-eight hundred thousand yoganas high. And, young man of good family, thou art lovely, handsome, of pleasant appearance, endowed with a full bloom of extremely fine colour, and abundantly blest with hundred thousands of holy signs. Therefore then, young man of good family, when you have come to the Saha-world, do not conceive a low opinion of the Tathâgata, nor of the Bodhisattvas, nor of that Buddha-field.

Thus addressed, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara said to the Lord Kamaladalâvimalana-kshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c. : I shall do, Lord, as the Lord commands ; I shall go to that Saha-world by virtue of the Lord's resolution, of the Lord's power, of the Lord's might, of the Lord's disposal, of the Lord's foresight. Whereon the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, without leaving that Buddha-field and without leaving his

¹ Gûthodîlla or gûthodîgalla ; according to Burnouf the word means 'ordures ;' cf. above, p. 142, and Pâli oligalla.

² Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 364 : 'Buddha is sometimes said to be twelve cubits in height, and sometimes eighteen cubits.'

³ That is considerably more than Râhu, the eclipse, was possessed of, his body being no more than forty-eight hundred yoganas high ; Spence Hardy, l.c.

seat, plunged into so deep a meditation that immediately after, on a sudden, there appeared before the Tathâgata on the *Grîdhrakûta*-mountains in the Saha-world eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and *Butea Frondosa*.

On seeing the appearance of this mass of lotuses the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Mañgusrî, the prince royal, asked the Lord Sâkyamunî, the Tathâgata, &c.: By what cause and by whom, O Lord, have been produced these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and *Butea Frondosa*? Whereon the Lord replied to Mañgusrî, the prince royal: It is, Mañgusrî, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, who accompanied and attended by eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotîs of Bodhisattvas arrives from the east, from the world *Vairokanarasmipratimandîta*, the Buddha-field of the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrârâ-gasaṅkusumitâbhigñâ, the Tathâgata, &c., at this Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon me, and to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then Mañgusrî, the prince royal, said to the Lord: What mass of roots of goodness, O Lord, has that young man of good family collected, that he has deserved to obtain such a distinction? And what meditation is it, O Lord, that the Bodhisattva practises? Let us also learn that meditation, O Lord, and practise that meditation. And let us see that Bodhisattva, Lord; see how the colour, outward shape, character, figure, and behaviour of that Bodhisattva is. May the Lord deign to produce such a

token that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct: Produce such a token, Lord, that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world. And the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct, instantly produced a token in order to admonish the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara (and said): Come, young man of good family, to this Saha-world; Mañgusri, the prince royal, will hail thy coming. And the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara, after humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c., and after three times circumambulating him from left to right, vanished from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, along with eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Bodhisattvas who surrounded and followed him, and arrived at this Saha-world, among a stir of Buddha-fields, a rain of lotuses, a noise of hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of musical instruments. His face showed eyes resembling blue lotuses, his body was gold-coloured, his person marked by a hundred thousand of holy signs; he sparkled with lustre, glowed with radiance, had limbs marked by the characteristic signs, and a body compact as Nârâyana's. Mounted on a tower made of seven precious substances, he moved through the sky to a height of seven Tâlas¹, surrounded by a host of Bodhi-

¹ Or spans. There are seven regions of winds. Vâyu, the god of wind or air, is nearly akin to Indra and Vishṇu.

sattvas, in the direction of this Saha-world, and approached the *Grīdhrakûṭa*, the king of mountains. At his arrival, he alighted from the tower, and went, with a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousands, to the place where the Lord was sitting. After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord, and circum-ambulating him seven times from left to right, he offered him the necklace of pearls in token of homage, whereafter he said to the Lord: The Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., inquires after the Lord's health, welfare, and sprightliness; whether he feels free from affliction and at ease. That Lord has also charged me to ask: Is there something thou hast to suffer or allow¹? the humours of the body are not in an unfavourable state? thy creatures are decent in manners, tractable, and easy to be healed? their bodies are clean? They are not too passionate, I hope, not too irascible, not too unwise in their doings? They are not jealous, Lord, not envious, not ungrateful to their father and mother, not impious, not heterodox, not unsubdued in mind, not unrestrained in sexual desires? Are the creatures able to resist the Evil One? Has the Lord *Prabhûtaratna*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., who is completely extinct, come to the Saha-world in order to hear the law, sitting in the centre of a *Stûpa* made of seven precious substances? And as to that, Lord *Prabhûtaratna*, the *Tathâgata*, &c., the Lord *Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, inquires: Is there some-

¹ *Yâpanîya*; it is a usual medical term applied to diseases which can be alleviated to a certain extent by means of palliatives, but can no longer be cured. It is manifest from the sequel that here also the term is derived from medical practice.

thing that the Lord Prabhûtaratna, &c., has to suffer or allow? Is the Lord Prabhûtaratna, &c., to stay long? We also, O Lord, are desirous of seeing the rudimentary frame¹ of that Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c. May the Lord therefore please to show us the rudimentary frame of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who was completely extinct: Lord, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara here wishes to see the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., who is completely extinct. Whereon the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara in this strain: Well done, well done, young gentleman, that thou hast come hither in the desire to see the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; to hear this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and see Mañgusri, the prince royal.

Subsequently the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri said to the Lord: What root of goodness has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara formerly planted? And in presence of which Tathâgata? And the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., said to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri: In the days of yore, young man of good family, at a past period² there appeared in the world a Tathâgata called Meghadundubhisvararâga (i.e. the king of the drum-sound of the clouds), perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, &c., in

¹ Dhâtuvigraha, the frame of the elementary parts, of the bone relics.

² In the margin is added the common phrase, 'at a time more incalculable than incalculable Æons.'

the world Sarvabuddhasandarsana (i. e. sight or display of all Buddhas), in the Æon Priyadarsana. To that Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara paid homage by making resound hundred thousands of musical instruments during twelve thousand years. He presented to him also eighty-four thousand vessels of seven precious substances. Under the preaching¹ of the Tathâgata Meghadundubhisvararâga, young man of good family, has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara obtained such a beauty as he now displays. Perhaps, young man of good family, thou hast some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and thinkest) that at that time, that epoch, there was another Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Gadgadasvara, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga, the Tathâgata, and presented him the eighty-four thousand vessels. But, young man of good family, do not think so. For it was the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, young man of good family, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararâga, the Tathâgata, and presented to him the eighty-four thousand vessels. So, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara has waited upon many Buddhas, has planted good roots under many Buddhas, and prepared the soil under each of them. And this Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara had previously seen Lords Buddhas similar to the sands of the river Ganges. Dost thou see, Padmasrî, how the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara now looks? Padmasrî replied : I do, Lord ; I do, Sugata. The Lord said : Now, Padmasrî, this Bodhisattva

¹ Pravaṇane.

Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under many shapes he assumes ; sometimes¹ under the shape of Brahma, sometimes under that of Indra, sometimes under that of Siva, sometimes under that of Kubera, sometimes under that of a sovereign, sometimes under that of a duke, sometimes under that of a chief merchant, sometimes under that of a citizen, sometimes under that of a villager, sometimes under that of a Brāhman². Sometimes again the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under a monk's shape, sometimes under a nun's, sometimes under a male lay devotee's, sometimes under a female lay devotee's, sometimes under that of a chief merchant's wife, sometimes under that of a citizen's wife, sometimes under a boy's, sometimes under a girl's shape. With so many variations in the manner to show himself³, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. He has even assumed the shape of a goblin to preach this Dharmaparyāya to such as were to be converted by a goblin. To some he has preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law under the shape of a demon, to some under a Garuḍa's, to some under a Kinnara's, to some under a great serpent's shape. Even to the beings in any of the wretched

¹ Or somewhere.

² From this one may infer that Gadgadasvara, i.e. he who has an interrupted sound, is Vāyu, πνεῦμα, inspiration personified. Materially, though not mythologically, Wind is identical with Rudra, Storm.

³ Iyadbhī rūpasandarsaneryāpathaiḥ.

states, in the hells, the brute creation, Yama's realm, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara is a supporter. Even to the creatures in the gynæceums of this Saha-world has the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara, after metamorphosing himself into a woman, preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law. Verily, Padmasrī, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara is the supporter of the creatures living in this Saha-world¹. Under so many shapes, assumed at will, has the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara preached this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. Yet, there is no diminution of wisdom, nor diminution of magic power in that good man². So many, young man of good family, are the manifestations of knowledge by which this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara has made himself known in this Saha-world. In other worlds also, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, he preaches the law, under the shape of a Bodhisattva to such as must be converted by a Bodhisattva; under the shape of a disciple to such as must be converted by a disciple; under the shape of a Pratyekabuddha to such as must be con-

¹ Vāyu, prāṇa, breath of life, is the supporter of creatures.

² Satpurusha; the real meaning is 'the existing spirit;' air, breath, life, which shows itself in a diversity of forms. That living breath is not only the supporter of creatures, but also a constant admonisher of the transitoriness of life, who addresses his call to young and old, sages and fools, &c. The important mystic rite of inspiration and expiration is described by Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 267; no less value is attached to prāṇāyāma in the Yoga system and in Indian mysticism in general; see e.g. *Yoga-sāstra* II, 49-51; *Sarvadarsana-Saṅgraha*, p. 175; the term prāṇāyāma not only denotes stopping of the breath, as the Dictionaries explain it, but also the regulation and measuring of the breath.

verted by a Pratyekabuddha ; under the shape of a Tathâgata to such as must be converted by a Tathâgata. Nay, he will show to those who must be converted by a relic of the Tathâgata himself such a relic, and to those who must be converted by complete extinction he will show himself completely extinct¹. Such is the powerful knowledge, Padmasrî, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva is possessed of.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasrî said to the Lord : The Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara then has planted good roots, Lord. What meditation is it, Lord, whereby the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, with unshaken firmness, has converted (or educated) so many creatures ? Whereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., replied to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasrî : It is, young man of good family, the meditation termed Sarvarûpasandarsana. By steadiness in it has the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara so immensely promoted the weal of creatures.

While this chapter of Gadgadasvara was being expounded², all the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of koûis of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who, along with the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, had come to the Saha-world, obtained the

¹ Gadgadasvara, being both inspiration and expiration, appears under the form of a dead corpse, and thereby converts fickle and thoughtless men.

² It need not be observed that the chapter was not expounded, the Buddha being one of the dramatis personæ, one of the interlocutors, but not the narrator. This confusion between epical and dramatical exposition is one of the most striking features of the Lotus. The Saddharma, the law of nature, may be said to have been expounded by the Tathâgata, not, however, the composition which bears that title.

meditation Sarvarûpasandarsana, and as to the number of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas of this Saha-world obtaining the meditation Sarvarûpasandarsana, it was beyond calculation.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Gadgadasvara, after having paid great and ample worship to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., and at the Stûpa of relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., again mounted the tower made of seven precious substances, among the stir of the fields, the rain of lotuses, the noise of hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of musical instruments¹, and with the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhisattvas surrounding and following him, returned to his own Buddha-field. At his arrival there he said to the Lord Kamaladalavimalanakshatrarâgasaṅku-sumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.: O Lord, I have in the Saha-world promoted the weal of creatures; I have seen and saluted the Stûpa of relics of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c.; I have seen and saluted the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c.; I have seen Mañgusri, the prince royal, as well as the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyarâga, who is possessed of mighty knowledge and impetuosity², and the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Pradânasûtra; and these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of Bodhi-

¹ After a last effort the storm subsides.

² This quality stamps Bhaishagyarâga as Rudra; cf. Rig-veda II, 33, 7. He is essentially the same with Dhanvantari the physician, Arcitenens Apollo. He is, moreover, the same with Gadgadasvara, who is represented as breath of life. About the system of splitting up one natural phenomenon or abstraction into more beings, see p. 4, note.

sattvas Mahāsattvas have all obtained the meditation termed Sarvarūpasandarsana.

And while this relation of the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara was being delivered, forty-two thousand Bodhisattvas acquired the faculty of acquiescence in future things, and the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Padmasrī acquired the meditation called the Lotus of the True Law.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHAPTER CALLED THAT OF THE ALL-SIDED ONE, CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF AVALOKITEŚVARA¹.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and said: For what reason, O Lord, is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara called Avalokiteśvara? So he asked, and the Lord answered to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati: All the hundred thousands of myriads of *koṭis* of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, be released from that mass of troubles. Those who shall keep the name of this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, young man of good family, will, if they fall into a great mass of fire, be delivered therefrom by virtue of the lustre of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva. In case, young man of good family, creatures, carried off by the current of rivers, should implore the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, all rivers will afford them a ford. In case, young man of good family, many hundred thousand myriads of *koṭis* of creatures, sailing in a ship on the ocean,

¹ A translation of this chapter from the Chinese has been published by Rev. S. Beal in his *Catena*, pp. 389-396.

should see their bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, stones (?), corals, emeralds, Musâragalvas, read pearls (?), and other goods lost, and the ship by a vehement, untimely gale cast on the island of Giantesses¹, and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokitesvara, all will be saved from that island of Giantesses. For that reason, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara is named Avalokitesvara².

If a man given up to capital punishment³ implores Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder⁴. Further, young man of good family, if the whole triple chiliocosm were teeming with goblins and giants, they would by virtue of the name of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara being pronounced lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs⁵. If some creature, young man of good

¹ In the *Kâranda-vyûha*, a work entirely devoted to the glorification of Avalokitesvara and his sublime achievements, the isle of the Giantesses is identified with Ceylon; see pp. 45 and 53 of that work (Calcutta edition), and the extract given by Burnouf, Introduction, pp. 221-227.

² Avalokita means 'beheld;' it is as such synonymous with *drishya*, seen, visible, and *pratyaksha*, visible, manifest, present. The Bodhisattva is everywhere present, and therefore implored in need and danger. If we take *avalokita* as a substantive in the neuter gender, the compound will mean 'the Lord of view, of regard,' with which one may compare Siva's epithet *Drishyaguru*, the Master of view.

³ *Vadhyotsishya*; I do not feel certain of the rendering of *ukâkîshya*; perhaps we should translate it by 'a reprobate condemned to capital punishment.'

⁴ *Vadhyaghâtakânâm tâni sastrâni* (sic) *visiryeyuh*.

⁵ It is well known that those children of darkness are unable to stand the sun's light.

family, shall be bound in wooden or iron manacles, chains or fetters, be he guilty or innocent, then those manacles, chains or fetters shall give way as soon as the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara is pronounced. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. If this whole triple chilocosm, young man of good family, were teeming with knaves, enemies, and robbers armed with swords, and if a merchant leader of a caravan marched with a caravan rich in jewels; if then they perceived those robbers, knaves, and enemies armed with swords, and in their anxiety and fright thought themselves helpless; if, further, that leading merchant spoke to the caravan in this strain: Be not afraid, young gentlemen, be not frightened; invoke, all of you, with one voice the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, the giver of safety; then you shall be delivered from this danger by which you are threatened at the hands of robbers and enemies; if then the whole caravan with one voice invoked Avalokitesvara with the words: Adoration, adoration be to the giver of safety, to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva Mahāsattva! then, by the mere act of pronouncing that name, the caravan would be released from all danger. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. In case creatures act under the impulse of impure passion, young man of good family, they will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from passion. Those who act under the impulse of hatred will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from hatred. Those who act under the impulse of

infatuation will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from infatuation. So mighty, young man of good family, is the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara. If a woman, desirous of male offspring, young man of good family, adores the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, she shall get a son, nice, handsome, and beautiful; one possessed of the characteristics of a male child, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots¹. If a woman is desirous of getting a daughter, a nice, handsome, beautiful girl shall be born to her; one possessed of the (good) characteristics of a girl², generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara.

Those who adore the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara will derive from it an unfailing profit. Suppose, young man of good family, (on one hand) some one adoring the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishing his name; (on the other hand) another adoring a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges³, cherishing their names and worshipping so many Lords Buddhas during their stay, existence, and life, by giving robes, alms-bowls, couches, medicaments for the sick; how great is then in thine opinion, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it? So asked,

¹ We should rather say: in whom a good natural disposition is implanted.

² In the margin added *paramayâ subhavarṇapushkalatayâ*, (and) of an egregiously blooming complexion.

³ *Dvâshash/înâm Gaṅgâ°*.

the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : Great, O Lord, great, O Sugata, is the pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it. The Lord proceeded : Now, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit produced by that young gentleman paying homage to so many Lords Buddhas, and the accumulation of pious merit produced by him who performs were it but a single act of adoration to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, are equal. He who adores a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges and cherishes their names, and he who adores the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, have an equal accumulation of pious merit¹; both masses of pious merit are not easy to be destroyed even in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons. So immense, young man of good family, is the pious merit resulting from cherishing the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara.

Again the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : How, O Lord, is it that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara frequents this Saha-world? And how does he preach the law? And which is the range of the skilfulness of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara? So asked, the Lord replied to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati : In some worlds, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara preaches the law to creatures in the shape of a Buddha ;

¹ Burnouf has followed a text of greater length.

in others he does so in the shape of a Bodhi-sattva. To some beings he shows the law in the shape of a Pratyekabuddha; to others he does so in the shape of a disciple; to others again under that of Brahma, Indra, or a Gandharva. To those who are to be converted by a goblin, he preaches the law assuming the shape of a goblin; to those who are to be converted by Īsvara, he preaches the law in the shape of Īsvara; to those who are to be converted by Mahesvara, he preaches assuming the shape of Mahesvara. To those who are to be converted by a *Kakravartin*¹, he shows the law after assuming the shape of a *Kakravartin*; to those who are to be converted by an imp, he shows the law under the shape of an imp; to those who are to be converted by Kubera, he shows the law by appearing in the shape of Kubera; to those who are to be converted by Senâpati², he preaches in the shape of Senâpati; to those who are to be converted by assuming a Brâhman³, he preaches in the shape of a Brâhman; to those who are to be converted by Vagrapâni⁴, he preaches in the shape of Vagrapâni⁵. With such inconceivable qualities, young man of good family, is the Bodhi-

¹ This term is ambiguous; it means both 'the mover of the wheel,' i.e. Vishṇu, and 'an emperor.'

² Ambiguous; the word denotes both 'the commander-in-chief of the army of the gods, Skanda,' and 'a commander-in-chief in general.'

³ The Brâhman may be Brâhaspati.

⁴ Vagrapâni is the name of one of the Dhyânibuddhas, and of certain geniuses, and an epithet of Indra.

⁵ The functions of Avalokitesvara, as it appears from these passages, agree with those of Gadgadasvara mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Both beings have many qualities in common, just as Siva and Vishṇu have.

sattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara endowed¹. Therefore then, young man of good family, honour the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhayandada (i. e. Giver of Safety).

Further, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Lord : Shall we give a gift of piety, a decoration of piety, O Lord, to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara ? The Lord replied : Do so, if thou thinkest it opportune. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati took from his neck a pearl necklace, worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces), and presented it to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara as a decoration of piety, with the words : Receive from me this decoration of piety, good man. But he would not accept it. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati said to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara : Out of compassion to us, young man of good family, accept this pearl necklace. Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara accepted the pearl necklace from the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati, out of compassion to the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Akshayamati and the four classes, and out of compassion to the gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human. Thereafter he divided (the necklace) into two parts, and offered one part to the Lord Śākyamuni, and the other to the jewel Stūpa of the Lord Prabhūtaratna, the Tathāgata, &c., who had become completely extinct.

¹ Burnouf has followed another reading.

With such a faculty of transformation, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara is moving in this Saha-world.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas :

1. *Kītrādhvaga* asked *Akshayamati* the following question : For what reason, son of *Gina*, is *Avalokitesvara* (so) called ¹ ?

2. And *Akshayamati*, that ocean of profound insight, after considering how the matter stood ², spoke to *Kītrādhvaga* : Listen to the conduct of *Avalokitesvara*.

3. Hear from my indication how for numerous, inconceivable *Æons* he has accomplished his vote under many thousand *koṭis* of *Buddhas*.

4. Hearing, seeing, regularly and constantly thinking ³ will infallibly destroy all suffering, (mundane) existence, and grief of living beings here on earth.

5. If one be thrown into a pit of fire, by a wicked enemy with the object of killing him, he has but to think of *Avalokitesvara*, and the fire shall be quenched as if sprinkled with water.

6. If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of *Nāgas*, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of *Avalokitesvara*, and he shall never sink down in the king of waters ⁴.

¹ It will be observed that this poetical version here entirely differs from the preceding prose introduction. As to the name of *Kītrādhvaga*, I have not met with it elsewhere.

² *Tādṛśatā vilokiyā*.

³ Of whom or what? is not expressed. From the sequel one might be tempted to infer that *Avalokitesvara*, or the exposition of his power, is the object of hearing, &c.

⁴ *Smarato* (for *smaratu*), *Avalokitesvaram galarāge na kadāki sīdati*.

7. If a man happens to be hurled down from the brink of the Meru, by some wicked person with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall, sunlike, stand firm in the sky¹.

8. If rocks of thunderstone and thunderbolts are thrown at a man's head to kill him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of the body.

9. If a man be surrounded by a host of enemies armed with swords, who have the intention of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall instantaneously become kind-hearted.

10. If a man, delivered to the power of the executioners, is already standing at the place of execution, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and their swords shall go to pieces.

11. If a person happens to be fettered in shackles of wood or iron, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the bonds shall be speedily loosened.

12. Mighty spells, witchcraft, herbs, ghosts, and spectres, pernicious to life, revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara.

13. If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nāgas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body².

¹ Smarato Avalokitesvaro (r. °ram) sūryabhūtam (r. °to) va nabhe pratish/hati. I have taken the liberty of translating pratish/hati as if the text had pratitish/hati. The version of Beal has 'stand in space, fixed as the sun.'

² Here I have followed the marginal reading, which agrees with Burnouf's. The older text has instead of thirteen and fourteen but one stanza, the translation of which runs thus: 'If, &c., sur-

14. If a man is surrounded by fearful beasts with sharp teeth and claws, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly fly in all directions.

15. If a man is surrounded by snakes malicious and frightful on account of the flames and fires (they emit), he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly lose their poison.

16. If a heavy thunderbolt shoots from a cloud pregnant with lightning and thunder, one has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire of heaven shall quickly, instantaneously be quenched.

17. He (Avalokitesvara) with his powerful knowledge beholds all creatures who are beset with many hundreds of troubles and afflicted by many sorrows, and thereby is a saviour in the world, including the gods.

18. As he is thoroughly practised in the power of magic, and possessed of vast knowledge and skillfulness, he shows himself¹ in all directions and in all regions of the world.

19. Birth, decrepitude, and disease will come to an end for those who are in the wretched states of existence, in hell, in brute creation, in the kingdom of Yama, for all beings (in general²).

[Then Akshayamati in the joy of his heart uttered the following stanzas³:]

20. O thou whose eyes are clear, whose eyes are

rounded by Nâgas, marine monsters, demons, ghosts, or giants he has, &c., and they shall quickly fly in all directions.'

¹ *Drisyate*.

² We have to understand: in consequence of the conduct of the great Avalokitesvara.

³ The words in brackets have been added in the margin by a later hand.

kind, distinguished by wisdom and knowledge, whose eyes are full of pity and benevolence ; thou so lovely by thy beautiful face and beautiful eyes !

21. Pure one, whose shine is spotless bright, whose knowledge is free from darkness, thou shining as the sun, not to be beaten away, radiant as the blaze of fire, thou spreadest in thy flying course thy lustre in the world¹.

22. O thou who rejoicest in kindness having its source in compassion, thou great cloud of good qualities and of benevolent mind², thou quenchest the fire that vexes living beings, thou pourest out nectar, the rain of the law.

23. In quarrel³, dispute, war, battle, in any great danger one has to think of Avalokitesvara, who shall quell the wicked troop of foes.

24. One should think of Avalokitesvara, whose sound is as the cloud's and the drum's, who thunders like a rain-cloud, possesses a good voice like Brahma, (a voice) going through the whole gamut of tones.

25. Think, O think with tranquil mood of Avalokitesvara, that pure being ; he is a protector, a refuge, a recourse in death, disaster, and calamity.

26. He who possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion and benevolence, he, an ocean of virtues, Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesvara, is worthy of adoration.

¹ Aparāhata anilagalaprabhā (voc. case) prapatento gagatī viroḥasi. For anilagala I read analagala (Sansk. analagvala). Cf. Kāraṇḍa-vyūha, p. 43: Athāryāvalokitesvaro gvalad ivāgnipindam ākāse 'ntarhitaḥ.

² Kṛipasambhūtamaitragargitā (voc.) subhagura maitramanā mahāghanā (voc.)

³ Kalahe.

27. He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows¹; I humbly bow to Avalokitesvara.

28. This universal Lord, chief of kings, who is a (rich) mine of monastic virtues, he, universally worshipped, has reached pure, supreme enlightenment, after plying his course (of duty) during many hundreds of Æons.

29. At one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitâbha, whom he is fanning, he, by dint of meditation, like a phantom, in all regions honours the *Gina*.

30. In the west, where the pure world Sukhâkara² is situated, there the Chief Amitâbha, the tamer of men³, has his fixed abode.

31. There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; there the sons of *Gina*, on springing into existence by apparitional birth, are sitting in the undefiled cups of lotuses.

32. And the Chief Amitâbha himself is seated on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the *Sâla*-king⁴.

¹ The present will make room for the future, life will end in death; the living Avalokitesvara will pass into the state of Buddha, al. Dharmarâga, i.e. Death, the great physician.

² I.e. procuring bliss or tranquillity; the more common name is Sukhâvatî. In Greek and Roman mythology we find the *Insulae Fortunatae* and the gardens of the *Hesperidae* lying in the same quarter.

³ From this it appears that Amitâbha or Amitâyus is but another name of Yama, and just as Yama also governs the planet Saturn, it may be held that Amitâbha, as one of the five Dhyâni-Buddhas, among his other offices, is invested with the dignity of being the ruler of Saturn.

⁴ I do not understand the meaning of this compound. In the

33. The Leader of the world, whose store of merit has been praised, has no equal in the triple world. O supreme of men, let us soon become like thee !

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Dharaṇidhara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee against the earth, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord and said : They must be possessed of not a few good roots, O Lord, who are to hear this chapter from the Dharmaparyāya about the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara and this miraculous power of transformation of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokitesvara.

And while this chapter of the All-sided One was being expounded by the Lord, eighty-four thousand living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be compared¹.

next following chapter we shall meet with a Tathāgata named Sālendrarāga, i.e. king of the Sāla-chiefs.

¹ Asamasama ; Burnouf takes it as 'qui est égal à ce qui n'a pas d'égal.' The term also occurs Lalita-vistara, p. 114, l. 9.

CHAPTER XXV.

ANCIENT DEVOTION ¹.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire assemblage of Bodhisattvas: Of yore, young men of good family, at a past epoch, incalculable, more than incalculable Æons ago, at that time there appeared in the world a Tathâgata named *Galadharagargita-ghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, an Arhat, &c., endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the Æon *Priyadarsana*, in the world *Vairokanarasmipratimandita*. Now, there was, young men of good family, under the spiritual rule of the Tathâgata *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā* a king called *Subhavyûha*. That king *Subhavyûha*, young men of good family, had a wife called *Vimaladattâ*, and two sons, one called *Vimalagarbha*, the other *Vimalanetra*. These two boys, who possessed magical power and wisdom², applied themselves to the course of duty of Bodhisattvas, viz. to the perfect virtues (*Pâramitâs*) of almsgiving, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, wisdom, and skilfulness; they were accomplished in benevolence, compassion, joyful sympathy and indifference, and in all the thirty-

¹ *Pûrvayoga*; rather, ancient history; cf. p. 153.

² In the margin sundry epithets have been added, which here are omitted.

seven constituents of true knowledge¹. They had perfectly mastered the meditation Vimala (i.e. spotless), the meditation Nakshatrarâgâditya², the meditation Vimalanirbhâsa, the meditation Vimalâbhâsa, the meditation Alaṅkārasûra³, the meditation Mahâtegarbha⁴. Now at that time, that period the said Lord preached the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law out of compassion for the beings then living and for the king Subhavyûha. Then, young men of good family, the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra went to their mother, to whom they said, after stretching their joined hands : We should like to go, mother, to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasâṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., and that, mother, because the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasâṅkusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., expounds, in great extension, before the world, including the gods, the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. We should like to hear it. Whereupon the queen Vimaladattâ said to the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra : Your father, young gentlemen, the king Subhavyûha, favours the Brah-

¹ Bodhipakshika or Bodhapakshika (dharmâs). They form part of the 108 Dharmâloka-mukhas in *Lalita-vistara*, p. 36, l. 17—p. 38, l. 6; an enumeration of them is found in Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 497.

² Burnouf's reading is Nakshatratârâgâditya, i.e. the Sun, king of stars and asterisms.

³ So Burnouf; my MS. has Alaṅkārasubha, i.e. splendid with ornaments.

⁴ I.e. having great lustre in the interior, or womb of great lustre. Nirmalanirbhâsa may mean both 'spotless radiance' and 'having a spotless radiance'; Vimalâbhâsa, 'spotless shine,' or 'having a spotless shine.'

mans. Therefore you will not obtain the permission to go and see the Tathâgata. Then the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, stretching their joined hands, said to their mother: Though born in a family that adheres to a false doctrine, we feel as sons to the king of the law. Then, young men of good family, the queen Vimaladattâ said to the young princes: Well, young gentlemen, out of compassion for your father, the king Subhavyûha, display some miracle, that he may become favourably inclined to you, and on that account grant you the permission of going to the Lord Galadharagargita-ghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c.

Immediately the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra rose into the atmosphere to a height of seven Tâl trees¹ and performed miracles such as are allowed by the Buddha, out of compassion for their father, the king Subhavyûha. They prepared in the sky a couch and raised dust; there they also emitted from the lower part of their body a shower of rain, and from the upper part a mass of fire; then again they emitted from the upper part of their body a shower of rain, and from the lower part a mass of fire². While in the firmament they became now big, then small; and now small, then big. Then they vanished from the sky to come up again from the earth and reappear in the air. Such, young men of good family, were the miracles produced by the

¹ Or seven spans, whatever may be meant by it.

² A similar miracle was performed by the Buddha, according to the traditions of the Southern Buddhists, when he had to show his superiority to the six heretical doctors; see Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*, vol. i, p. 218.

magical power of the two young princes, whereby their father, the king Subhavyûha, was converted. At the sight of the miracle produced by the magical power of the two young princes, the king Subhavyûha was content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and happy, and, the joined hands raised, he said to the boys : Who is your master, young gentlemen? whose pupils are you? And the two young princes answered the king Subhavyûha : There is, noble king, there exists and lives a Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, a Tathâgata, &c.; seated on the stool of law at the foot of the tree of enlightenment; he extensively reveals the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to the world, including the gods. That Lord is our Master, O noble king; we are his pupils. Then, young gentlemen of good family, the king Subhavyûha said to the young princes: I will see your Master, young gentlemen; I am to go myself to the presence of that Lord.

After the two young princes had descended from the sky, young gentlemen, they went to their mother and with joined hands stretched forward said to her: Mother, we have converted our father to supreme and perfect knowledge; we have performed the office of masters towards him; therefore let us go now; we wish to enter upon the ecclesiastical life in the face of the Lord. And on that occasion, young men of good family, the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra addressed their mother in the following two stanzas:

1. Allow us, O mother, to go forth from home and to embrace the houseless life; ay, we will

become ascetics, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathâgata.

2. As the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, nay, more rare is the *Gina*. Let us depart; we will renounce the world; the favourable moment is precious (or not often to be met with).

Vimaladattâ said :

3. Now I grant you leave; go, my children, I give my consent. I myself will likewise renounce the world, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathâgata.

Having uttered these stanzas, young men of good family, the two young princes said to their parents : Pray, father and mother, you also go together with us to the Lord *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, the Tathâgata, &c., in order to see, humbly salute and wait upon him, and to hear the law. For, father and mother, the appearance of a Buddha is rare to be met with as the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, as the entering of the tortoise's neck into the hole of the yoke formed by the great ocean¹. The appearance of Lords Buddhas, father and mother, is rare. Hence, father and mother, it is a happy lot we have been blessed with, to have been born at the time of such a prophet. Therefore, father and mother, give us leave; we would go and become ascetics in presence² of the Lord *Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā*, the Tathâgata, &c., for the

¹ I am as unable to elucidate this comparison as Burnouf was. Not unlikely the mythological tortoise in its quality of supporter of the earth is alluded to.

² *Sakâse*; Burnouf has 'sous l'enseignement' (*sâsane*), which is the more usual phrase.

seeing of a Tathâgata is something rare. Such a king of the law is rarely met with ; such a favourable occasion¹ is rarely met with.

Now at that juncture, young men of good family, the eighty-four thousand women of the harem of the king Subhavyûha became worthy of being receptacles of this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. The young prince Vimalanetra exercised himself in this Dharmaparyâya, whereas the young prince Vimalagarbha for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practised the meditation Sarvasattva-pâpagahana², with the object that all beings should abandon all evils. And the mother of the two young princes, the queen Vimaladattâ, acknowledged the harmony between all Buddhas and all topics treated by them³. Then, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha, having been converted to the law of the Tathâgata by the instrumentality of the two young princes, having been initiated and brought to full maturity in it, along with all his relations and retinue ; the queen Vimaladattâ with the whole crowd of women in her suite, and the two young princes, the sons of the king Subhavyûha, accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings, along with the women of the harem and the ministers, went all together and unanimously to the Lord Galadharagargitaghasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgatha, &c. On arriving at the place where the Lord was, they humbly saluted his

¹ *Îdrisî kshanasampad*.

² I.e. means whereby (all) evils are abandoned by all creatures.

³ *Sarvabuddhasthânâni* ; in the margin added the word for 'secret.'

feet, circumambulated him three times from left to right and took their stand at some distance.

Then, young men of good family, the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c., perceiving the king Subhavyûha, who had arrived with his retinue, instructed, roused, excited, and comforted him with a sermon. And the king Subhavyûha, young men of good family, after he had been well and duly instructed, roused, excited, and comforted by the sermon of the Lord, was so content, glad, ravished, joyful, rejoiced, and delighted, that he put his diadem on the head of his younger brother and established him in the government, whereafter he himself with his sons, kinsmen, and retinue, as well as the queen Vimaladattâ and her numerous train of women, the two young princes accompanied by forty-two¹ thousand living beings went all together and unanimously forth from home to embrace the houseless life, prompted as they were by their faith in the preaching of the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigña, the Tathâgata, &c. Having become an ascetic, the king Subhavyûha, with his retinue, remained for eighty-four thousand years applying himself to studying, meditating, and thoroughly penetrating this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. At the end of those eighty-four thousand years, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha acquired the meditation termed Sarvagunâlaṅkāravavyûha². No sooner had he ac-

¹ Burnouf has eighty-four, but this must be a faulty reading, because the number of forty-two agrees with that given above.

² I. e. collocation (or disposition) of the ornaments of all good qualities.

quired that meditation, than he rose seven Tâls up to the sky, and while staying in the air, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c.: My two sons, O Lord, are my masters, since it is owing to the miracle produced by their magical power that I have been diverted from that great heap of false doctrines, been established in the command of the Lord, brought to full ripeness in it, introduced to it, and exhorted to see the Lord. They have acted as true friends to me, O Lord, those two young princes who as sons were born in my house, certainly to remind me of my former roots of goodness.

At these words the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., spoke to the king Subhavyûha: It is as thou sayest, noble king. Indeed, noble king, such young men or young ladies of good family as possess roots of goodness, will in any existence, state, descent, rebirth or place¹ easily find true friends, who with them shall perform the task of a master², who shall admonish, introduce, fully prepare them to obtain supreme and perfect enlightenment. It is an exalted position, noble king, the office of a true friend who rouses (another) to see the Tathâgata. Dost thou see these two young princes, noble king? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata, said the king. The Lord

¹ Bhavagatikyutyupapattyâyatanesu. Burnouf must have read bhagavakkyu° or something like it, for he translates: 'qui sont nés dans les lieux où se sont accomplis la naissance et la mort d'un Bienheureux.'

² I. e. of a teacher, sâstrikrityena.

proceeded : Now, these two young gentlemen, noble king, will pay worship to sixty-five (times the number of) Tathâgatas, &c., equal to the sands of the Ganges ; they will keep this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, out of compassion for beings who hold false doctrines, and with the aim to produce in those beings an earnest striving after the right doctrine.

Thereupon, young men of good family, the king Subhavyûha came down from the sky, and, having raised his joined hands, said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c. : Please, Lord, deign to tell me, what knowledge the Tathâgata is possessed of, so that the protuberance on his head is shining ; that the Lord's eyes are so clear ; that between his brows the Ūrṇâ (circle of hair) is shining, resembling in whiteness the moon ; that in his mouth a row of equal and close-standing teeth is glittering ; that the Lord has lips red as the Bimba and such beautiful eyes.

As the king Subhavyûha, young men of good family, had celebrated the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., by enumerating so many good qualities and hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of other good qualities besides, he said to the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c. : It is wonderful, O Lord, how valuable the Tathâgata's teaching is, and with how many inconceivable virtues the religious discipline proclaimed by the Tathâgata is attended ; how beneficial the moral precepts proclaimed by the Tathâgata are. From henceforward, O Lord, we will no

more be slaves to our own mind; no more be slaves to false doctrine; no more slaves to rashness; no more slaves to the sinful thoughts arising in us. Being possessed of so many good qualities, O Lord, I do not wish to go away from the presence of the Lord¹.

After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Galadharagargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., the king rose up to the sky and there stood. Thereupon the king Subhavyûha and the queen Vimaladattâ from the sky, threw a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces) upon the Lord; and that pearl necklace no sooner came down upon the head of the Lord than it assumed the shape of a tower with four columns, regular, well-constructed, and beautiful. On the summit of the tower appeared a couch covered with many hundred thousand pieces of fine cloth, and on the couch was seen the image of a Tathâgata sitting cross-legged. Then the following thought presented itself to the king Subhavyûha: The Buddha-knowledge must be very powerful, and the Tathâgata endowed with inconceivable good qualities that this Tathâgata-image shows itself on the summit of the tower, (an image) so nice, beautiful, possessed of an extreme abundance of good colours. Then the Lord Galadhara-gargitaghoshasusvaranakshatrarâgasankusumitâbhigñā, the Tathâgata, &c., addressed the four classes

¹ Here I have followed Burnouf's reading; the Cambridge MS. has: *ebhir aham Bhagavann iyadbhir akusalair dharmair samanvâ-gato nekkhâmi Bhagavato 'ntikam* (sic) *upasamkramitum*, i.e. being possessed of so many unholy qualities, O Lord, I do (or did) not wish to approach the Lord.

(and asked): Do you see, monks, the king Subhavyûha who, standing in the sky, is emitting a lion's roar? They answered: We do, Lord. The Lord proceeded: This king Subhavyûha, monks, after having become a monk under my rule shall become a Tathâgata in the world, by the name of Sâlendrarâga¹, endowed with science and conduct, &c. &c., in the world Vistîrnavatt; his epoch shall be called Abhyudgatarâga. That Tathâgata Sâlendrarâga, monks, the Arhat, &c., shall have an immense congregation of Bodhisattvas, an immense congregation of disciples. The said world Vistîrnavatt shall be level as the palm of the hand, and consist of lapis lazuli. So he shall be an inconceivably great Tathâgata, &c. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the king Subhavyûha at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Padmasri here present, who at that time, that juncture was the king Subhavyûha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the queen Vimaladattâ at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahâsattva called Vairokanarasmipratimandîtarâga², who at that time, that juncture was the queen Vimaladattâ, and who out of compassion for the king Subhavyûha and the creatures had assumed

¹ Also written Sâlendrarâga. In the Calcutta edition of the *Lalita-vistara*, p. 201, l. 12, he occurs as Sârendrarâga, but Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 33, in a list drawn from the same work, has Sâlendrarâga.

² Burnouf's reading has dhvaga for râga.

the state of being the wife of king Subhavyūha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the two young princes were others. But you must not think so; for it was Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyaṛāgasamudgata, who at that time, that juncture were sons to the king Subhavyūha. With such inconceivable qualities, young men of good family, were the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas Bhaishagyaṛāga and Bhaishagyaṛāgasamudgata endowed, they, the two good men, having planted good roots under many hundred thousand myriads of koṭis of Buddhas. Those that shall cherish the name of these two good men shall all become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods.

While this chapter on Ancient Devotion was being expounded, the spiritual insight of eighty-four thousand living beings in respect to the law was purified so as to become unclouded and spotless.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ENCOURAGEMENT¹ OF SAMANTABHADRA.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra, in the east, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas surpassing all calculation, amid the stirring of fields, a rain of lotuses, the playing of hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of musical instruments, proceeded with the great pomp of a Bodhisattva, the great display of transformations proper to a Bodhisattva, the great magnificence of a Bodhisattva, the great power of a Bodhisattva, the great lustre of a glorious Bodhisattva, the great stately march of a Bodhisattva, the great miraculous display of a Bodhisattva, a great phantasmagorical sight of gods, Nāgas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, who, produced by his magic, surrounded and followed him ; Samantabhadra, then, the Bodhisattva, amid such inconceivable miracles worked by magic, arrived at this Saha-world. He went up to the place of the Lord on the *Grīdhra-kūṭa*, the king of mountains, and on approaching he humbly saluted the Lord's feet, made seven circumambulations from left to right, and said to the Lord : I have come hither, O Lord, from the field of the Lord Ratna-

¹ Utsāhana.

tegobhyudgata, the Tathâgata, &c., as I am aware, Lord, that here in the Saha-world is taught the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, to hear which from the mouth of the Lord Sâkyamuni I have come accompanied by these hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. May the Lord deign to expound, in extension, this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law to these Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas. So addressed, the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : These Bodhisattvas, young man of good family, are, indeed, quick of understanding, but this is the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, that is to say, an un-mixed truth¹. The Bodhisattvas exclaimed : Indeed Lord ; indeed, Sugata. Then in order to confirm, in the Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, the females² among the monks, nuns, and lay devotees assembled at the gathering, the Lord again spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : This Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, young man of good family, shall be entrusted to a female if she be possessed of four requisites, to wit : she shall stand under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas ; she shall have planted good roots³ ; she shall keep steadily to the mass of disci-

¹ *Yad utâsambhinnatathatâ.*

² *Tâsâm.* I am not able to discover the connection between this confirming of the females in the gathering, and the foregoing remark on the character of the Saddharma. The explanation is probably to be sought in the term *asambhinna*, unallayed, un-mixed. The meaning of the passage may be that the *Saddharma-pundarîka*, as a general rule, is fit for males only, but under certain conditions may be entrusted to females also.

³ We would say : she must have a good antecedent behaviour.

plinary regulations ; she shall, in order to save creatures, have the thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment. These are the four requisites, young man of good family, a female must be possessed of, to whom this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law is to be entrusted.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra said to the Lord : At the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, I will protect the monks who keep this Sûtrânta ; I will take care of their safety, avert blows¹, and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for those preachers may surprise them, neither Mâra the Evil One, nor the sons of Mâra, the angels called Mârakâyikas, the daughters of Mâra, the followers of Mâra, and all other servitors to Mâra ; that no gods, goblins, ghosts, imps, wizards, spectres laying snares for those preachers may surprise them. Incessantly and constantly, O Lord, will I protect such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyâya shall take a walk, then, O Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyâya. And when that preacher, applying himself to this Dharmaparyâya, forgets, be it but a single word or syllable, then will I mount the white elephant with six tusks, show my face to that preacher, and repeat this entire Dharmaparyâya². And when the preacher has

¹ Or punishment.

² Samantabhadra renders the same service to pious and studious preachers as the Buddha himself; see chapter X, especially stanzas 29-31. As to the elephant on which he is mounted, one knows

seen my proper body and heard from me this entire Dharmaparyâya, he, content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and delighted, will the more do his utmost to study this Dharmaparyâya, and immediately after beholding me he will acquire meditation and obtain spells, termed the talisman¹ of preservation, the talisman of hundred thousand *koṭis*, and the talisman of skill in all sounds.

Again, Lord, the monks, nuns, male or female lay devotees, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, shall study this Dharmaparyâya, when walking for three weeks, (or) twenty-one days, to them will I show my body, at the sight of which all beings rejoice. Mounted on that same white elephant with six tusks, and surrounded by a troop of Bodhisattvas, I shall on the twenty-first day betake myself to the place where the preachers are walking; there I shall rouse, excite, and stimulate them, and give them spells whereby those preachers shall become inviolable, so that no being, either human or not human, shall be able to surprise them, and no women able to beguile them. I will protect them, take care of their safety, avert blows², and destroy poison. I will, besides, O Lord, give those preachers words of talismanic spells, such as, *Adande dandapati, dandâvartani dandakusale dandasudhâri dhâri sudhârapati, bud-dhapasyani dhârani, âvartani samvartani saṅgha-parīkshite saṅghanirghâtani dharmaparīkshite sarva-*

that the Bodhisattva entered the womb of his mother Mâyâ Devī in the shape of an elephant with six tusks; see *Lalita-vistara*, p. 63. According to the description of the elephant, it must, originally, be a name of lightning.

¹ *Āvarta*.

² Or punishment.

sattvarutakausalânugate *simhavikrīḍite*¹. The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, whose organ of hearing is struck by these talismanic words, Lord, shall be aware that the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra is their ruling power².

Further, Lord, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas to whom this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law shall be entrusted, as long as it continues having course in Gambudvīpa, those preachers, Lord, should take this view: It is owing to the power and grandeur of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra that this Dharmaparyāya has been entrusted to us. Those creatures who shall write and keep this Sūtra, O Lord, are to partake of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra; they will belong to those who have planted good roots under many Buddhas, O Lord, and whose heads are caressed by the hands of the Tathāgata. Those who shall write and keep this Sūtra, O Lord, will afford me pleasure. Those who shall write this Sūtra, O Lord, and comprehend it, shall, when they disappear from this world, after having written it, be reborn in the company of the

¹ In Burnouf's translation we find added: *anuvarte vartani vartāli svāhā*. All terms are, or ought to be, vocatives of feminine words in the singular. *Patī*, as in Pāli *paṇḍapatī*, Buddhist Sansk. *pragāpatī*, interchanges with the ending *vatī*; not only in *pragāvatī* (e. g. in *Lalita-vistara*), but in some of the words occurring in the spell; so for *dandapatī* the Tibetan text has *dandāvatī*. As *Siva* in *Mahābhārata* XII, 10361 is represented as the personified *Danda*, we may hold that all the names above belong to *Siva's* female counterpart, *Durgā*. The epithet of *Simhavikrīḍitā* is but a variation of *Simhikā*, one of the names of *Dākshāyāni* or *Durgā* in her quality of mother to *Rāhu*. Cf. the remarks on the spells in chap. XXI.

² As the presiding deity of lightning he is also the lord of flame, of *Svāhā*, identified with *Dākshāyāni-Durgā*.

gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs. Such is the mass of merit resulting from writing this Dharmaparyâya; how much greater will be the mass of merit reaped by those who recite, study, meditate, remember it! Therefore, young men of good family¹, one ought to honour this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, and write it with the utmost attention. He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall see another thousand of Buddhas from face to face. He shall not sink down into a state of wretchedness, and after disappearing from this world he shall enter the company of the Tushita-gods, where the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Maitreya is residing, and where, marked by the thirty-two sublime characteristics, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, and waited upon by hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of heavenly nymphs he is preaching the law. Therefore, then, young men of good family, a wise young man or young lady of good family should respectfully write this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, respectfully recite it, respectfully study it, respectfully treasure it up in his (or her) mind. By writing, reciting, studying this Dharmaparyâya, and by treasuring it up in one's mind, young men of good family, one is to acquire innumerable good qualities. Hence a wise young man or young lady of good

¹ Burnouf's reading has, O Lord. The reading of the Cambridge MS. is no mere mistake, for we find it repeated in the sequel.

family ought to keep this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law. I myself, O Lord, will superintend this Dharmaparyâya, that through my superintendence it may here spread in Gambudvîpa.

Then the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra : Very well, very well, Samantabhadra. It is happy that thou art so well disposed to promote the weal and happiness of the people at large, out of compassion for the people, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of men ; that thou art endowed with such inconceivable qualities, with a mind so full of compassion, with intentions so inconceivably kind, so that of thine own accord thou wilt take those preachers under thy protection. The young men of good family who shall cherish the name of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Samantabhadra may be convinced that they have seen Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c. ; that they have heard this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law from the Lord Sâkyamuni ; that they have paid homage to the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni ; that they have applauded the preaching of the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni. They will have joyfully accepted this Dharmaparyâya ; the Tathâgata Sâkyamuni will have laid his hand upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Sâkyamuni with their robes. Those young men or young ladies of good family, Samantabhadra, must be held to have accepted the command of the Tathâgata¹. They

¹ If I rightly understand these cautious and veiled words, the meaning is that such persons, though no Buddhists, must be held in equal esteem as if they were. The persons alluded to are, not unlikely, Saiva monks or devotees, who, if leading a pious life, have

will have no pleasure in worldly philosophy¹; no persons fondly addicted to poetry will please them; no dancers, athletes, vendors of meat, mutton butchers, poulterers, pork butchers, or profligates will please them. After having heard, written, kept, or read such Sûtrântas as this, they will find no delight in those persons. They must be held to be possessed of natural righteousness²; they will be right-minded from themselves, possess a power to do good of their own accord, and make an agreeable impression on others. Such will be the monks who keep this Sûtrânta. No passionate attachment will hinder them, no hatred, no infatuation, no jealousy, no envy, no hypocrisy, no pride, no conceitedness, no mendaciousness. Those preachers, Samantabhadra, will be content with what they receive. He, Samantabhadra, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, sees a monk keeping this Dharmaparyâya of the Lotus of the True Law, must think thus: This young man of good family will reach the terrace of enlightenment; this young man will conquer the troop of the

for protector or patron Samantabhadra, who, as we have seen above, is the lord of Svâhâ or Dâkshâyânî, consequently Sîva-Kâla.

¹ Na Lokâyate ruṭir bhaviṣhyati. The Lokâyâtikas are the Indian Epicureans.

² Svabhâvadharmasamanvâgatâḥ, which may also be rendered by, possessed of the religion of Svabhâva (Nature). This I think to be the recondite and real meaning of the term, whether it alludes to the Svâbhâvika sect of Buddhism or to materialistic schools among the Saivas. Though the philosophical tenets of all Svâbhâvikas are identical with those of the Lokâyâtikas, their opinions on morals are exactly the reverse. Hence it may have been deemed necessary to inculcate on devotees of more or less strong ascetic habits the precept that they should have no intercourse with the immoral vulgar materialists.

wicked Mâra¹, move forward the wheel of the law, strike the drum of the law, blow the conch trumpet of the law, spread the rain of the law, and ascend the royal throne of the law. The monks who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, keep this Dharmaparyâya, will not be covetous, nor greedy of robes or vehicles². Those preachers will be honest, and possessed of three emancipations; they will refrain from worldly business. Such persons as lead into error monks who know this Sûtrânta, shall be born blind; and such as openly defame them, shall have a spotted body in this very world. Those who scoff and hoot at the monks who copy this Sûtrânta, shall have the teeth broken and separated far from each other; disgusting lips, a flat nose, contorted hands and feet, squinting eyes; a putrid body, a body covered with stinking boils, eruptions, scabs, and itch. If one speaks an unkind word, true or not true, to such writers, readers, and keepers of this Sûtrânta, it must be considered a very heinous sin. Therefore then, Samantabhadra, people should, even from afar, rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyâya and show them the same reverence as to the Tathâgata.

While this chapter of the Encouragement of Samantabhadra was being expounded, hundred thousands of koṭis of Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, acquired the talismanic spell Âvarta.

¹ Mârakaliḥakram.

² Yâna; Burnouf has read pâna, drink. It is, indeed, generally impossible to distinguish between pa and ya in the Nepalese MSS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PERIOD¹.

Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., rose from his pulpit, collected the Bodhisattvas, took their right hands with his own right hand, which had become strong by the exercise of magic, and spoke on that occasion as follows: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of incalculable Æons. Ye, young men of good family, do your best that it may grow and spread.

A second time, a third time the Lord spoke to the host of Bodhisattvas after taking them by the right hands: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of incalculable Æons. Receive it, young men of good family, keep, read, fathom, teach, promulgate, and preach it to all beings. I am not avaricious, young men of good family, nor narrow-minded; I am confident and willing to impart Buddha-knowledge, to impart the knowledge of the Tathâgata, the knowledge of the Self-born. I am a bountiful giver, young

¹ Dharmaparyâya, properly, the period of the law.

men of good family, and ye, young men of good family, follow my example; imitate me in liberally showing this knowledge of the Tathâgata, and in skilfulness, and preach this Dharmaparyâya to the young men and young ladies of good family who successively shall gather round you. And as to unbelieving persons, rouse them to accept this law. By so doing, young men of good family, you will acquit your debt to the Tathâgatas.

So addressed by the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the Bodhisattvas filled with delight and joy, and with a feeling of great respect they lowered, bent, and bowed their body towards the Lord, and, the head inclined and the joined hands stretched out, they spoke in one voice to the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., the following words: We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathâgata commands; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathâgatas. Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. A second time, a third time the entire host of Bodhisattvas spoke in one voice the same words: Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathâgata commands us; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathâgatas.

Thereupon the Lord Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, &c., dismissed all those Tathâgatas, &c., who had come to the gathering from other worlds, and wished them a happy existence, with the words: May the Tathâgatas, &c., live happy. Then he restored the Stûpa of precious substances of the Lord Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., to its place, and wished him also a happy existence.

Thus spoke the Lord. The incalculable, innumerable Tathâgatas, &c., who had come from other

worlds and were sitting on their thrones at the foot of jewel trees, as well as Prabhûtaratna, the Tathâgata, &c., and the whole host of Bodhisattvas headed by Visishṭakâritra, the innumerable, incalculable Bodhisattvas Mahâsattvas who had issued from the gaps of the earth, the great disciples, the four classes, the world, including gods, men, demons, and Gandharvas, in ecstasy applauded the words of the Lord.

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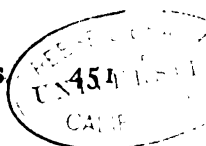
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS



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	𐬖	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	𐬒	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . .	ग	𐬗	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	𐬓	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . .	घ	𐬘	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . .	𐬚	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . .	. . .	ङ	{ 𐬚 (ng) }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . .	𐬛	{ 𐬛 (N) }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . .	. . .	𐬜	𐬛 (𐬛/hp)	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	. . .	𐬝	𐬞	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	. . .	𐬞	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	. . .	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	. . .	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ṅ	. . .	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 𐬫 init.	𐬨	𐬨	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)								
20 " lenis		(y)								
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬰	𐬰	𐬰	س	ש	s
22 " lenis assibilatus		s								
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬔	𐬔	𐬔	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th			थ						th
25 " assibilata	d		TH	द						
26 Media	dh			ध						
27 " aspirata										
28 " assibilata			DH							
29 Nasalis	n			न	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l			ल	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l								
32 " mollis 2			L							
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬱	𐬱	𐬱	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2			S (S)							
35 " lenis	z				𐬲	𐬲	𐬲	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1			z (z)							
37 " asperimus 2			z (z)							

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	39 " aspirata	ph
40 Media	d	50 Media	b
41 " aspirata	dh	51 " aspirata	bh
42 Nasalis	n	52 Tenuissima . . . . .	...
43 Semivocalis	r	53 Nasalis	m
44 " fricata	r	54 Semivocalis	w
45 " diacritica . . . . .	...	55 " aspirata	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	56 Spiritus asper	f
47 " lenis	zh	57 " lenis	v
		58 Anuvára	m
		59 Visarga	h

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SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXII

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

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GĀINA SŪTRAS

TRANSLATED FROM PRĀKRIT

BY

HERMANN JACOBI

PART I

THE ÂKÂRÂNGA SŪTRA

THE KALPA SŪTRA

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1884

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INTRODUCTION.

THE origin and development of the *Gaina* sect is a subject on which some scholars still think it safe to speak with a sceptical caution, though this seems little warranted by the present state of the whole question ; for a large and ancient literature has been made accessible, and furnishes ample materials for the early history of the sect to all who are willing to collect them. Nor is the nature of these materials such as to make us distrust them. We know that the sacred books of the *Gainas* are old, avowedly older than the Sanskrit literature which we are accustomed to call classical. Regarding their antiquity, many of those books can vie with the oldest books of the northern Buddhists. As the latter works have successfully been used as materials for the history of Buddha and Buddhism, we can find no reason why we should distrust the sacred books of the *Gainas* as an authentic source of their history. If they were full of contradictory statements, or the dates contained in them would lead to contradictory conclusions, we should be justified in viewing all theories based on such materials with suspicion. But the character of the *Gaina* literature differs little in this respect also from the Buddhistical, at least from that of the northern Buddhists. How is it then that so many writers are inclined to accord a different age and origin to the *Gaina* sect from what can be deduced from their own literature? The obvious reason is the similarity, real or apparent, which European scholars have discovered between *Gainism* and Buddhism. Two sects which have so much in common could not, it was thought, have been independent from each other, but one sect must needs

have grown out of, or branched off from the other. This *à priori* opinion has prejudiced the discernment of many critics, and still does so. In the following pages I shall try to destroy this prejudice, and to vindicate that authority and credit of the sacred books of the *Gainas* to which they are entitled. We begin our discussion with an inquiry about Mahāvīra, the founder or, at least, the last prophet of the *Gaina* church. It will be seen that enough is known of him to invalidate the suspicion that he is a sort of mystical person, invented or set up by a younger sect some centuries after the pretended age of their assumed founder.

The *Gainas*, both *Svetāmbaras* and *Digambaras*, state that Mahāvīra was the son of king Siddhārtha of *Kundapura* or *Kundagrāma*. They would have us believe that *Kundagrāma* was a large town, and Siddhārtha a powerful monarch. But they have misrepresented the matter in overrating the real state of things, just as the *Buddhists* did with regard to *Kapilavastu* and *Suddhodana*. For *Kundagrāma* is called in the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* a *saṃnivesa*, a term which the commentator interprets as denoting a halting-place of caravans or processions. It must therefore have been an insignificant place, of which tradition has only recorded that it lay in *Videha* (*Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 17). Yet by combining occasional hints in the *Baudha* and *Gaina* scriptures we can, with sufficient accuracy, point out where the birthplace of Mahāvīra was situated; for in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Buddhists*¹ we read that Buddha, while sojourning at *Koṭṭiggāma*, was visited by the courtesan *Ambapālī* and the *Liṅṅhavis* of the neighbouring capital *Vesālī*. From *Koṭṭiggāma* he went to where the *Ñātikas*² (lived). There he lodged in the *Ñātika* Brick-hall², in the neighbourhood of which place the courtesan

¹ See Oldenberg's edition, pp. 231, 232; the translation, p. 104 seq., of the second part, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvii.

² The passages in which the *Ñātikas* occur seem to have been misunderstood by the commentator and the modern translators. Rhys Davids in his translation of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xi) says in a note, p. 24: 'At first *Nāḍika* is (twice) spoken of in the plural number; but then,

Ambapāli possessed a park, Ambapālivana, which she bequeathed on Buddha and the community. From there he went to Vesāli, where he converted the general-in-chief (of the *Likkhavis*), a lay-disciple of the Nirgranthas (or Gaina monks). Now it is highly probable that the *Koṣiggāma* of the Buddhists is identical with the *Kundaggāma* of the Gainas. Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the *Ñātikas*, apparently identical with the *Gñātrika* Kshatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Sīha, the Gaina, point to the same direction. *Kundagrāma*, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaisālī, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesālie, i. e. Vaisālīka given to Mahāvīra in the *Sūtrakritāṅga* I, 3¹. The commentator explains the passage in question in two different ways, and at another place a third explanation is given. This inconsistency of opinion proves that there was no distinct tradition as to the real meaning of Vaisālīka, and so we are justified in entirely ignoring the artificial explanations of the later Gainas. Vaisālīka apparently means a native of Vaisālī: and Mahāvīra could rightly be called that when *Kundagrāma* was a suburb of Vaisālī, just as a native of Turnham Green may be called a Londoner. If then *Kundagrāma* was scarcely more than an outlying village of Vaisālī, it is evident that the sovereign of that village could at best have been only a petty chief. Indeed, though the Gainas fondly imagine Siddhārtha to have been a powerful monarch and depict his royal state in glowing, but typical colours, yet their statements, if stripped of all rhetorical ornaments, bring out the fact

thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular. Buddhaghosa explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water.' The plural *Ñātikā* denotes, in my opinion, the Kshatriyas, the singular is the adjective specifying *Giṅgakāvasatha*, which occurs in the first mention of the place in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* and in the *Mahāvagga* VI, 30, 5, and must be supplied in the former book wherever *Nādika* is used in the singular. I think the form *Nādika* is wrong, and *Ñātika*, the spelling of the *Mahāvagga*, is correct. Mr. Rhys Davids is also mistaken in saying in the index to his translation: '*Nādika*, near Patna.' It is apparent from the narrative in the *Mahāvagga* that the place in question, as well as *Koṣiggāma*, was near Vesālī.

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 262.

that Siddhârtha was but a baron; for he is frequently called merely Kshatriya — his wife Trisalâ is, so far as I remember, never styled Devî, queen, but always Kshatriyâni. Whenever the *Gââtrika* Kshatriyas are mentioned, they are never spoken of as Siddhârtha's Sâmantas or dependents, but are treated as his equals. From all this it appears that Siddhârtha was no king, nor even the head of his clan, but in all probability only exercised the degree of authority which in the East usually falls to the share of land-owners, especially of those belonging to the recognised aristocracy of the country. Still he may have enjoyed a greater influence than many of his fellow-chiefs; for he is recorded to have been highly connected by marriage. His wife Trisalâ was sister to *Ketaka*, king of Vaisâlî¹. She is called Vaidehî or Videhadattâ², because she belonged to the reigning line of Videha.

Buddhist works do not mention, for aught I know, *Ketaka*, king of Vaisâlî; but they tell us that the government of Vesâlî was vested in a senate composed of the nobility and presided over by a king, who shared the power with a viceroy and a general-in-chief³. In *Gaina* books we still have traces of this curious government of the *Likkhavis*; for in the *Nirayâvalî Sûtrâ*⁴ it is related that king *Ketaka*, whom Kûnika, al. *Agâtasatru*, king of *Kampâ*, prepared to attack with a strong army, called together the eighteen confederate kings of Kâsî and Kosala, the *Likkhavis* and *Mallakis*, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kûnika's demands or go to war with him. Again, on the death of *Mahāvîra* the eighteen confederate kings, mentioned above, instituted a festival to be held in memory of that event⁵, but no separate mention is made of *Ketaka*, their pretended sovereign. It is therefore probable that *Ketaka* was simply one of these confederate kings and of equal power with them. In addition to this, his power was checked by the

¹ See *Kalpa Sûtra*, my edition, p. 113. *Ketaka* is called the maternal uncle of *Mahāvîra*.

² See *Kalpa Sûtra*, *Lives of the Ginas*, § 110; *Âkârânga Sûtra* II, 15, § 15.

³ Turnour in the *Journal of the Royal As. Soc. of Bengal*, VII, p. 992.

⁴ Ed. Warren, p. 27.

⁵ See *Kalpa Sûtra*, *Lives of the Ginas*.

constitution of Vesāli. So we are enabled to understand why the Buddhists took no notice of him, as his influence was not very great, and, besides, was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Gainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact, that Vaisālī used to be a stronghold of Gainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent.

We have traced the connection of Mahāvīra's family not out of mere curiosity, which indiscriminately collects all historical facts however insignificant in themselves, but for the reason that the knowledge of this connection enables us to understand how Mahāvīra came to obtain his success. By birth he as well as Buddha was a member of a feudal aristocracy similar to that of the Yādavas in the legends about *Kṛishṇa*, or that of the Rājputs of the present day. In feudal societies family ties are very strong and long remembered¹. Now we know for certain that Buddha at least addressed himself chiefly to the members of the aristocracy, that the Gainas originally preferred the Kshatriyas to the Brāhmans². It is evident that both Mahāvīra and Buddha have made use of the interest and support of their families to propagate their order. Their prevalence over other rivals was certainly due in some degree to their connection with the chief families of the country.

Through his mother Mahāvīra was related to the ruling dynasty in Magadha; for *Ketaka's* daughter *Kellanā*³ was married to *Seniya Bimbhisāra*⁴ or *Bimbisāra*, king of Magadha, and residing in *Rāgagriha*. He is praised by the Gainas and Buddhists, as the friend and patron of both

¹ The Gainas are very particular in stating the names and gotras of Mahāvīra's relations, of whom they have recorded little else. *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Ginas*, § 109.

² See *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Ginas*, §§ 17 and 18.

³ See *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*, ed. Warren, p. 22. She is commonly called by the Buddhists *Vaidehī*; in a Tibetan life of Buddha her name is *Śrībhadrā*, which reminds us of the name of *Ketaka's* wife *Subhadrā*. See Schiefner in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, tome iv, p. 253.

⁴ He is usually called only *Seniya* or *Śrenika*; the full name is given in the *Dasārutaskandha*, Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 469.

Mahāvīra and Buddha. But Kūnika or, as the Buddhists call him, Agātasatru¹, his son by Kellanā, the Videhan lady, showed no favour to the Buddhists in the earlier part of his reign; only eight years before Buddha's death he became his patron. We should go wrong in believing him to have sincerely been converted. For a man who avowedly murdered his father², and waged war against his grandfather³, is not likely to have cared much about theology. His real motive in changing his religious policy we may easily guess. He planned to add Videha to his dominions, just as his father had added Aṅga to his kingdom of Magadha; he therefore built the fort at Pāṭaligrāma⁴, in order not to repel but subdue the Vaggians or Vṛigis, a tribe of Videha, and at last fixed a quarrel on the king of Vaisālī, his grandfather. As the latter was the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra, Agātasatru, by attacking this patron of the Gainas, lost in some degree their sympathy. Now he resolved on siding with their rivals, the Buddhists, whom he formerly had persecuted as friends of his father's, whom, as has been said above, he finally put to death. We know that Agātasatru succeeded in conquering Vaisālī, and that he laid the foundation of the empire of the Nandas and Mauryas. With the extension of the limits of the empire of Magadha a new field was opened to both religions, over which they spread with great rapidity. It was probably this auspicious political conjuncture to which Gainism and Buddhism chiefly owed their success, while many similar sects attained only a local and temporal importance.

The following table gives the names of the relations of Mahāvīra, or, as we should call him when not speaking of

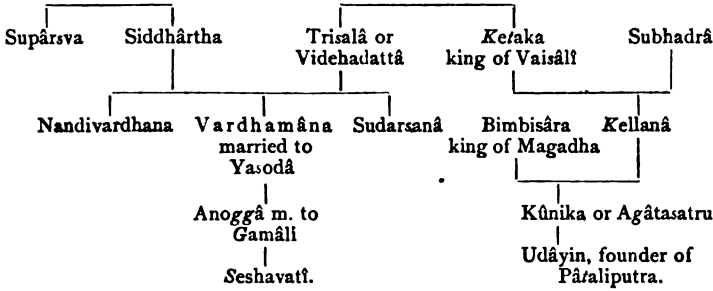
¹ That the same person is intended by both names is evident from the fact that according to Buddhist and Gaina writers he is the father of Udāyin or Udayibhaddaka, the founder of Pāṭaliputra in the records of the Gainas and Brāhmans.

² The story is told with the same details by the Buddhists; see Kern, *Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, I, p. 249 (p. 195 of the original), and the Gainas in the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra*.

³ See above.

⁴ Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta I, 26, and Mahāvagga VI, 28, 7 seq.

him as a prophet of the *Gainas*, *Vardhamāna* or *Gñā-trīputra*¹:—



I do not intend to write a full life of Mahāvira, but to collect only such details which show him at once a distinct historical person, and as different from Buddha in the most important particulars. Vardhamāna was, like his father, a Kāśyapa. He seems to have lived in the house of his parents till they died, and his elder brother, Nandivardhana, succeeded to what principality they had. Then, at the age of twenty-eight, he, with the consent of those in power, entered the spiritual career, which in India, just as the church in Roman Catholic countries, seems to have offered a field for the ambition of younger sons. For twelve years he led a life of austerities, visiting even the wild tribes of the country called *Rādākā*. After the first year he went about naked². From the end of these twelve years of preparatory self-mortification dates Vardhamāna's Kevaliship. Since that time he was recognised as omniscient, as a prophet of the *Gainas*, or a *Tirthakara*, and had the titles *Gina*, *Mahāvira*, &c., which were also given to *Sākyamuni*. The last thirty years of his life he passed in teaching his religious system and organising his order of ascetics, which, as we have seen above, was patronised or at least countenanced chiefly by those princes with whom he was related through his mother, viz. *Ketaka*, *Srenika*, and *Kūnika*, the

¹ Nātaputta in Pāli and Prākṛit. The Buddhists call him *Niganthaka* Nātaputta, i. e. *Gñātrīputra* the Nirgrantha or *Gaina* monk.

² This period of his life is the subject of a sort of ballad incorporated in the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* (I, 8).

kings of Videha, Magadha, and Aṅga. In the towns which lay in these parts he spent almost all the rainy seasons during his spiritual career¹, though he extended his travels as far west and north as Srāvastī and the foot of the Himālaya. The names of his chief disciples, the eleven *Ganadhara*s or apostles of the *Gainas*, as detailed in the *Kalpa Sūtra* (List of *Sthavira*s, § 1), are given without any variation by both divisions of the church, the *Svetāmbaras* and *Digambaras*. Of the details of Mahāvīra's life, mentioned in the canonical books, his rivalry with, and victory over Gośāla, the son of Makkhali, and lastly, the place of his death, the small town Pāpā, deserve to be noticed. Nor are we by any means forced to rely on the tradition of the *Gainas* only, since for some particulars we have the testimony of the *Buddhists* also, in whose writings Mahāvīra is mentioned under his well-known name Nātaputta, as the head of the *Niganthas* or *Gaina* monks and a rival of Buddha. They only misstated his Gotra as that of *Agnivaisyāyana*; in this particular they confounded him with his chief apostle Sudharman, the only one of all the apostles who survived him and took the lead in the church after his teacher's death. Mahāvīra being a contemporary of Buddha, they both had the same contemporaries, viz. Bimbisāra and his sons, Abhayakumāra and Agātasatru, the *Likkhavis* and *Mallas*, Gośāla Makkhaliputra, whom we accordingly meet with in the sacred books of either sect. From the *Buddhist Pīṭakas* it appears, as we have seen above, that Mahāvīra's followers were very numerous in Vaisālī, a fact that is in perfect accordance with what the *Gainas* relate about his birth in the vicinity of that town, and which at the same time well agrees with his connection with the chief magistrate of the place. In addition to this, some tenets of the *Niganthas*, e.g. the *Kiriyavāda* and the belief that water is inhabited by souls, are mentioned in the sacred books of the *Buddhists*, in perfect accordance with

¹ See *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Gñas*, § 122; *Kampā*, 3; *Vaisālī*, 12; *Mithilā*, 6; *Rāgagriha*, 14; *Bhadrikā*, 2; *Ālabhikā*, 1; *Paṇṭabhūmi*, 1; *Srāvastī*, 1; *Pāpā*, 1. All these towns, with the exception of *Paṇṭabhūmi*, *Srāvastī*, and perhaps *Ālabhikā*, lay within the limits of the three kingdoms mentioned in the text.

the *Gaina* creed. Lastly, the Buddhists are correct in assuming the town *Pâpâ* as the scene of *Nâtaputta's* death.

Comparing this outline of *Mahāvîra's* life with that of *Buddha's*, we can detect little or nothing in the former which can be suspected as having been formed after the latter by tradition. The general resemblance between the lives of both is due to their being lives of ascetics, which from the nature of the things must present some uniformity, which certainly will appear greater to the mind of a European historian of our times than to that of an ancient Hindu. Some names of *Mahāvîra's* relations are similar to those of *Buddha's*: the former's wife was *Yasodâ*, the latter's *Yasodharâ*; the former's elder brother was *Nandivardhana*, the latter's step-brother *Nanda*; *Buddha's* name as a prince was *Siddhârtha*, which was the name of *Mahāvîra's* father. But if the similarity of these names proves anything, it proves no more than that names of this description were much used then among the *Kshatriyas*, as surely they were at all times¹. Nor is it to be wondered at that two *Kshatriyas* should have founded sects in opposition, or at least in disregard to the authority of the *Brâhmans*. For, as I shall try to prove in the sequel, the *Kshatriyas* were the most likely of all to become what the *Brâhmans* would call 'untrue ascetics.'

We shall now put side by side the principal events of *Buddha's* and *Mahāvîra's* lives, in order to demonstrate their difference. *Buddha* was born in *Kapilavastu*, *Mahāvîra* in a village near *Vaisâlî*; *Buddha's* mother died after his birth, *Mahāvîra's* parents lived to see him a grown-up man; *Buddha* turned ascetic during the lifetime and against the will of his father, *Mahāvîra* did so after the death of his parents and with the consent of those in power; *Buddha* led a life of austerities for six years, *Mahāvîra* for twelve; *Buddha* thought these years wasted time, and that all his penances were useless for attaining his end, *Mahāvîra* was convinced of the necessity of his

¹ See Petersburg Dictionary, ss.vv.

penances¹, and persevered in some of them even after becoming a Tirthakara. Amongst Buddha's opponents Gosāla Makkhaliputra is by no means so prominent as amongst Mahāvīra's, nor among the former do we meet Gamāli, who caused the first schism in the Gaina church. All the disciples of Buddha bear other names than those of Mahāvīra. To finish this enumeration of differences, Buddha died in Kusinagara, whereas Mahāvīra died in Pāpā, avowedly before the former.

I have dwelt so long on the subject of Mahāvīra's life in order to make the reader acquainted with facts which must decide the question whether the origin of Gainism was independent of Buddhism or not. Though most scholars do not go the length of denying that Mahāvīra and Buddha were different persons, yet some will not admit that this decides the question at issue. Professor Weber, in his learned treatise on the literature of the Gainas², says that he still regards 'the Gainas merely as one of the oldest sects of Buddhism. According to my opinion,' he writes, 'this is not precluded by the tradition about the origin of its founder having partly made use of another person than Buddha Sākyamuni; nay, even of one whose name is frequently mentioned in Buddhist legends as one of Buddha's contemporary opponents. This rather suggests to me that the Gainas intentionally disowned Buddha, being driven to this extremity by the animosity of sect. The number and importance of coincidences in the tradition of either sect regarding their founders is, on the whole, overwhelming.'

Professor Weber's last argument, the very one on which he seems to base his theory, has, according to my opinion, been fully refuted by our preceding inquiry. This theory, in itself, would require the strongest proof before we could admit it as even probable. Generally, heterodox sects claim to be the most authentic and correct interpreters of the words and

¹ These twelve years of penance were indeed always thought essential for obtaining perfection, and every ascetic who endeavours to quit this life with the best claims to enter one of the highest heavens, or even Nirvāṇa, has to undergo a similar course of preparatory penance, which lasts twelve years.

² Indische Studien, XVI, 210.

tenets of their founders. If a sect begins to recognise another authority than that of the original founder of the main church, it either adopts another faith already in existence, or starts a new one. In the first case the previous existence of the *Gaina* faith in some form or other has to be admitted; in the second we must suppose that the malcontent Buddhists searched in their scriptures for an opponent of Buddha, on whom they might foist their heretical theories, a course in which they were not followed by any other of the many sects of Buddhism. Now, granted for argument's sake, that they really did what they are charged with, they must have proceeded with the utmost dexterity, making use of, and slightly altering all occasional hints about the *Nigānṭhas* and *Nātaputta* which they were able to hunt up in their ancient scriptures, inventing new facts, and fabricating documents of their own, which to all, not in the secret, would seem just as trustworthy as those of their opponents. Indeed the Buddhistical and *Gaina* traditions about Mahāvīra, the circumstances in, and the people with whom he lived, so very well tally with, complete and correct each other that the most natural and plausible way to account for this fact, which our preceding inquiry has established, seems to be that both traditions are, in the main, independent of each other, and record what, at the time of their attaining a fixed form, was regarded as historical truth.

We shall now consider the resemblance between Buddhism and Gainism which has struck so many writers on this topic and greatly influenced their opinion regarding their mutual relation. Professor Lassen¹ adduces four points of coincidence which, according to his opinion, prove that the *Gainas* have branched off from the *Bauddhas*. We shall discuss them one after the other.

Both sects give the same titles or epithets to their prophets: *Gina*, *Arhat*, *Mahāvīra*, *Sarvagñā*, *Sugata*, *Tathāgata*, *Siddha*, *Buddha*, *Sambuddha*, *Parinivṛita*, *Mukta*, &c. All these words occur more or less frequently in the writings of both sects; but there is this difference, that with the exception

¹ Indische Alterthumskunde, IV, p. 76, seq.

of Gina, and perhaps Sramana, the preference is given to some set of titles by one sect, and to another set by the rival sect; e.g. Buddha, Tathāgata, Sugata, and Sambuddha are common titles of Sākyamuni, and are only occasionally used as epithets of Mahāvira. The case is exactly reverse with regard to Vira and Mahāvira, the usual titles of Vardhamāna. More marked still is the difference with regard to Tirthakara, meaning prophet with the Gainas, but founder of an heretical sect with the Bauddhas. What then may be safely inferred from the peculiar choice which either sect made from these epithets and titles? That the Gainas borrowed them from the older Buddhists? I think not. For if these words had once been fixed as titles, or gained some special meaning beyond the one warranted by etymology, they could only have been adopted or rejected. But it was not possible that a word which had acquired some special meaning should have been adopted, but used in the original sense by those who borrowed it from the Buddhists. The most natural construction we can put on the facts is, that there was and is at all times a number of honorific adjectives and substantives applicable to persons of exalted virtue. These words were used as epithets in their original meaning by all sects; but some were selected as titles for their prophets, a choice in which they were directed either by the fitness of the word itself, or by the fact that such or such a word was already appropriated by heterodox sects as a title for their highest authority. Thus the etymological meaning of Tirthakara is founder of a religion, prophet, and accordingly this title was adopted by the Gainas and other sects, whereas the Buddhists did not adopt it in this sense, but in that of an heterodox or heretical teacher, showing thereby their enmity towards those who used Tirthakara as an honorific title. Again, Buddha is commonly used in about the same sense as mukta, that is a liberated soul, and in this meaning it is still employed in Gaina writings, whilst with the Buddhists the word has become a title of their prophet. The only conclusion which might be forced from these facts is, that the Buddhists at the time when they formed

their terminology were opponents of the *Gainas*, but not vice versâ.

Lassen, as a second argument in favour of the priority of Buddhism, adduces the fact that both sects worship mortal men, their prophets, like gods, and erect statues of them in their temples. As Buddhism and *Gainism* excepted none of the many sects, the founders of which pretended, like Buddha or Mahâvîra, to omniscience and absolute perfection, have continued long enough to come within the reach of our knowledge—and all or many of them may, for aught we know, have given the same divine honours to their saints, as the Buddhists and *Gainas* did to their own prophets—it cannot be alleged that the practice of the Buddhists rather than of any other sect was imitated by the *Gainas*, or vice versâ. On the contrary, there is nothing in the notion of Buddha that could have favoured the erecting of statues and temples for his followers to worship them, but rather much that is inconsistent with this kind of adoration, while the *Gainas* commit no inconsistency in worshipping Mahâvîra in his apotheosis. But I believe that this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or *Gainism*, that it did not originate with the monks, but with the lay community, when the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude deities and demons, and when the religious development of India found in the *Bhakti* the supreme means of salvation. Therefore instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals, and in the *Gainas* the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently from each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India.

The third point of resemblance between both sects, the stress which is laid on the *ahimsâ* or not killing of living beings, will be treated more fully in the sequel. For this reason I quickly pass over to Professor Lassen's fourth argument, viz. that the Buddhists and *Gainas* measure the history of the world by those enormous periods of time which bewilder and awe even the most imaginative fancy.

It is true that regarding this the Gainas outdo the Buddhists, but they have the idea of such periods in common not only with the latter but also with the Brāhmans. The main features of the chronological system of the Gainas equally differ from those of the Buddhists as from those of the Brāhmans. For it is impossible to derive the Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī eras, with their six Aras, from the Buddhistical four great and eighty smaller Kalpas, which are as it were the acts and scenes in the drama of the successive creations and dissolutions of the universe, nor from the Yugas and Kalpas of the Brāhmans. I am of opinion that the Buddhists have improved on the Brahmanic system of the Yugas, while the Gainas invented their Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī eras after the model of the day and night of Brahmā.

We have postponed the discussion of Professor Lassen's third argument, the *ahimsā*, because it will be better treated together with the other moral precepts of both sects. Professor Weber¹ has pointed out the near relation existing between the five great vows of the Gainas and the five cardinal sins and virtues of the Buddhists; and Professor Windisch² has compared the Gaina vows (*mahāvratā*) with the ten obligations of the Buddhists (*dasasil*).

The Ten Precepts for the Buddhist ascetics are the following³:

1. I take the vow not to destroy life.
2. I take the vow not to steal.
3. I take the vow to abstain from impurity.
4. I take the vow not to lie.
5. I take the vow to abstain from intoxicating drinks which hinder progress and virtue.
6. I take the vow not to eat at forbidden times.
7. I take the vow to abstain from dancing, singing, music, and stage plays.
8. I take the vow not to use garlands, scents, unguents, or ornaments.

¹ Fragment der Bhagavatī, II, pp. 175, 187.

² Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XXVIII, p. 222, note.

³ Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 160.

9. I take the vow not to use a high or broad bed.

10. I take the vow not to receive gold or silver.

The Buddhists have also Eight Precepts (*aṭṭhaṅga-sīla*), of which the first five (*pañca-sīla*) are binding on every Buddhist, while the rest are only recommended to pious laymen¹:

1. One should not destroy life.

2. One should not take that which is not given.

3. One should not tell lies.

4. One should not become a drinker of intoxicating drinks.

5. One should refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse—an ignoble thing.

6. One should not eat unseasonable food at nights.

7. One should not wear garlands or use perfumes.

8. One should sleep on a mat spread on the ground.

The five Buddhist vows nearly agree with those of the Gaina ascetics, viz. :

1. Not to destroy life (*ahiṃsā*).

2. Not to lie (*sūnṛita*).

3. Not to take that which is not given (*asteya*).

4. To abstain from sexual intercourse (*brahmacārya*).

5. To renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to call nothing one's own (*aparigraha*).

The fifth precept of the Gainas is much more comprehensive than the corresponding one of the Buddhists, but the other precepts are the same, in a different order, as Nos. 1-4 of the Buddhists. The agreement is indeed so striking that it would seem hard to avoid the conclusion that one sect borrowed their precepts from the other. Yet the question whether the Buddhists or the Gainas were the borrowers, would still remain an open one. It can be shown, however, that neither the Buddhists nor the Gainas have in this regard any claim to originality, but that both have only adopted the five vows of the Brahmanic ascetics (*saṃnyāsin*). The latter must keep the following five vows² :

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 139.

² *Bauddhāyana* II, 10, 18 ; see Bühler's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 275.

1. Abstention from injuring living beings.
2. Truthfulness.
3. Abstention from appropriating the property of others.
4. Continence.
5. Liberality.

And five minor vows :

6. Abstention from anger.
7. Obedience towards the Guru.
8. Avoidance of rashness.
9. Cleanliness.
10. Purity in eating.

The first four great vows of the *Samnyāsin* agree with those of the *Gaina Bhikshu*, and are enumerated in the same order. It is therefore probable that the *Gainas* have borrowed their own vows from the *Brāhmans*, not from the *Buddhists*, because the latter have changed the order of the vows, making truthfulness either the third or fourth cardinal virtue instead of giving it the second place. Besides it is highly improbable that they should have imitated the *Buddhists*, when they had in the *Brahmanic* ascetics much older and more respected models.

It is worth remarking that the fifth great vow or precept is peculiar to each of the three religious systems, probably because the *Brahmanic* fifth vow, viz. liberality, could not be enjoined on mendicants such as the monks of the *Buddhists* and *Gainas* were. The *Gainas* previous to *Mahāvīra*'s time had only four great vows, since the fourth was included in the fifth. But *Mahāvīra* brought the number of the vows again up to five, a number which seems to have been regarded as solemn, since the *Buddhists* have adopted it likewise in their moral code.

Our foregoing inquiry suggests where we have to look for the originals of the monastic orders of the *Gainas* and *Buddhists*. The *Brahmanic* ascetic was their model, from which they borrowed many important practices and institutions of ascetic life. This observation is not an entirely new one. Professor Max Müller has already, in his *Hibbert Lectures* (p. 351), started a similar opinion; likewise Professor Bühler, in his translation of the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*

(passim); and Professor Kern, in his History of Buddhism in India. In order to show to what extent the life of *Gaina* monks is but an imitation of the life of the Brahmanic ascetics, I shall now compare the rules given to the latter in Gautama's and Baudhâyana's law-books¹ with the rules for *Gaina* monks. In most cases the Buddhists conform to the same rules; this will also be briefly noticed.

11. 'An ascetic shall not possess (any) store².' The *Gaina* and Buddhist monks are also forbidden to have anything which they could call their own. See the fifth vow of the *Gainas* (*aparigraha*). Even those things which the *Gaina* monk always carries about himself, as clothes, alms-bowl, broom, &c., are not regarded as his property, but as things necessary for the exercise of religious duties (*dharmopakaraṇa*).

12. '(He must be) chaste.' This is the fourth great vow of the *Gainas* and in Baudhâyana, the fifth of the Buddhists.

13. 'He must not change his residence during the rainy season³.' Bühler remarks in a note: 'This rule shows that the Vasso of the Buddhas and *Gainas* is also derived from a Brahmanic source.'

14. 'He shall enter a village only in order to beg.' The *Gainas* are not so strict in this respect, as they allow a monk to sleep in a village or town. However he must not stay too long⁴. Mahāvīra did not stay longer than one night in a village or five nights in a town⁵.

15. 'He shall beg late (after people have finished their meals), without returning twice⁶.' The *Gaina* monks collect food in the morning or at noon, probably to avoid meeting with their rivals. They generally but once in a day go out begging; but one who has fasted for more than one day may go a begging twice a day⁷.

¹ See Bühler's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. 191, 192. The numbers in the text refer to the paragraphs in Gautama's third book. The similar passages of Baudhâyana are referred to in the notes.

² Compare Baudhâyana II, 6, 11, 16.

³ Baudhâyana II, 6, 11, 20.

⁴ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 2, 2, § 6.

⁵ *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Ginas*, § 119.

⁶ Baudhâyana II, 6, 12, 22.

⁷ *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Rules for Yatis*, § 20.

16. 'Abandoning all desires (for sweet food).' The same is prescribed in the fourth clause of the fifth great vow of the Gainas¹, and is, besides, the apparent motive in many rules for the acceptance or rejection of alms.

17. 'He shall restrain his speech, his eyes, (and) his actions.' This nearly agrees with the three Guptis of the Gainas, or the restraining of the mind, speech, and body².

18. 'He shall wear a cloth to cover his nakedness³.' The Gaina rules about dress are not so simple; for they allow a Gaina to go naked or to wear one, two, or three garments, but a young, strong monk should as a rule wear but one robe⁴. Mahāvira went about naked⁵, and so did the Ginakalpikas, or those who tried to imitate him as much as possible. But they also were allowed to cover their nakedness⁶.

19. 'Some (declare that he shall wear) an old rag after having washed it.' Baudhāyana⁷ says: 'He shall wear a dress dyed yellowish-red.' This rule agrees more with the practice of the Buddhists than that of the Gainas. The latter are forbidden to wash or dye their clothes, but they must wear them in the same condition in which they are given⁸. However, the Gainas have only carried into the extreme the original intention of the Brahmanic rule, viz. that the dress of ascetics should be as simple and mean as possible. For they seem to take a sort of pride in outdoing their Brahmanic rivals as regards rigorous conduct, mistaking nastiness and filthiness for the highest pitch of ascetic virtue⁹, while on the other hand the Buddhists studied to bring their conduct in accordance with the dictates of humanity.

20. 'He shall not take parts of plants and trees except such as have become detached (spontaneously).' The Gainas have the same precept, but they go still farther

¹ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, v, § 15.

² *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Ginās*, § 118.

³ Baudhāyana, l. c. § 16.

⁴ *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Lives of the Ginās*, § 117.

⁵ L. c. § 21.

⁶ Compare *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 2, 2, 1.

⁷ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 5, 1, § 1.

⁸ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* I, 7, 7, 1.

⁹ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 5, 2, 1, and I, 7, 5, 2.

in allowing a *Gaina* to eat only such vegetables, fruits, &c. as have no trace of life left¹.

21. 'Out of season he shall not dwell a second night in (the same) village.' We have seen above that Mahāvīra carried out this precept whatever may have been the practice of the monks in general.

22. 'He may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of the head.' The *Gainas* have improved on this rule as they make baldness binding for all monks. According to Bau-dhāyana² a Brāhman on becoming an ascetic had to cause 'the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails to be cut.' The same practice, at least as regards the cutting of the hair, was observed by the *Gainas* on the same occasion. Hence the phrase: 'becoming bald (or tearing out one's hair) to leave the house and enter the state of houselessness³.'

23. 'He shall avoid the destruction of seeds.' The reader will observe, in many passages of the second book of the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra*, how careful *Gaina* monks should be of avoiding to injure eggs, living beings, seeds, sprouts, &c. It seems therefore that the *Gainas* have only generalised the above rule in applying it to all small beings of the animal and vegetable world.

24. '(He shall be) indifferent towards (all) creatures, whether they do him an injury or a kindness.'

25. 'He shall not undertake (anything for his temporal or spiritual welfare).'

The last two rules could just as well be taken from a sacred book of the *Gainas*, for they are in full accordance with the drift of their religion. Mahāvīra strictly carried them out. 'More than four months many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it, and caused there pain⁴.' 'Always well guarded, he bore the pains (caused by) grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats; manifold pains⁵.' 'He with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant

¹ *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 1, 7, 6, and 8th Lesson.

² *Baudhāyana* II, 10, 17, 10.

³ *Mumde bhavittā agārāo anagāriyam pavvaie.*

⁴ *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* I, 8, 1, 2.

⁵ *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* I, 8, 3, 1.

or unpleasant occurrences, arising from divine powers, men, or animals¹. It is frequently said of the ascetic in the last stage of his spiritual career that 'he does desire neither life nor death².'

There are some more precepts in Baudhāyana which bear a close resemblance to such of the *Gainas*. 'With the three means of punishment, (viz.) words, thoughts, and acts, he shall not injure created beings³.' This is only an amplification of the first great vow (see above). 'Means of punishment' is what the *Gainas* call weapon (*sastra*⁴).

'He shall carry a cloth for straining water for the sake of purification.' 'He shall perform the necessary purifications with water which has been taken out (of a well or a tank) and has been strained⁵.' These rules are strictly observed by the *Gaina* monks. They also carry a cloth for straining water. The commentator Govinda explains *pavitra*, 'a cloth for straining water,' by 'a bunch of *Kusa* grass for removing insects from the road⁶.' If Govinda be right, and had the authority of a really old tradition, which I do not doubt, we have here the Brahmanic counterpart of the broom (*ragoharana* or *pādapronṅkhana*) with which the *Gaina* monks sweep the road and the place where they walk or sit down, for removing insects.

The outfit of a Brahmanic ascetic consists in 'sticks, a rope, a cloth for straining water, a water vessel, and an alms-bowl⁷.' The *Gaina* monks also carry sticks, at least now-a-days, though I remember no passage in the *Pitakas* expressly allowing the use of a stick. They have also a rope belonging to the alms-bowl⁸, an alms-bowl, and a water vessel⁹. Of the cloth for straining water, and the broom, we have already spoken. The filter for the mouth (*mukhavastrika*) remains as the only article exclusively used

¹ Kalpa Sūtra, Lives of the *Ginas*, § 117, towards the end.

² E. g. Kalpa Sūtra, Rules for *Yatis*, § 51.

³ Baudhāyana II, 6, 11, 23.

⁴ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra*, p. 1, note 2.

⁵ Baudhāyana II, 6, 11, 24, 25.

⁶ See Professor Bühler's translation, p. 260, note.

⁷ Baudhāyana II, 10, 17, 11.

⁸ *Ātārāṅga Sūtra*, p. 67, note 3.

⁹ Though a monk is allowed to carry a water vessel besides his alms-bowl, still it is thought more meritorious to have but one bowl.

by the *Gainas*. On the whole, therefore, the *Gainas* were outfitted very much like their Brahmanic models, the *Samnyâsins* or *Bhikshus*.

'Let him eat food, given without asking, regarding which nothing has been settled beforehand, and which has reached him accidentally, so much only as is sufficient to sustain life¹.' The reader will find on perusing the *Gaina* 'rules for begging²' that only that food is considered 'pure and acceptable' which has been obtained under exactly the same circumstances as have been laid down in the above rule of *Baudhâyana* for Brahmanic ascetics. The *Buddhists* are not so strict in this regard, as they accept invitations for dinner, of course, prepared especially for them.

From the comparison which we have just instituted between the rules for the Brahmanic ascetic and those for the *Gaina* monk, it will be apparent that the latter is but a copy of the former. But now the question may be raised whether the *Nirgrantha* is a direct copy of the *Samnyâsin*, or an indirect one. For it might be assumed that the *Nirgrantha* copied the Buddhist *Bhikkhu*, who himself was but a copy of the *Samnyâsin*. As I have hinted above, this suggestion is not a probable one, for there being a model of higher antiquity and authority, the *Gainas* would probably have conformed rather to it than to the less respected and second-hand model of their rivals, the *Buddhists*. But besides this *primâ facie* argument against the assumption in question, the adoption of certain Brahmanic rules, noticed above, by the *Ginas*, which were not followed by the *Buddhists*, proves that the latter were not the model of the former.

There remains another possibility, but a still more improbable one, viz. that the Brahmanic ascetic copied the Buddhist *Bhikkhu* or *Gaina* monk. I say still more improbable, because, firstly, the *Samnyâsin* makes part of the system of the four stages, or *Âsramas*, which if not so old as Brahmanism itself, is at least much older than both Buddhism and Gainism; secondly, the Brahmanic ascetics were scattered all over India, while the *Buddhists* were

¹ *Baudhâyana* II, 10, 18, 13.

² *Âtârânga Sûtra* II, 1.

confined, at least in the first two centuries of their church, to a small part of the country, and therefore could not have been imitated by all the *Samnyāsins*; thirdly, Gautama, the lawgiver, was certainly older than the rise of Buddhism. For Professor Bühler thinks that the lower limit for the composition of the *Āpastamba Sūtra* must be placed in the fourth or fifth century B.C.¹ *Baudhāyana* is older than *Āpastamba*; according to Bühler², the distance in years between them must be measured rather by centuries than by decades. Again, Gautama is older than *Baudhāyana*³. Gautama, therefore, and perhaps *Baudhāyana*, must have lived before the rise of Buddhism, and as the former teaches already the complete system of Brahmanic ascetism, he cannot have borrowed it from the Buddhists. But if Bühler should be wrong in his estimation of the time when those codes of sacred laws were composed, and if they should turn out to be younger than the rise of Buddhism, they certainly cannot be so by many centuries. Even in that case, which is not a probable one, those lawgivers are not likely to have largely borrowed from the Buddhists whom the *Brāhmans* at that time must have despised as false pretenders of a recent origin. They would certainly not have regarded laws as sacred which were evidently appropriated from heretics. On the other hand the Buddhists had no reason not to borrow from the *Brāhmans*, because they greatly respected the latter for the sake of their intellectual and moral superiority. Hence the *Gainas* and Buddhists use the word *Brāhmaṇa* as an honorific title, applying it even to persons who did not belong to the caste of *Brāhmans*.

It may be remarked that the monastical order of the *Gainas* and Buddhists though copied from the *Brāhmans* were chiefly and originally intended for *Kshatriyas*. Buddha addressed himself in the first line to noble and rich men, as has been pointed out by Professor Oldenberg⁴. For

¹ *Sacred Laws of the Āryas*, part i, introduction, p. xliii.

² L. c. p. xxii.

³ L. c. p. xlix.

⁴ *Buddha, sein Leben, &c.*, p. 157 seq.

Buddha, in his first sermon at Benares, speaks of his religion as that *yass' atthāya kulaputtā sammad eva agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaganti*: for the sake of which sons of noble families leave the house and enter the state of houselessness¹. That the Gainas too gave the Kshatriyas the preference over the Brāhmanas is proved by that curious legend about the transfer of the embryo of Mahāvira from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of the Kshatriyāṇī Trisalā, it being alleged that a Brāhmaṇī or another woman of low family was not worthy to give birth to a Tīrthakara².

On the other hand it is probable that Brahmanic ascetics did not regard fellow-ascetics of other castes as quite their equals, though they were just as orthodox as themselves. For in later times the opinion prevailed that only Brāhmanas were entitled to enter the fourth Āsrama, and as a

¹ Mahāvagga I, 6, 12.

² This legend is rejected as absurd by the Digambaras, but the Svetāmbaras staunchly uphold its truth. As it is found in the Ākārāṅga, the Kalpa Sūtra, and many other books, it cannot be doubted that it is very old. However, it is not at all clear for what reason so absurd a legend could have been invented and have gained currency. Yet I may be allowed to offer my opinion on this dark point. I assume that Siddhārtha had two wives, the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, the real mother of Mahāvira, and the Kshatriyāṇī Trisalā; for the name of the alleged husband of the former, viz. Rishabhādatta, cannot be very old, because its Prākṛit form would in that case probably be Usabhadinna instead of Usabhadatta. Besides, the name is such as could be given to a Gaina only, not to a Brāhman. I therefore make no doubt that Rishabhādatta has been invented by the Gainas in order to provide Devānandā with another husband. Now Siddhārtha was connected with persons of high rank and great influence through his marriage with Trisalā. It was, therefore, probably thought more profitable to give out that Mahāvira was the son, and not merely the step-son of Trisalā, for this reason, that he should be entitled to the patronage of her relations. This story could all the more easily have gained credence as Mahāvira's parents were dead many years when he came forward as a prophet. But as the real state of things could not totally have been erased from the memory of the people, the story of the transfer of the embryos was invented. The latter idea was not an original conception of the Gainas, but it is evidently borrowed from the Purāṇic story of the transfer of the embryo of Kṛishṇa from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohiṇī. The worship of Kṛishṇa seems to have been popular during the first centuries of the development of the Gaina creed; for the Gainas have reproduced the whole history of Kṛishṇa, with small alterations, in relating the life of the twenty-second Tīrthakara, Arishṇanemi, who was a famous Yādava.

proof for this theory a verse of Manu, VI, 97, as Professor Bühler informs me, was quoted. But not all commentators drew the same inference from that verse. Leaving aside this controverted point, it certainly became, in later times, the custom that a Brāhman, as a rule, passed through four, a nobleman through three, a citizen through two, a Sūdra through one of the four Āsramas¹.

From all this it becomes probable that the non-Brahmanic ascetics even in early times were regarded as an order separate and distinguished from the Brahmanic ascetics. We can understand that this position of non-Brahmanic ascetics led to the formation of sects inclining to dissent. That the untrue ascetics had such an origin, may be collected from a remark of Vasishṭha. It is known that the performance of religious ceremonies was discontinued by the ascetics, but some went beyond this and discontinued the recitation of the Veda. Against transgressors of this kind Vasishṭha² has the following quotation: 'Let him discontinue the performance of all religious ceremonies, but let him never discontinue the recitation of the Veda. By neglecting the Veda he becomes a Sūdra; therefore he shall not neglect it.' An inhibition pronounced so emphatically presupposes the real occurrence of the practices forbidden. If therefore some ascetics already had ceased to recite the Veda, we may conclude that others began to disregard it as revelation and the highest authority. That those who were regarded as a sort of inferior ascetics, the non-Brahmanic ascetics, were most likely to make this step, is easy to imagine. We see thus that the germs of dissenting sects like those of the Buddhists and the Gainas were contained in the institute of the fourth Āsrama, and that the latter was the model of the heretical sects; therefore Buddhism and Gainism must be regarded as religions developed out of Brāhmanism not by a sudden reformation, but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time.

¹ Max Müller, *The Hibbert Lectures*, p. 343.

² Chapter x, 4. Bühler's translation.

We have seen that neither the *Gaina* legends about their last prophet, nor the ascetic life ordained for *Gaina* monks, nor any other religious practices adhered to by the faithful, warrant our assuming that the *Gaina* sect has developed, in one way or other, out of the Buddhistical church. It remains for me to show that the difference of both creeds as regards the principal tenets is such as not to admit a common origin. Whatever Buddha may have taught and thought about the state of *Nirvâṇa*, whether he went the length to identify it with absolute non-existence, or imagined it to be a sort of existence different from all we know or can conceive, it is beyond doubt, and a striking feature of Buddha's philosophy, that he combated the Brahmanic theory of the *Âtman*, as being the absolute and permanent soul, according to the pantheist as well as the monadic point of view. But the *Gainas* fully concur in the Brahmanic theory of the *Âtman*, with only this difference, that they ascribe to the *Âtmans* a limited space, while the *Brâhman*s of the *Sâṅkhya*, *Nyâya*, and *Vaiseshika* schools contend that the *Âtmans* are co-extensive with the universe. On the other hand, the Buddhistical theory of the five *Skandhas* with their numerous subdivisions have no counterpart in the psychology of the *Gainas*. A characteristic dogma of the *Gainas* which pervades their whole philosophical system and code of morals, is the hylozoistic theory that not only animals and plants, but also the smallest particles of the elements, earth, fire, water, and wind, are endowed with souls (*gīva*). No such dogma, on the other hand, is contained in the philosophy of the Buddhists. To Indian philosophers the various degrees of knowledge up to omniscience are matters of great moment. The *Gainas* have a theory of their own on this head, and a terminology which differs from that of the Brahmanic philosophers and of the Buddhists. Right knowledge, they say, is fivefold: (1) *mati*, right perception; (2) *śruti*, clear knowledge based on *mati*; (3) *avadhi*, a sort of supernatural knowledge; (4) *manāḥparyāya*, clear knowledge of the thoughts of others; (5) *kevala*, the highest degree of knowledge, consisting in omniscience. This psychological theory is a fundamental

one of the *Gainas*, as it is always before the mind of the authors of the sacred books when describing the spiritual career of the saints. But we search in vain for something analogous in the Buddhist scriptures. We could multiply the instances of difference between the fundamental tenets of both sects, but we abstain from it, fearing to tire the reader's patience with an enumeration of all such cases. Such tenets as the *Gainas* share with the Buddhists, both sects have in common with the Brahmanic philosophers, e. g. the belief in the regeneration of souls, the theory of the *Karman*, or merit and demerit resulting from former actions, which must take effect in this or another birth, the belief that by perfect knowledge and good conduct man can avoid the necessity of being born again and again, &c. Even the theory that from time immemorial prophets (*Buddhas* or *Tirthakaras*) have proclaimed the same dogmas and renewed the sinking faith, has its Brahmanic counterpart in the *Avatāras* of *Vishṇu*. Besides, such a theory is a necessary consequence both of the Buddhistical and *Gaina* creed. For what *Buddha* or *Mahāvīra* had revealed was, of course, regarded by the followers of either as truth and the only truth; this truth must have existed from the beginning of time, like the *Veda* of the *Brāhmins*; but could the truth have remained unknown during the infinite space of time elapsed before the appearance of the prophet? No, would answer the pious believer in Buddhism or *Gainism*, that was impossible; but the true faith was revealed in different periods by numberless prophets, and so it will be in the time to come. The theory of former prophets seems, therefore, to be a natural consequence of both religions; besides, it was not wholly unfounded on facts, at least as regards the *Gainas*. For the *Nirgranthas* are never spoken of in the Buddhist writings as a newly risen sect, nor *Nātaputta* as their founder. Accordingly the *Nirgranthas* were probably an old sect at the time of *Buddha*, and *Nātaputta* only the reformer of the *Gaina* church, which may have been founded by the twenty-third *Tirthakara*, *Pārśva*. But what seems astonishing is the fact that the *Gainas* and *Bauddhas* have hit on nearly the

same number of prophets believed to have risen since the creation of the present order of things, the former worshipping twenty-four Tīrthakaras, the latter twenty-five Buddhas. I do not deny that in developing this theory one sect was influenced by the other; but I firmly believe that it cannot be made out which of the two sects first invented, or borrowed from the Brāhmans, this theory. For if the twenty-five Buddhas were worshipped by the Buddhists of the first centuries after the Nirvāṇa, the belief in twenty-four Tīrthakaras is equally old, as it is common to the Digambaras and Svetāmbaras, who separated probably in the second century after the Nirvāṇa. However the decision of the question whether the Buddhists or the Gainas originally invented the theory of the succession of prophets, matters little; it cannot influence the result to which the previous discussion has led us, viz. (1) that Gainism had an origin independent from Buddhism, that it had a development of its own, and did not largely borrow from the rival sect; (2) that both Gainism and Buddhism owed to the Brāhmans, especially the Saṃnyāsins, the groundwork of their philosophy, ethics, and cosmogony.

Our discussion has as yet been conducted on the supposition that the tradition of the Gainas as contained in their sacred books may on the whole be credited. But the intrinsic value of this tradition has been called into question by a scholar of wide views and cautious judgment. Mr. Barth, in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. iii, p. 90, admits that an historical personage is hidden under Nātaputta, but he doubts that valid inferences may be drawn from the sacred books of the Gainas which, avowedly, have been reduced to writing in the fifth century A. D., or nearly a thousand years after the foundation of the sect. For, in his opinion, 'the self-conscious and continuous existence of the sect since that remote epoch, i. e. the direct tradition of peculiar doctrines and records, has not yet been demonstrated. During many centuries,' he says, 'the Gainas had not become distinct from the numerous groups of ascetics who could not boast of more than an obscure floating

existence.' The tradition of the *Gainas* appears to Mr. Barth to have been formed of vague recollections in imitation of the Buddhist tradition.

Mr. Barth seems to base his theory on the assumption that the *Gainas* must have been careless in handing down their sacred lore, since they formed, for many centuries, but a small and unimportant sect. I cannot see the force of this argument of Mr. Barth's. Is it more likely that a sect of which the not very numerous followers are scattered over a large country, or a church which has to satisfy the religious wants of a great multitude, will better preserve its original tenets and traditions? It is impossible to decide this question on *à priori* grounds. The Jews and the Parsis may be adduced as instances in favour of the former view, the Roman Catholic church as one in favour of the latter. But we are not obliged to rely on such generalities in order to decide the question at issue with regard to the *Gainas*, for they were so far from having only dim notions of their own doctrines that they pronounced as founders of schisms those who differed from the great bulk of the faithful in comparatively unimportant details of belief. This fact is proved by the tradition about the seven sects of the *Svetâmbaras* made known by Dr. Leumann¹. The *Digambaras* also, who separated from the *Svetâmbaras* probably in the second or third century after the *Nirvâṇa*, differ from their rivals but little with regard to philosophical tenets; yet they were nevertheless stigmatised by the latter as heretics on account of their rules of conduct. All these facts show that the *Gainas*, even previous to the redaction of their sacred books, had not a confused and undefined creed, which would have been liable to become altered and defiled by doctrines adopted from widely different religions, but one in which even the minutest details of belief were fixed.

What has been said about the religious doctrines of the *Gainas* can also be proved of their historical traditions. For the detailed lists of teachers handed down in the several *Gakkhas*², and those incorporated in their sacred

¹ See *Indische Studien*, XVI.

² See Dr. Klatt, *Ind. Ant.* XL.

books, show that the *Gainas* did possess an interest in the history of their church. I do not deny that a list of teachers may be invented, or an incomplete one filled up or made *pakka*, as the Hindus would say ; the necessity of proving itself to be legitimately descended from a recognised authority may induce a sect to invent the names of a line of teachers. But what could have caused the *Gainas* to fabricate such a detailed list of teachers, *Ganas*, and *Sâkhâs* as that in the *Kalpa Sûtra*? Of most of the details the *Gainas* of later times knew nothing beyond what they found in the *Kalpa Sûtra* itself,—and that is unfortunately very little,—nor did they pretend to anything more. For all practical purposes the short list of *Sthaviras*, as it stands in the *Kalpa Sûtra*, would have been sufficient ; the preservation of the detailed list, containing so many bare names, proves that they must have had an interest for the members of the early church, though the more accurate knowledge of the times and events chronicled in that list was lost after some centuries.

However, it is not enough to have proved that the *Gainas*, even before the redaction of their sacred books, possessed the qualities necessary for continuing their creed and tradition, and preserving them from corruptions caused by large borrowings from other religious systems ; we must also show that they did do what they were qualified to do. This leads us to a discussion of the age of the extant *Gaina* literature. For if we succeed in proving that the *Gaina* literature or at least some of its oldest works were composed many centuries before they were reduced to writing, we shall have reduced, if not closed, the gap separating the prophet of the *Gainas* from their oldest records.

The redaction of the *Gaina* canon or the *Siddhânta* took place, according to the unanimous tradition, on the council of Valabhi, under the presidency of Devarddhi. The date of this event, 980 (or 993) A.V., corresponding to 454 (or 467) A. D.¹, is incorporated in the *Kalpa Sûtra* (§ 148). Devarddhi *Gainin*, says the tradition, perceiving the *Siddhânta* in

¹ It is possible, but not probable, that the date of the redaction fell sixty years later, 514 (527) A. D. ; see *Kalpa Sûtra*, introduction, p. 15.

danger of becoming extinct, caused it to be written in books. Before that time teachers made no use of written books when teaching the Siddhānta to novices, but after that time they did use books. The latter part of this statement is evidently true. For in olden times books were not used, it being the custom of the Brāhmins to rely rather on the memory than on the MSS., and in this they were, almost without doubt, followed by the Gainas and Buddhists. But now-a-days Yatis use MSS. when teaching the sacred lore to their novices. There is no reason why we should not credit the tradition that this change in the method of instruction was brought about by Devarddhi Gaṇin; for the event was of too great importance not to be remembered. To provide every teacher or at least every Upāśraya with copies of the sacred books, Devarddhi Gaṇin must have issued a large edition of the Siddhānta. This is probably the meaning of the traditional record that Devarddhi caused the Siddhānta to be written in books, for it is hardly credible that the Gaina monks should never before have attempted to write down what they had to commit to memory; the Brāhmins also have MSS. of their sacred books, though they do not use them in handing down the Veda. These MSS. were intended for private use, to aid the memory of the teacher. I make no doubt that the same practice was observed by the Gaina monks, the more so as they were not, like the Brāhmins, influenced by any theory of their own not to trust to MSS., but were induced merely by the force of the prevalent custom to hand down their sacred lore by word of mouth. I do not maintain that the sacred books of the Gainas were originally written in books, for the same argument which has been brought forward to prove that the Buddhist monks could have had no MSS., as they are never mentioned in their sacred books, in which 'every movable thing, down to the smallest and least important domestic utensils, is in some way or other referred to¹', the same argument, I say, holds good with regard to the Gainas as long as the

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiii, introduction, p. xxxiii.

monks led a wandering life; but when the monks were settled in Upâsrayas exclusively belonging to themselves, they may have kept there their MSS. as they do now-a-days.

Devarddhi's position relative to the sacred literature of the Gainas appears therefore to us in a different light from what it is generally believed to have been. He probably arranged the already existing MSS. in a canon, taking down from the mouth of learned theologians only such works of which MSS. were not available. Of this canon a great many copies were taken, in order to furnish every seminary with books which had become necessary by the newly introduced change in the method of religious instruction. Devarddhi's edition of the Siddhânta is therefore only a redaction of the sacred books which existed before his time in nearly the same form. Any single passage in a sacred text may have been introduced by the editor, but the bulk of the Siddhânta is certainly not of his making. The text of the sacred books, before the last redaction of the Siddhânta, did not exist in such a vague form as it would have been liable to if it were preserved only by the memory of the monks, but it was checked by MSS.

On this premise we now proceed to inquire into the date of the composition of the sacred books of the Gainas. Their own dogmatical theory that all sacred books were revealed by the first Tirthakara, shall only be noticed to be dismissed. We must try to discover better grounds for fixing the age when the chief works of the Siddhânta were composed.

As single passages may have crept into the text at any time, we can draw no valid inferences from them, even if they be sanctioned by Devarddhi's receiving them into his revised text. I attach therefore no great weight to the lists of barbarous or un-Aryan tribes¹, nor to the mention of all seven schisms, the last of which occurred 584 A.V.² Nothing is more common than that such details should be

¹ Among the latter Ârava may denote the Arabs, as Weber thinks, or, as I prefer to think, the Tamils, whose language is called Aravam by the Dravidians.

² See Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 237.

added as a gloss, or be incorporated even in the text, by those who transmitted it either in writing or in instructing their pupils. But an argument of more weight is the fact that in the *Siddhānta* we find no traces of Greek astronomy. In fact the *Gaina* astronomy is a system of incredible absurdity, which would have been impossible, if its author had had the least knowledge of the Greek science. As the latter appears to have been introduced in India about the third or fourth century A. D., it follows that the sacred books of the *Gainas* were composed before that time.

Another argument which offers itself for fixing the period of the composition of the sacred books, is the language in which they are written. But, unfortunately, it is not at all clear whether the sacred books have been handed down in that language in which they were composed, or in that in which they were pronounced, and transcribed in later generations, according to the then current idiom, till Devarddhi's edition put an end to the modernising of the language of the sacred books. I am inclined to believe the latter view to be correct, and look upon the absence of a self-consistent orthography of the *Gaina* *Prākṛit* as the effect of the gradual change of the vernacular language in which the sacred books were recited. In all MSS. of *Gaina* texts, the same word is not always spelt in the same way. The differences of spelling refer chiefly to the retention, omission, or attenuation of single consonants between vowels, and the retention of the vowels e, o, before two consonants, or their change in i, u. It is hardly possible that the different spellings of a word should all correctly represent the pronunciation of that word at any given time, e.g. *bhûta*, *bhûya*; *udaga*, *udaya*, *uaya*; *lobha*, *loha*¹, &c.; but probably we must regard these methods of spelling as historical spellings, that is to say, that all different spellings presented in the MSS. which formed the materials for Devarddhi's edition of the *Siddhānta*, were looked upon as authentic and were preserved in all later copies of the sacred texts. If this assumption is correct, we

¹ I do not contend that no double forms of any word were current at any time, for there must have been a good many double forms, but I doubt that nearly every word should have existed in two or three forms.

must regard the most archaic spellings as representing the pronunciation at or shortly after the epoch of the composition of the sacred books, and the most modern one as representing the pronunciation at or shortly before the redaction of the Siddhânta¹. Now on comparing the *Gaina* Prâkrit especially in the oldest form attainable with the Pâli on one side, and the Prâkrit of Hâla, Setubandha, &c. on the other, it will appear to approach more the Pâli than the later Prâkrit. We may therefore conclude that chronologically also the sacred books of the *Gainas* stand nearer those of the Southern Buddhists than the works of later Prâkrit writers.

But we can fix the date of the *Gaina* literature between still narrower limits by means of the metres employed in the sacred books. I am of opinion that the first book of the *Âkârânga Sûtra* and that of the *Sûtrakṛitânga Sûtra* may be reckoned among the most ancient parts of the Siddhânta; the style of both works appears to me to prove the correctness of this assumption. Now a whole lesson of the *Sûtrakṛitânga Sûtra* is written in the *Vaitâliya* metre. The same metre is used in the *Dhammapadam* and other sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. But the Pâli verses represent an older stage in the development of the *Vaitâliya* than those in the *Sûtrakṛitânga*, as I shall prove in a paper on the post-Vedic metres soon to be published in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*. Compared with the common *Vaitâliya* verses of Sanskrit literature, a small number of which occur already in the *Lalita Vistara*, the *Vaitâliya* of the *Sûtrakṛitânga* must be considered to represent an earlier form of the metre. Again, ancient Pâli works seem to contain no verses in the *Âryâ* metre; at least there is none in the *Dhammapadam*, nor have I found one in other works. But both the *Âkârânga* and *Sûtrakṛitânga*

¹ It might be objected that archaic spellings are due to the influence of the knowledge of Sanskrit; but the *Gainas* must always have been so well acquainted with Prâkrit that they needed not any help from the Sanskrit to understand their sacred books. On the contrary, in their Sanskrit MSS. we frequently meet with words spelt like Prâkrit words. Besides, some spellings cannot be explained as Sanskritisms, e.g. *dâraga* for *dâraya*, the Sanskrit prototype being *dâraka*.

contain each a whole lecture in Āryā verses of a form which is decidedly older than, and probably the parent of the common Āryā. The latter is found in the younger parts of the Siddhānta, in the Brahmanical literature, both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit, and in the works of the Northern Buddhists, e. g. the *Lalita Vistara*, &c. The form of the Trishūbh metre in ancient *Gaina* works is younger than that in the Pāli literature and older than that in the *Lalita Vistara*. Finally the great variety of artificial metres in which the greater number of the Gāthās in the *Lalita Vistara*, &c., is composed and which are wanting in the *Gaina Siddhānta*, seems to prove that the literary taste of the *Gainas* was fixed before the composition of the latter works. From all these facts we must conclude that the chronological position of the oldest parts of the *Gaina* literature is intermediate between the Pāli literature and the composition of the *Lalita Vistara*. Now the Pāli *Piṭakas* were written in books in the time of *Vatta Gāmasi*, who began to reign 88 B.C. But they were in existence already some centuries before that time. Professor Max Müller sums up his discussion on that point by saying: 'We must be satisfied therefore, so far as I can see, at present with fixing the date, and the latest date, of a Buddhist canon at the time of the Second Council, 377 B.C.'¹ Additions and alterations may have been made in the sacred texts after that time; but as our argument is not based on a single passage, or even a part of the *Dhammapada*, but on the metrical laws of a variety of metres in this and other Pāli books, the admission of alterations and additions in these books will not materially influence our conclusion, viz. that the whole of the *Gaina Siddhānta* was composed after the fourth century B. C.

We have seen that the oldest works in the *Gaina* canon are older than the Gāthās in the *Lalita Vistara*. As this work is said to have been translated into Chinese 65 A.D., we must place the origin of the extant *Gaina* literature before the beginning of our era. If we may judge about

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. x, p. xxxii.

the distance in time of the questionable date from either limit by the greater or less resemblance of the oldest *Gaina* works in verse with such of the Southern and Northern Buddhists as regards metrical or stylistic peculiarities, we should place the beginning of the *Gaina* literature nearer the time of the Pāli literature, rather than that of the Northern Buddhists. This result agrees pretty well with a tradition of the Svetāmbaras. For they say¹ that after the twelve years' famine, while Bhadrabāhu was the head of the church, the Aṅgas were brought together by the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra. Now Bhadrabāhu's death is placed 170 A.V. by the Svetāmbaras, and 162 A.V. by the Digambaras; he lived therefore, according to the former, under Kandra Gupta, who is said to have ascended the throne 155 A.V. Professor Max Müller assigns to Kandra Gupta the dates 315–291 B.C.; Westergaard prefers 320 B.C. as a more likely date for Kandra Gupta, and so does Kern². However this difference matters little: the date of the collection or, perhaps more correctly, the composition of the *Gaina* canon would fall somewhere about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. It is worth noticing, that according to the above-cited tradition, the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra collected the eleven Aṅgas without the assistance of Bhadrabāhu. As the latter is claimed by the Digambaras for one of their teachers, and as the Svetāmbaras, though doing the same, still continue the list of Sthaviras from Sambhūtavigaya, Bhadrabāhu's fellow Sthavira, not from Bhadrabāhu himself, it seems to follow that the Aṅgas, brought together by the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra, formed the canon of the Svetāmbaras only, not that of the whole *Gaina* church. In that case we should not go wrong in placing the date of the canon somewhat later, under the patriarchate of Sthūlabhadra, i.e. in the first part of the third century B.C.

If the result of our preceding inquiry deserves credit—and I see no counter arguments entitling us to mistrust our conclusion—the origin of the extant *Gaina* literature cannot be placed earlier than about 300 B.C., or two centuries after

¹ *Parish'va Parvan* IX, 55 seqq.

² *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, ii, p. 266 note.

the origin of the sect. But we are not from this fact obliged to assume that the Gainas in the time intermediate between their last prophet and the composition of their canon had to rely on nothing more solid than a religious and legendary tradition, never brought into a fixed form. In that case, Mr. Barth's objections to the trustworthiness of the Gaina tradition would, it is true, not be without ground. However, we are told by the Svetāmbaras, as well as the Digambaras, that besides the Aṅgas, there existed other and probably older works, called Pûrvas, of which there were originally fourteen. The knowledge of these Pûrvas was gradually lost, till at last it became totally extinct. The tradition of the Svetāmbaras about the fourteen Pûrvas is this: the fourteen Pûrvas had been incorporated in the twelfth Aṅga, the *Drishṭivâda*, which was lost before 1000 A.V. But a detailed table of contents of it, and consequently of the Pûrvas, has survived in the fourth Aṅga, the *Samavâyâṅga*, and in the Nandī Sūtra¹. Whether the Pûrvas, contained in the *Drishṭivâda*, were the original ones, or, as I am inclined to believe, only abstracts of them, we cannot decide; at all events there has been a more detailed tradition about what they contained.

Now we should as a rule be careful in crediting any tradition about some lost book or books of great antiquity, because such a tradition is frequently invented by an author to furnish his doctrines with an authority from which they may be derived. But in our case, there are no grounds for suspecting the correctness of so general and old a tradition as that about the Pûrvas. For the Aṅgas do not derive their authority from the Pûrvas, but are believed to be coeval with the creation of the world. As a fraud, the tradition about the Pûrvas would therefore be unintelligible; but accepted as truth, it well falls in with our views about the development of the Gaina literature. The name itself testifies to the fact that the Pûrvas were superseded by a new canon, for *pûrva* means former,

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 341 seqq.

earlier¹; and it is assuredly not by accident that the knowledge of the Pûrvas is said to have commenced to fade away at the same time when the Aṅgas were collected by the Saṅgha of Pāṭaliputra. For after Bhadrabāhu, only ten out of the fourteen Pûrvas were known.

This then is the most natural interpretation we can place on the tradition about the fourteen Pûrvas, that they were the oldest sacred books, which however were superseded by a new canon. But as regards the cause of the abolition of the old canon and the composition of a new one, we are left to conjecture, and only as such I shall give my opinion. We know that the *Drishṭivāda*, which included the fourteen Pûrvas, dealt chiefly with the *drishṭis* or philosophical opinions of the Gainas and other sects. It may be thence inferred that the Pûrvas related controversies held between Mahāvīra and rival teachers. The title *pravāda*, which is added to the name of each Pûrva, seems to affirm this view. Besides, if Mahāvīra was not the founder of a new sect, but as I have tried to prove, the reformer of an old one, it is very likely that he should vigorously have combated the opinions of his opponents, and defended those he had accepted or improved. The founder of a religion has to establish his own system, he is not so much in danger to become a mere controversialist as a reformer. Now if the discourses of Mahāvīra, remembered and handed down by his disciples, were chiefly controversies, they must have lost their interest when the opponents of Mahāvīra had died and the sects headed by them had become extinct. Could such contentions about philosophical questions which were no more of any practical importance, and bickerings of divines all but forgotten, though these things were of paramount interest to the contemporary world, serve as a canon for later generations who lived in thoroughly changed circumstances? The want of a canon suiting the condition of the

¹ The Gainas explain the meaning of the word *pûrva* in the following way. The Tīrthakara himself taught the Pûrvas to his disciples, the Gaṇadharas. The Gaṇadharas then composed the Aṅgas. There is evidently some truth in this tradition, as it does not agree with the dogma of the Aṅgas, being taught already by the first Tīrthakara. See Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 353.

community must have made itself felt, and it led, in my opinion, to the composition of a new canon and the neglect of the old one.

Professor A. Weber¹ assigns as the probable cause of the *Drishṭivāda* being lost, that the development of the *Svetāmbara* sect had arrived at a point where the diversity of its tenets from those embodied in that book became too visible to be passed over. Therefore the *Drishṭivāda*, which contained the *Pûrvas*, fell into neglect. I cannot concur in Professor Weber's opinion, seeing that the *Digambaras* also have lost the *Pûrvas*, and the *Aṅgas* to boot. It is not probable that the development of *Gainism* during the two first centuries after the *Nirvāṇa* should have gone on at so rapid a pace that its two principal sects should have been brought to the necessity of discarding their old canon. For, as stated above, after the splitting of the church in these two sects the philosophical system of the *Gainas* remained stationary, since it is nearly the same with both sects. As regards ethics, both sects, it is true, differ more. But as the extant canon of the *Svetāmbaras* is not falling into neglect, though many practices enjoined in it have long since been abandoned, it is not more probable that they should have been more sensible on the same score at the time when the *Pûrvas* formed their canon. Besides, some of the *Pûrvas* are said to have continued to be extant long after the time which we have assigned for the formation of the new canon. At last they disappeared, not by an intentional neglect, I presume, but because the new canon set into clearer light the *Gaina* doctrines, and put them forward more systematically than had been done in the controversial literature of the *Pûrvas*.

Our discussion, which we here close, has, I hope, proved that the development of the *Gaina* church has not been, at any time, violently interrupted by some very extraordinary events; that we can follow this development from its true beginning through its different stages, and that *Gainism* is as much independent from other sects, especially from

¹ *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 248.

Buddhism, as can be expected from any sect. We must leave to future researches to work out the details, but I hope to have removed the doubts, entertained by some scholars, about the independence of the *Gaṇa* religion and the value of its sacred books as trustworthy documents for the elucidation of its early history.

It remains for me to add a few remarks about the two works which have been translated in this book.

The *Ākārāṅga Sūtra*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Sāmāyika*¹, is the first of the eleven *Aṅgas*. It treats of the *ākāra*, or conduct, which falls under the last of the four heads, or *anuyogas*, into which the sacred lore is divided, viz. *Dharmakathā*, *Gaṇita*, *Dravya*, and *Karanakaraṇa*. The *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* contains two books, or *Srutaskandhas*, very different from each other in style and in the manner in which the subject is treated. The subdivisions of the second book being called *Kūlās*, or appendices, it follows that only the first book is really old. That it was considered so even in later times, is apparent from a remark of *Sīlāṅka*, who wrote the commentary, which is the oldest one extant². For speaking of the *maṅgala* or auspicious sentence which, according to a current theory, must occur at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of each work, *Sīlāṅka* points out as such the first sentence of the first lesson of the first lecture, the first sentence of the fifth lesson of the fifth lecture, and the latter half of the 16th verse in the fourth lesson of the eighth lecture of the first book. It is evident that he regarded the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* as ending with the last-named passage, which is the last but one of the first book.

The first book, then, is the oldest part of the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra*; it is probably the old *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* itself to which other treatises have been added. For it is complete in

¹ See Professor Weber's remarks on the possible bearing of this name in the treatise I had so often occasion to quote, p. 243 seqq.

² It was not, however, the first commentary, for *Sīlāṅka* mentions one by *Gandhahastin*.

itself; it describes in rather enigmatical language the progress of the faithful towards the highest perfection. The last lecture, a sort of popular ballad on the glorious suffering of the prophet, was perhaps added in later times, but as it stands now it serves well to illustrate and to set a high example of the true ascetic's life. But the greater part of the book is in prose of the most bewildering kind. Frequently we meet with fragments only of sentences, or with sentences which it is impossible to construe. This reminds us of the style of the Brahmanical Sūtras; but there is this difference, that in the last-named works the single aphorisms are the necessary links in the logical concatenation of ideas, while in our book the single sentences or parts of sentences do not seem to be connected with one another in order to carry on the illustration of an idea. They do not read like a logical discussion, but like a sermon made up by quotations from some then well-known sacred books. In fact the fragments of verses and whole verses which are liberally interspersed in the prose text go far to prove the correctness of my conjecture; for many of these 'disjecta membra' are very similar to verses or Pādas of verses occurring in the Sūtrakṛitāṅga, Uttarādhyayana, and Dasavaikālika Sūtras. They must therefore be taken as allusions to standard authorities. The same must be assumed of at least some prose sentences, especially those which are incomplete in themselves. Other passages again seem to be added to those quotations in order to explain or to complete them. I shall give a few specimens. I, 4, 1, 3 we read, aho ya rāo gatamānē dhīre; this is a Pāda of a Trishūbh, and accordingly a quotation. The words which follow, sayā āgayapannāne, explain the meaning of that quotation, aho ya rāo = sayā, gatamānē dhīre = āgayapannāne. The text continues pamatte bahiyā pāsa. This is probably a Pāda of a Sloka; the rest of the sentence, appamatte sayā parakkameggā, is the moral application of the preceding one. We should therefore translate: 'Day and night exerting himself and steadfast,' i. e. always having ready wisdom. 'Look, the careless stand outside,' (there-

fore) being careful he should always exert himself. The commentator however does not separate the quotations from the glosses, but takes all these passages as parts of one sentence, which he interprets in the way that it has been rendered in the text of my translation, p. 37.

In this as in many other cases I have preferred to give in my translation the meaning which *Silāṅka* has given in his commentary. For it is sometimes extremely difficult to separate the quotations from the remaining text. I have never dared to do so when they could not be proved to be parts of verses. I had therefore to leave unnoticed all such passages which, as the one quoted above, might be taken as a *Pāda* of a *Sloka*; for in every prose work such passages occur, though they never were meant for verse. They may, therefore, only accidentally resemble parts of a *Sloka* in our book too, though the great number of such passages is rather suspicious. The greatest difficulty however we should incur if we were to point out the prose quotations, though there are certainly such, e.g. I, 3, 1, 1, *suttā amuṇi, muṇino satataṃ gāgaranti*. Such phrases differ in style from the rest of the prose part; but it would be impossible to draw the line between them and the work of the real author. From what has been said, it will appear how difficult it is to do justice to such a work as the first book of the *Ākāraṅga* in the first attempt to translate it. In most cases I have contented myself with rendering the text according to the interpretation of the commentator. It must be left to future labours to come nearer the meaning of the author than it has been preserved by the tradition of the scholiasts.

Formerly the first book contained nine lectures instead of eight, one lecture, the *Mahāparinnā*, being now lost. It was, according to some authorities, *Samavāyāṅga*, *Nandī*, *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*, and *Vidhiprabhā*¹, the ninth lecture; but according to the *Nirukti* of the *Ākāraṅga Sūtra*, which contains a systematic exposition of the subjects treated in the single lectures and lessons of the *Ākāraṅga* itself, and

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 251 seq.

to *Silāṅka* and the other commentators, it was the eighth lecture. It contained seven lessons, and treated of some details of ascetic life¹. The fact that the same subjects were treated in the second book probably occasioned the loss of the *Mahāparinnā*, 'because it was superfluous².'

The second book consists of four parts (*Kūlā*) or appendices. There were originally five *Kūlās*, but the fifth, the *Nisīhiyaggāṇa*, is now reckoned as a separate work. The first and second parts lay down rules for conduct. Their style is very different from that of the first book, being rather cumbrous, and not at all aphoristical. The greatest difficulty in translating these parts is caused by the numerous technical terms, some of which remain obscure, notwithstanding the explanation of the commentary; others again are simply transcribed into Sanskrit by the scholiast, and seem to require no definition to be understood by the modern *Gainas*. But it is different with us, who are frequently reduced to guessing at the meaning of technicalities which a *Yati* could explain at once. It is therefore to be hoped that some scholars in India, who can avail themselves of the instruction of a *Yati*, will turn their attention to this subject, and get an authentic explanation of the many technical terms the meaning of which cannot be ascertained by a European scholar by the means of *Gaina* works only.

The third and fourth *Kūlās* have, according to the *Parishīṣṭa Parvan IX*, been revealed to the eldest sister of *Sthūlabhadra* by *Simandhara*, a *Gina* living in *Pūrvavideha*, a mythical continent. This tradition is very remarkable, as it assigns what we should call the composition of the two last parts of the *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* to the same time when the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which treats of a similar subject, was composed.

The third part is of great interest, as it contains the materials from which the Life of *Mahāvīra* in the *Kalpa Sūtra* has been worked out. In fact most of the prose paragraphs occur with but small alterations in the *Kalpa*

¹ See Calcutta edition, I, p. 435 seq., vv. 251-268.

² *Sāisayattana*, Weber, l. c.

Sûtra. The latter work adds little that is material from an historical point of view, but a great deal of descriptions which have become typical and are to be found in other *Gaina* works adapted to similar circumstances. The *Ākārāṅga Sûtra* contains, besides the above-mentioned paragraphs, some verses which are wanting in the *Kalpa Sûtra*. On comparing these verses with those in the eighth lecture of the first book, we become aware of the great difference which subsists between both portions of the *Ākārāṅga Sûtra*, for in both, kindred subjects are treated in *Āryā* verses, yet the difference in style and in the treatment of the metre is such as can only be explained by the assumption of a considerable distance of time.

The latter part of the third *Kûlā*, which treats of the five great vows, with their twenty-five clauses, calls for no further remark; nor is anything more to be said about the twelve verses which make up the fourth *Kûlā*, but that they are probably old, and have been added here for want of a better place.

The translation of the *Ākārāṅga Sûtra* is based on my edition of the text in the *Pāli Text Society*¹, and the commentaries printed in the *Calcutta* edition of the *Ākārāṅga Sûtra*. They are:

1. *Tikā* of *Silāṅka*, also called *Tattvāditya*, said to have been finished in the *Saka* year 798 or 876 A.D., with the help of *Vāhari Sādhu*.

2. *Dīpikā* of *Ginahaṃsa Sūri*, a teacher of the *Bṛihat Kharatara Gakkha*. The *Dīpikā* is almost verbally copied from the *Tikā*, which it pretends to reduce to a smaller compass. But the reduction consists almost entirely in the omission of *Silāṅka*'s comments on the *Niryukti* verses, which form his introduction to every lecture and lesson.

3. *Pārsvaṭandra*'s *Bālāvabodha* or *Guggerati Gloss*. In some parts of the second book, which are not explained in the older commentaries, this gloss was the only help I had. It generally closely follows the explanation of the older commentaries, more especially that of the *Dīpikā*.

About the *Kalpa Sûtra* I have spoken at some length in

¹ The *Āyārāṅga Sutta* of the *Çvetāmbara* *Jains*, London, 1882.

the introduction to my edition of that work¹, to which I refer the reader for further particulars. Since that time Professor Weber has taken up the subject in his treatise on the Sacred Books of the Gainas and corrected some mistakes of mine. He ascertained that the whole Kalpa Sūtra is incorporated as the eighth lecture in the Darāsrutaskandha, the fourth *Kṛeda* Sūtra. Professor Weber concurs in my opinion that the 'Rules for Yatis' may be the work of Bhadrabāhu², and that the 'List of Sthaviras' probably has been added by Devarddhi, the editor of the Siddhānta. I do not think, however, that Devarddhi was the author of the Life of Mahāvīra also, as Professor Weber suggests. For if it were the work of so well known a man, tradition would certainly not have allowed such a fact to become forgotten. It was a different thing with the List of Sthaviras, which consists of four or five distinct treatises only put together and added to the Lives of the Ginas by the editor of the work. We cannot argue from the style of the Lives of the Ginas that that part must be younger than the Rules for Yatis; for the same difference of style occasioned by the diversity of the matter exists between the third *Kūlā* of the *Ākārāṅga* Sūtra and the two preceding ones. Nor can the meagreness of the contents be adduced as an argument against the antiquity of the Lives of the Ginas, since they were probably not intended for biographical treatises, but served a liturgical purpose; for when the images of the Tīrthakaras are worshipped in the temples they are addressed with hymns, one of which sums up the *Kalyāṇakas* or auspicious moments³. It is

¹ The Kalpa Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu, Leipzig, 1879. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, VII, 1.

² That the 'Rules for Yatis' must have been composed at least six generations after Mahāvīra is evident from §§ 3-8, but probably the work is still younger. For in § 6 the Sthaviras, who come immediately after the disciples of the Gaṇadharas, are spoken of in some contrast to the 'Sramanas Nirgranthas of the present time.' Yet the work cannot be comparatively young, because it appears from §§ 28-30 that the Ginakalpa had not yet fallen into disuse, as it had done in later times.

³ The rites are described and the hymns given in a modern work called *Katurvimsatitīrthanīkārāṇām pūgā*, a MS. of which belongs to the Deccan College.

with these Kalyāṇakas that the Lives of the Ginas are chiefly concerned, and this fact seems to prove that the custom of mentioning the Kalyāṇakas in the worship of the Tīrthakaras is a very old one; for otherwise it would be impossible to conceive what could have induced an author to treat so largely of so barren a subject as has been done in the Kalpa Sūtra. But whatever may be the age of the several parts of the Kalpa Sūtra, it is certain that this work has been held in high esteem by the Gainas for more than a thousand years. It therefore deserves a place in this collection of translations from the Sacred Books of the East. I could only have wished to make my translation more worthy of the place where it is to make its appearance; but if I have somewhat fallen short in my performance, I hope it will be accepted as an excuse that I had to translate into a language which is not my own, works of a literature which, notwithstanding all that has been done for it, still is all but virgin soil to us.

HERMANN JACOBI.

MÜNSTER, WESTPHALIA,
June, 1884.

ÂKÂRÂNGA SÛTRA.

ÂKÂRÂNGA SÛTRA.

FIRST BOOK¹.

FIRST LECTURE²,

CALLED

KNOWLEDGE OF THE WEAPON.

FIRST LESSON³.

O long-lived (Gambûsvâmin⁴)! I (Sudharman) have heard the following discourse from the venerable (Mahâvîra): (1)

Here many do not remember whether they have descended in an eastern direction (when they were born in this world), or in a southern, or in a western, or in a northern direction, or in the direction from above, or in the direction from below, or in a direction intermediate (between the cardinal points), or in a direction intermediate between these (and the

¹ *Suyakkhamdha, srutaskandha.*

² *Agghayana, adhyayana.* The first lecture is called *sattha-parinnâ (sastra-parigñâ)*, 'knowledge of the weapon.' Weapons are divided into material weapon and weapon consisting in a state (*bhâva*). The latter is explained to be non-control (*asamyama*) or the wrong use of mind, speech, and body. Knowledge (*parigñâ*) is twofold: comprehension and renunciation. The subject of the first lecture is, therefore, the comprehension and renunciation of everything that hurts other beings.

³ *Uddesaya, uddesaka.*

⁴ Gambûsvâmin was the disciple of Sudharman, one of the eleven chief disciples (*ganadhara*) of Mahâvîra.

cardinal points). (2) Similarly, some do not know whether their soul is born again and again or not; nor what they were formerly, nor what they will become after having died and left this world. (3) Now this is what one should know, either by one's own knowledge or through the instruction of the highest (i. e. a Tīrthakara), or having heard it from others: that he descended in an eastern direction, or in any other direction (particularised above). Similarly, some know that their soul is born again and again, that it arrives in this or that direction, whatever direction that may be. (4) He believes in soul¹, believes in the world², believes in reward³, believes in action (acknowledged to be our own doing in such judgments as these): 'I did it;' 'I shall cause another to do it;' 'I shall allow another to do it⁴.' In the world, these are all the causes of sin⁵, which must be comprehended and renounced. (5) A man that does not comprehend and renounce the causes of sin, descends in a cardinal or intermediate direction, wanders to all cardinal or intermediate directions, is born again and again in manifold births, experiences all painful feelings. (6) About this the Revered One has taught

¹ I. e. in a permanent soul, different from the body. This is said against the *Kārvākas*.

² I. e. the plurality of souls, not in one all-soul, as the *Vedāntins*.

³ *Kamma* (karma) is that which darkens our intellect, &c. Its result is the suffering condition of men, its cause is action (*kiriya*, *kriyā*).

⁴ The different tenses employed in these sentences imply, according to the commentators, the acknowledgment of the reality of time, as past, present, future.

⁵ *Kamma-samārambha*. *Kamma* has been explained above. *Samārambha*, a special action (*kriyā*), is the engaging in something blamable (*sāvadyānush/hāna*).

the truth (comprehension and renunciation). For the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, all these causes of sin are at work, which are to be comprehended and renounced in this world. He who, in the world, comprehends and renounces these causes of sin, is called a reward-knowing sage (*muni*). Thus I say¹. (7)

SECOND LESSON ².

The (living) world is afflicted, miserable, difficult to instruct, and without discrimination. In this world full of pain, suffering by their different acts, see the benighted ones cause great pain. (1) See! there are beings individually embodied (in earth; not one all-soul). See! there are men who

¹ These words (*tti bemi*) stand at the end of every lesson. The commentators supply them also for the beginning of each lesson.

² After the chief tenets of *Gainism* with regard to soul and actions have briefly been stated in the first lesson, the six remaining lessons of the first lecture treat of the actions which injure the six classes of lives or souls. The *Gainas* seem to have arrived at their concept of soul, not through the search after the Self, the self-existing unchangeable principle in the ever-changing world of phenomena, but through the perception of life. For the most general *Gaina* term for soul is life (*gīva*), which is identical with self (*âyâ*, *âtman*). There are numberless lives or souls, not only embodied in animals, men, gods, hell-beings (*tasa*, *trasa*), and plants (*vanassaî*, *vanaspati*), but also in the four elements—earth, water, fire, wind. Earth, &c., regarded as the abode of lives is called earth-body, &c. These bodies are only perceptible when an infinite number of them is united in one place. The earth-lives, &c., possess only one organ, that of feeling; they have undeveloped (*avyakta*) intellect and feelings (*vedanâ*), but no limbs, &c. The doctrines about these elementary lives are laid down in *Bhadrabâhu's Nirukti* of our *Sûtra*, and are commented upon in *Silânka's* great commentary of it. They are very abstruse, and deal in the most minute distinctions, which baffle our comprehension.

control themselves, (whilst others only) pretend to be houseless (i. e. monks, such as the Bauddhas, whose conduct differs not from that of householders), because one destroys this (earth-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of earth, through his doing acts relating to earth. (2) About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards earth, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood or heard, either from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. (3) There are some who, of a truth, know this (i. e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this¹ a man is longing when he destroys this (earth-body) by bad, injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of earth, through his doing acts relating to earth. Thus I say. (4)

As somebody may cut or strike a blind man (who cannot see the wound), as somebody may cut or strike the foot, the ankle, the knee, the thigh, the hip, the navel, the belly, the flank, the back, the bosom, the heart, the breast, the neck, the arm, the finger, the nail, the eye, the brow, the forehead, the head, as some kill (openly), as some extirpate

¹ *Ikā' attham.* The commentators think this to be a reference to the sentence, For the sake of the splendour, &c. It would be more natural to connect it with the foregoing sentence; the meaning is, For bondage, &c., men commit violence, though they believe it to be for the happiness of this life.

(secretly), (thus the earth-bodies are cut, struck, and killed though their feeling is not manifest). (5)

He who injures these (earth-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards earth, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to earth, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (6)

THIRD LESSON¹.

(Thus I say): He who acts rightly, who does pious work, who practises no deceit, is called houseless. (1) One should, conquering the world, persevere in that (vigour of) faith which one had on the entrance in the order; the heroes (of faith), humbly bent, (should retain their belief in) the illustrious road (to final liberation) and in the world (of water-bodies); having rightly comprehended them through the instruction (of Mahāvīra), (they should retain) that which causes no danger (i. e. self-control). Thus I say. (2) A man should not (himself) deny the world of (water-bodies), nor should he deny the self. He who denies the world (of water-bodies), denies the self; and he who denies the self, denies the world of (water-bodies). (3)

See! there are men who control themselves;

¹ The water-lives which are treated of in this lesson are, as is the case with all elementary lives, divided into three classes: the sentient, the senseless, and the mixed. Only that water which is the abode of senseless water-lives may be used. Therefore water is to be strained before use, because the senseless lives only are believed to remain in water after that process.

others pretend only to be houseless; for one destroys this (water-body) by bad, injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of water, through his doing acts relating to water. (4) About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards water, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. (5) This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood and heard from the Revered One, or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i. e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (water-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of water, through his doing acts relating to water. Thus I say. (6)

There are beings living in water, many lives; of a truth, to the monks water has been declared to be living matter. See! considering the injuries (done to water-bodies), those acts (which are injuries, but must be done before the use of water, e.g. straining) have been distinctly declared. Moreover he (who uses water which is not strained) takes away what has not been given (i. e. the bodies of water-lives). (A Bauddha will object): 'We have permission, we have permission to drink it, or (to take it) for toilet purposes.' Thus they destroy by various injuries (the water-bodies). But in this their doctrine is of no authority.

He who injures these (water-bodies) does not

comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. (7) Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards water, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to water, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (8)

FOURTH LESSON.

(Thus I say): A man should not, of his own accord, deny the world (of fire-bodies), nor should he deny the self. He who denies the world (of fire-bodies), denies the self; and he who denies the self, denies the world (of fire-bodies). (1) He who knows that (viz. fire) through which injury is done to the long-living bodies (i.e. plants)¹, knows also that which does no injury (i.e. control); and he who knows that which does no injury, knows also that through which no injury is done to the long-living bodies. (2) This has been seen by the heroes (of faith) who conquered ignorance; for they control themselves, always exert themselves, always mind their duty. He who is unmindful of duty, and desiring of the qualities (i.e. of the pleasure and profit which may be derived from the elements) is called the torment² (of living beings). Knowing this, a wise man (resolves): 'Now (I shall do) no more what I used to do wantonly before.' (3) See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless; for one destroys this (fire-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many

¹ The fire-bodies live not longer than three days.

² *Damda*.

other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of fire, through his doing acts relating to fire. About this the Revered One has taught the truth : for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards fire, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. (4) This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing, when he destroys this (fire-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of fire, through his doing acts relating to fire. Thus I say. (5)

There are beings living in the earth, living in grass, living on leaves, living in wood, living in cowdung, living in dust-heaps, jumping beings which coming near (fire) fall into it. Some, certainly, touched by fire, shrivel up ; those which shrivel up there, lose their sense there ; those which lose their sense there, die there. (6)

He who injures these (fire-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts ; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards fire, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows the causes of sin relating to fire, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (7)

FIFTH LESSON¹.

'I shall not do (acts relating to plants) after having entered the order, having recognised (the truth about these acts), and having conceived that which is free from danger (i.e. control).'

He who does no acts (relating to plants), has ceased from works; he who has ceased from them is called 'houseless.' (1) Quality is the whirlpool (*âvatta*=*samsâra*), and the whirlpool is quality. Looking up, down, aside, eastward, he sees colours, hearing he hears sounds; (2) longing upwards, down, aside, eastward, he becomes attached to colours and sounds. That is called the world; not guarded against it, not obeying the law (of the Tirthakaras), relishing the qualities, conducting himself wrongly, he will wantonly live in a house (i.e. belong to the world). (3)

See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (body of a plant) by bad and injurious doings, and many other

¹ The discussion of the 'wind-bodies,' which should follow that of the fire-bodies, is postponed for two lessons in which the vegetable and animal world is treated of. The reason for this interruption of the line of exposition is, as the commentators state, that the nature of wind, because of its invisibleness, is open to doubts, whilst plants and animals are admitted by all to be living beings, and are, therefore, the best support of the hylozoistical theory. That wind was not readily admitted by the ancient Indians to be a peculiar substance may still be recognised in the philosophical Sûtras of the Brahmans. For there it was thought necessary to discuss at length the proofs for the existence of a peculiar substance, wind. It should be remarked that wind was never identified with air, and that the Gainas had not yet separated air from space.

beings, besides, which he hurts by means of plants, through his doing acts relating to plants. (4) About this the Revered One has taught the truth : for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards plants, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (body of a plant) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of plants, through his doing acts relating to plants. Thus I say. (5)

As the nature of this (i.e. men) is to be born and to grow old, so is the nature of that (i.e. plants) to be born and to grow old ; as this has reason, so that has reason¹ ; as this falls sick when cut, so that falls sick when cut ; as this needs food, so that needs food ; as this will decay, so that will decay ; as this is not eternal, so that is not eternal ; as this takes increment, so that takes increment ; as this is changing, so that is changing. (6) He who injures these (plants) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful

¹ The plants know the seasons, for they sprout at the proper time, the Asoka buds and blooms when touched by the foot of a well-attired girl, and the Vakula when watered with wine ; the seed grows always upwards : all this would not happen if the plants had no knowledge of the circumstances about them. Such is the reasoning of the commentators.

acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards plants, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to plants, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (7)

SIXTH LESSON.

Thus I say: There are beings called the animate, viz. those who are produced 1. from eggs (birds, &c.), 2. from a fetus (as elephants, &c.), 3. from a fetus with an enveloping membrane (as cows, buffaloes, &c.), 4. from fluids (as worms, &c.), 5. from sweat (as bugs, lice, &c.), 6. by coagulation (as locusts, ants, &c.), 7. from sprouts (as butterflies, wagtails, &c.), 8. by regeneration (men, gods, hell-beings). This is called the *Samsâra* (1) for the slow, for the ignorant. Having well considered it, having well looked at it, I say thus: all beings, those with two, three, four senses, plants, those with five senses, and the rest of creation, (experience) individually pleasure or displeasure, pain, great terror, and unhappiness. Beings are filled with alarm from all directions and in all directions. See! there the benighted ones cause great pain. See! there are beings individually embodied. (2)

See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (body of an animal) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of animals, through his doing acts relating to animals. (3) About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour,

honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards animals, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed, when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this (i.e. injuring) to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing, when he injures this (body of an animal) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of animals, through acts relating to animals. Thus I say. (4)

Some slay (animals) for sacrificial purposes, some kill (animals) for the sake of their skin, some kill (them) for the sake of their flesh, some kill them for the sake of their blood; thus for the sake of their heart, their bile, the feathers of their tail, their tail, their big or small horns, their teeth, their tusks, their nails, their sinews, their bones¹; with a purpose or without a purpose. Some kill animals because they have been wounded by them, or are wounded, or will be wounded. (5)

He who injures these (animals) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards animals, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows

¹ The word after bones (a//hîe) is a//himingâe, for which buffaloes, boars, &c. are killed, as the commentator states. I do not know the meaning of this word which is rendered asthi-miṅgâ.

these causes of sin relating to animals, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (6)

SEVENTH LESSON.

He who is averse from (all actions relating to) wind, knows affliction. Knowing what is bad, he who knows it with regard to himself, knows it with regard to (the world) outside; and he who knows it with regard to (the world) outside, knows it with regard to himself: this reciprocity (between himself and) others (one should mind). Those who are appeased, who are free from passion, do not desire to live. (1)

See! there are men who control themselves; others pretend only to be houseless, for one destroys this (wind-body) by bad and injurious doings, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of wind, through his doing acts relating to wind. (2) About this the Revered One has taught the truth: for the sake of the splendour, honour, and glory of this life, for the sake of birth, death, and final liberation, for the removal of pain, man acts sinfully towards wind, or causes others to act so, or allows others to act so. This deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom. About this he is informed when he has understood, or heard from the Revered One or from the monks, the faith to be coveted. There are some who, of a truth, know this to be the bondage, the delusion, the death, the hell. For this a man is longing when he destroys this (wind-body) by bad and injurious acts, and many other beings, besides, which he hurts by means of wind, through his doing acts relating to wind. Thus I say. (3)

There are jumping beings which, coming near wind, fall into it. Some, certainly, touched by wind, shrivel up; those which shrivel up there, lose their sense there; those which lose their sense there, die there. (4)

He who injures these (wind-bodies) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts; he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts. Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards wind, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to wind, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (5)

Be aware that about this (wind-body) too those are involved in sin who delight not in the right conduct, and, though doing acts, talk about religious discipline, who conducting themselves according to their own will, pursuing sensual pleasures, and engaging in acts, are addicted to worldliness. He who has the true knowledge about all things, will commit no sinful act, nor cause others to do so, &c. (6) Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards the aggregate of six (kinds of) lives, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so. He who knows these causes of sin relating to the aggregate of the six (kinds of) lives, is called a reward-knowing sage. Thus I say. (7)

End of the First Lecture, called Knowledge of the
Weapon.

SECOND LECTURE,

CALLED

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD.

FIRST LESSON.

Quality is the seat of the root, and the seat of the root is quality¹. He who longs for the qualities, is overcome by great pain, and he is careless². (For he thinks) I have to provide for a mother, for a father, for a sister, for a wife, for sons, for daughters, for a daughter-in-law, for my friends, for near and remote relations, for my acquaintances³, for different kinds of property, profit, meals, and clothes. Longing for these objects, people are careless, suffer day and night, work in the right and the wrong time, desire wealth and treasures, commit injuries and violent acts, direct the mind, again and again, upon these injurious doings (described in the preceding lecture). (1) (Doing so), the life of some mortals (which by destiny would have been long) is shortened. For when with the deterioration of the perceptions of the ear, eye, organs of smelling, tasting, touching, a man becomes aware of the decline of life, they⁴ after a time

¹ I. e. in the qualities of the external things lies the primary cause of the *Samsâra*, viz. sin; the qualities produce sin, and sinfulness makes us apt to enjoy the qualities.

² I. e. gives way to love, hate, &c.

³ *Samthuya*. The commentators explain this word acquaintance or one who is recommended to me.

⁴ I. e. these failing perceptions.

produce dotage. Or his kinsmen with whom he lives together will, after a time, first grumble at him, and he will afterwards grumble at them. They cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them. (2) He is not fit for hilarity, playing, pleasure, show. Therefore, ah! proceeding to pilgrimage, and thinking that the present moment is favourable (for such intentions¹), he should be steadfast and not, even for an hour, carelessly conduct himself. His youth, his age, his life fade away.

A man who carelessly conducts himself, who killing, cutting, striking, destroying, chasing away, frightening (living beings) resolves to do what has not been done (by any one)—him his relations with whom he lived together, will first cherish, and he will afterwards cherish them. But they cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them. (3)

Or he heaps up treasures for the benefit of some spendthrifts, by pinching himself. Then, after a time, he falls in sickness; those with whom he lives together will first leave him, and he will afterwards leave them. They cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them. (4)

Knowing pain and pleasure in all their variety², and seeing his life not yet decline, a wise man should know that to be the proper moment (for entering a religious life); while the perceptions of his ear, eye, organs of smelling, tasting, touching are not

¹ I.e. his present life; for the birth in âryakshetra and in a noble family is difficult to obtain in this *Samsâra*.

² *Patteyam*, singly, with regard to the living beings.

yet deteriorated, while all these perceptions are not yet deteriorated, man should prosecute¹ the real end of his soul². Thus I say. (5)

SECOND LESSON.

A wise man should remove any aversion (to control³); he will be liberated in the proper time. Some, following wrong instruction, turn away (from control). They are dull, wrapped in delusion. While they imitate the life of monks, (saying), 'We shall be free from attachment,' they enjoy the pleasures that offer themselves⁴. Through wrong instruction the (would-be) sages trouble themselves (for pleasures); thus they sink deeper and deeper in delusion, (and cannot get) to this, nor to the opposite shore⁵. Those who are freed (from attachment to the world and its pleasures), reach the opposite shore⁶. Subduing desire by desirelessness, he does not enjoy the pleasures that offer themselves. Desireless, giving up the world, and ceasing to act, he knows, and sees, and has no wishes because of his discernment⁷; he is called houseless. (1)

¹ *Samanuvâseggâsi* (tti bemi) is taken by the commentators for the second person, which always occurs before tti bemi, but nowhere else. I think si belongs to tti bemi, and stands for se = asau.

² Viz. control.

³ *Arati* is usually dislike, *âu/ai* exercise; but, according to the commentators, these words here mean *samyamârati* and *nivartayati*.

⁴ E. g. the Buddhists, &c., *Sâkyâdayaḥ*.

⁵ I. e. they are neither householders nor houseless monks.

⁶ I. e. *moksha*, final liberation.

⁷ Viz. between good and bad, or of the results of desire.

(But on the contrary) he suffers day and night, works in the right and the wrong time, desires wealth and treasures, commits injuries and violent acts, again and again directs his mind upon these injurious doings¹; for his own sake, to support or to be supported by his relations, friends, the ancestors, gods, the king, thieves, guests, paupers, *Sramanas*. (2)

Thus violence is done by these various acts, deliberately, out of fear, because they think 'it is for the expiation of sins²,' or for some other hope. Knowing this, a wise man should neither himself commit violence by such acts, nor order others to commit violence by such acts, nor consent to the violence done by somebody else.

This road (to happiness) has been declared by the noble ones, that a clever man should not be defiled (by sin). Thus I say. (3)

THIRD LESSON.

'Frequently (I have been born) in a high family, frequently in a low one; I am not mean, nor noble, nor do I desire (social preferment).' Thus reflecting, who would brag about his family or about his glory, or for what should he long? (1)

Therefore a wise man should neither be glad nor angry (about his lot): thou shouldst know and consider the happiness of living creatures. Carefully conducting himself, he should mind this: blindness, deafness, dumbness, one-eyedness, hunchbacked-

¹ See I, 2, 1, § 1.

² The sacrificial rites of the *Brâhmanas* are meant.

ness¹, blackness, variety of colour (he will always experience); because of his carelessness he is born in many births, he experiences various feelings. (2)

Not enlightened (about the cause of these ills) he is afflicted (by them), always turns round (in the whirl of) birth and death. Life is dear to many who own fields and houses. Having acquired dyed and coloured (clothes), jewels, earrings, gold, and women, they become attached to these things. And a fool who longs for life, and worldly-minded², laments that (for these worldly goods) penance, self-restraint, and control do not avail, will ignorantly come to grief. (3)

Those who are of a steady conduct do not desire this (wealth). Knowing birth and death, one should firmly walk the path (i.e. right conduct), (and not wait for old age to commence a religious life),

For there is nothing inaccessible for death. All beings are fond of life³, like pleasure, hate pain, shun destruction, like life, long to live. To all life is dear⁴. (4)

Having acquired it (i.e. wealth), employing bipeds and quadrupeds, gathering riches in the three ways⁵,

¹ Hereafter *vadabhattam* explained by *vinirgataprithivi vadabha-lakshanam*.

² *Sampunnam*=*sampûrnam*, lit. complete, i.e. the complete end of human existence is enjoyment of the world.

³ Another reading mentioned by the commentator is *piyâyayâ*, fond of themselves.

⁴ The original of this paragraph reads partly metrical; after the verse marked in my edition there follow three final *pâdas* of a *sloka*.

⁵ According to the commentators, the three modes of activity (*yoga*), action, order, consent, or the three organs of activity (*karana*), mind, speech, body, are meant.

whatever his portion will be, small or great, he will desire to enjoy it. Then at one time, his manifold savings are a large treasure. Then at another time, his heirs divide it, or those who are without a living steal it, or the king takes it away, or it is ruined in some way or other, or it is consumed by the conflagration of the house. Thus a fool doing cruel deeds which benefit another, will ignorantly come thereby to grief. (5)

This certainly has been declared by the sage¹. They do not cross the flood², nor can they cross it; they do not go to the next shore, nor can they go to it; they do not go to the opposite shore, nor can they go to it.

And though hearing the doctrine, he does not stand in the right place; but the clever one who adopts the true (faith), stands in the right place (i.e. control)³.

He who sees by himself, needs no instruction. But the miserable, afflicted fool who delights in pleasures, and whose miseries do not cease, is turned round in the whirl of pains. Thus I say. (6)

¹ I.e. the Tirthakara.

² I.e. the Samsāra, represented under the idea of a lake or slough, in the mud of which the worldly are sinking without being able to reach the shore.

³ *Āyāniggaṃ ka ādāya tammi thāne na kiṭṭhai* | *avitaḥam pappā kheyanne tammi thānammi kiṭṭhai* || These words form a regular sloka, which has not been noticed by any commentator. *Silāṅka* seems to have read *vitaham pappā akheyanne*, but I consider the reading of our MSS. better, for if we adopt it, *thāna* retains the same meaning (viz. control) in both parts of the couplet, while if we adopt *Silāṅka's* reading, *thāna* must in the one place denote the contrary of what it means in the other; *ādāniya*, doctrine, lit. to be adopted.

FOURTH LESSON.

Then, after a time, he falls in sickness: those with whom he lives together, first grumble at him, and he afterwards grumbles at them. But they cannot help thee or protect thee, nor canst thou help them or protect them. (1)

Knowing pleasure and pain separately¹, they trouble themselves about the enjoyment (of the external objects). For some men in this world have (such a character that) they will desire to enjoy their portion, whether it be large or small, in the three ways². Then, at one time, it will be sufficiently large, with many resources. Then, at another time, his heirs divide it, or those who have no living steal it, or the king takes it away, or it is ruined in some way or other, or it is consumed by the conflagration of the house. Thus a fool, doing cruel acts, comes ignorantly to grief. (2)

Wisely reject hope and desire³, and extracting that thorn (i.e. pleasure) thou (shouldst act rightly). People who are enveloped by delusion do not understand this: he who (gathers wealth) will, perhaps, not have the benefit of it.

The world is greatly troubled by women. They (viz. men) forsooth say, 'These are the vessels (of happiness).' But this leads them to pain, to delusion,

¹ The meaning seems to be: If people do not know that pleasure and pain are the result of their own works, &c.

² The commentators give no explanation of what is meant by 'the three ways,' yet cf. 3, § 5.

³ The words *âsam ka khamdam ka vigimka dhîre* form a *trishrubh pāda*.

to death, to hell, to birth as hell-beings or brute beasts. The fool never knows the law. (3)

Thus spake the hero¹: 'Be careful against this great delusion; the clever one should have done with carelessness by considering death in tranquillity, and that, the nature of which is decay (viz. the body); these (pleasures), look! will not satisfy (thee). Therefore have done with them! Sage, look! this is the great danger, it should overcome none whomsoever. He is called a hero who is not vexed by (the hardships caused) by control. He should not be angry because the (householder) gives him little. If turned off, he should go. Thou shouldst conform to the conduct of the sages.' Thus I say. (4)

FIFTH LESSON.

That for this (viz. pleasure) the wants of the world should be supplied by bad injurious doings: for one's own sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, kinsmen, nurses, kings, male and female slaves, male and female servants, for the sake of hospitality, of supper and breakfast, the accumulation of wealth is effected. (1)

(This is) here for the enjoyment of some men. (But a wise man) exerting himself, houseless, noble, of noble intellect, of noble perception recognises the proper moment (for all actions). He should not accept, nor cause others to accept, or permit them

¹ The MSS. have udâhu dhîre. The last word is a frequent mistake for vîre, which is adopted by the commentators. They explain udâhu by ud-âha=uktavân.

to accept anything unclean¹. Free from uncleanness he should wander about. (2)

Being not seen in buying and selling, he should not buy, nor cause others to buy, nor consent to the buying of others. This mendicant who knows the time, the strength (of himself), the measure (of all things), the practice², the occasion (for begging, &c.), the conduct, the religious precepts³, the true condition (of the donor or hearer), who disowns all things not requisite for religious purposes⁴, who is under no obligations, he proceeds securely (on the road to final liberation) after having cut off both (love and hate). Clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, brooms, property⁵, straw mats, with regard to these things he should know (what is unclean). When he receives food he should know the quantity required. This has been declared by the Reverend One: he should not rejoice in the receipt of a gift, nor be sorry when he gets nothing. Having got much, one should not store it away; one should abstain from things not requisite for religious purposes. With a mind different (from that of common people) a seer abandons (these things). This is the road taught by the noble ones, well acquainted with which one should not be defiled (by sin). Thus I say. (3)

¹ Âmagandha, unclean, is also a Buddhist term; see Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 131, 181.

² Kheda=abhyâsa, or the pain of worldly existence.

³ Samaya.

⁴ Pariggaha; it might also be translated, who disowns attachment.

⁵ Oggaha=avagraha property e.g. the ground or space which the householder allows the mendicant who stays in his house.

Pleasures are difficult to reject, life is difficult to prolong. That man, certainly, who loves pleasures, is afflicted (by their loss), is sorry in his heart, leaves his usual ways, is troubled, suffers pain. The far-sighted one who knows the world, knows its inferior part (hell), its upper part (heaven), its side-long part (the state of brute beasts). He who knows the relation (of human affairs, viz.) that he who desires for the world is always turned round (in the *sam-sāra*), is called among mortals a hero, who liberates those who are fettered. (4)

As the interior (of the body is loathsome), so is the exterior; as the exterior, so is the interior. In the interior of the body he perceives the foul interior humours, he observes their several courses (or eruptions). A well-informed man knowing (and renouncing the body and pleasures), should not eat (his saliva¹); he should not oppose himself to the (current of knowledge). Certainly, that man who engages in worldly affairs, who practises many tricks, who is bewildered by his own doings, acts again and again on that desire which increases his unrighteousness². Hence the above has been said for the increase of this (life)³. (A man addicted to pleasures) acts as if immortal, and puts great faith (in pleasure); but when he perceives that this body sustains pains, he cries in his ignorance. Therefore keep in your mind what I say. (5)

¹ I.e. what he has thrown away, vomited, as it were; pleasures.

² *Veram vaddhei appano*, apparently the close of a *sloka*; see I, 3, 2, 3.

³ The commentators supply *saṁśāsa*, the body. For sinful acts injure the bodies of living beings; therefore they are increased by our abstaining from sin.

A heretic¹ professes to cure (the love of pleasure), while he kills, cuts, strikes, destroys, chases away, resolves to do what has not been done before. To whom he applies the cure—enough of that fool's affection²; or he who has (the cure) applied, is a fool. This does not apply to the houseless. Thus I say. (6)

SIXTH LESSON.

He who perfectly understands (what has been said in the preceding lesson) and follows the (faith) to be coveted, should therefore do no sinful act, nor cause others to do one. Perchance he meditates a sin (by an act against only) one (of the six aggregates of lives); but he will be guilty (of sin against) every one of the six. Desiring happiness and bemoaning much, he comes ignorantly to grief through his own misfortune. (1) Through his own carelessness every one produces that phase of life in which the vital spirits are pained. Observing (the pain of mundane existence, one should) not (act) with violence. This is called the true knowledge (and renunciation). He who ceasing from acts relinquishes the idea of property, relinquishes property itself. That sage has seen the path (to final liberation) for whom there exists no property. Knowing this, a wise man, who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world,

¹ *Pamdite*=*panditamânî*, who believes or pretends to be a learned man.

² *Alam bālassa samgena*, a *pāda* of *sloka*; followed by the words in note 2, p. 24, it forms the hemistich of verse 3 in the Second Lesson of the next Chapter.

should prudently conquer¹ the obstructions to righteousness. Thus I say. (2)

The hero does not tolerate discontent,

The hero does not tolerate lust.

Because the hero is not careless,

The hero is not attached (to the objects of the senses).

Being indifferent against sounds (and the other) perceptions, detest the comfort of this life.

A sage adopting a life of wisdom, should treat his gross body roughly.

The heroes who have right intuition, use mean and rough food².

Such a man is said to have crossed the flood (of life), to be a sage, to have passed over (the *sam-sâra*), to be liberated, to have ceased (from all activity). Thus I say. (3)

A sage is called unfit who does not follow the law and fails in his office. (But on the contrary) he is praised as a hero, he overcomes the connection with the world, he is called the guide (or the right way). What has been declared to be here the unhappiness of mortals, of that unhappiness the clever ones propound the knowledge. (4)

Thus understanding (and renouncing) acts, a man who recognises the truth, delights in nothing else; and he who delights only in the truth, recognises nothing else. As (the law) has been revealed for the full one, so for the empty one; as for the empty

¹ See p. 17, note 1.

² These words apparently form a *sloka*, though the third *pâda* is too short by one syllable; but this fault can easily be corrected by inserting *ka*: *pamtam lûham ka sevanti*. The commentators treat the passage as prose.

one, so for the full one¹. But he (to whom the faith is preached) will perhaps disrespectfully beat (the preacher). Yet know, there is no good in this (indiscriminate preaching). (But ascertain before) what sort of man he is, and whom he worships. He is called a hero who liberates the bound, above, below, and in the sideward directions. He always conforms to all knowledge (and renunciation); the hero is not polluted by the sin of killing. He is a wise man who perfectly knows the non-killing², who searches after the liberation of the bound. The clever one is neither bound nor liberated; he should do or leave undone (what the hero does or does not do); he should not do what (the hero) leaves undone :

Knowing (and renouncing) murder of any kind and worldly ideas in all respects³.

He who sees himself, needs no instruction. But the miserable and afflicted fool who delights in pleasures and whose miseries do not cease, is turned round in the whirl of pains⁴. Thus I say. (5)

End of the Second Lecture, called Conquest of the World.

¹ The full and the empty designate those who adopt the true faith, and those who do not.

² *Aṇugghāyana*. According to the commentator, the destruction of karman.

³ This is again a stray half sloka. The text abounds in minor fragments of verses, trishūbhās, or ślokas.

⁴ See the end of the Third Lesson.

THIRD LECTURE,

CALLED

HOT AND COLD.

FIRST LESSON.

The unwise sleep, the sages always wake. Know, that in this world the (cause of) misery¹ brings forth evil consequences! Knowing the course of the world², one should cease from violent acts. He who correctly possesses³ these (sensual perceptions), viz. sounds, and colours, and smells, and tastes, and touches (1), who self-possessed, wise, just, chaste, with right comprehension understands the world, he is to be called a sage, one who knows the law, and righteous. He knows the connection of the whirl (of births) and the current (of sensation with love and hate). Not minding heat and cold, equanimous against pleasure and pain, the Nirgrantha does not feel the austerity of penance. Waking and free from hostility, a wise man, thou liberatest (thyself and others) from the miseries. (2)

But a man always benighted, subject to old age and death, does not know the law. Seeing living beings suffering, earnestly enter a religious life⁴. Considering this, O prudent one, look!

Knowing the misery that results from action,
The deluded and careless one returns to life;

¹ I. e. ignorance and delusion.

² Regarding the evil-doer.

³ And renounces.

⁴ Again a half sloka, unnoticed as such by the commentators.

Disregarding sounds and colours, upright,
Avoiding Māra one is liberated from death ¹.

Carefully abstaining from pleasures and ceasing from bad works he is a hero, guarding himself, who is grounded in knowledge ². (3) He who knows the violence done for the sake of special objects, knows what is free from violence ³; he who knows what is free from violence, knows the violence done for special objects. For him who is without karman, there is no appellation ⁴. The condition of living beings arises from karman.

Examining karman and the root of karman, viz. killing ⁵, examining (it) and adopting its contrary ⁶, he is not seen by both ends ⁷. Knowing this, a wise man who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world, should prudently conquer the obstructions to righteousness ⁸. Thus I say. (4)

SECOND LESSON.

Look, Sir, at birth and old age here,
Examine and know the happiness of the living,
Thence the most learned, knowing (what is called)
the highest good,
He who has right intuition, commits no sin. (1)

¹ A trish/tubh unnoticed by the commentators.

² Kheyanna=khedagñā nipuṇa. I think the Sanskrit would rather be kshetragñā.

³ I. e. control.

⁴ As man, god, hell-being, young, old, &c.

⁵ See p. 28, note 4.

⁶ Literally, the left side (savyam); control is intended.

⁷ I. e. he is not touched by love and hate, which cause death.

⁸ See I, 2, 6 (2).

Undo the bond with mortals here ;
 He who lives by sins, is subject to both ¹,
 Desirous of pleasures they heap up karman,
 Influenced by it they are born again. (2)
 Killing (animals) he thinks good sport, and derives
 mirth from it :
 Away with that fool's company, he increases his
 own unrighteousness. (3)
 Thence the most learned, knowing (what is called)
 the highest good,
 Aware of the punishment, commits no sin ;
 Wisely avoid the top and the root ²!
 Cutting them off, he knows himself free from
 karman. (4)

That man will be liberated from death ; he is
 a sage who sees the danger ³, knowing the highest
 good in this world, leading a circumspect life, calm,
 guarded, endowed (with knowledge, &c.), always
 restrained, longing for death, he should lead a
 religious life. Manifold, indeed, appear sinful
 actions ; therefore prove constant to truth ! Delight-
 ing in it ⁴, a wise man destroys all karman. (1)

Many, indeed, are the plans of this man (of the
 world) ; he will satisfy his desires ; he (thereby
 causes) the slaughter of others, the pain of others,
 the punishment of others, the slaughter, the blame,

¹ Literally, sees both, i.e. experiences bodily and mental (agonies), those of this world and of the next.

² The root means delusion, the top the rest of the sins.

³ Arising from worldliness. The same words occur in 2, 6, § 2 ; but bhae (bhaya) stands here instead of pahe, road. Bhae occurs also in the former place in some MSS.

⁴ Ettho 'varae is usually 'ceasing from it, i.e. activity.' But here the commentators explain it as translated above.

the punishment of a whole province. Doing such things, some have exerted themselves¹. (2)

Therefore the second (i.e. the wrong creed) is not adhered to. The knowing one seeing the vanity (of the world) [knowing the rise and fall of the souls²], the Brahman follows the unrivalled (control of the Gaiṇas). He should not kill, nor cause others to kill, nor consent to the killing of others. 'Avoid gaiety, not delighting in creatures (i.e. women), having the highest intuition,' keeping off from sinful acts. (3)

And the hero should conquer wrath and pride,
Look at the great hell (as the place) for greed.
Therefore the hero abstaining from killing,
Should destroy sorrow, going the road of easiness³.

Here now the hero, knowing the bondage,
Knowing sorrow, should restrain himself.
Having risen to birth among men,
He should not take the life of living beings.

THIRD LESSON.

'Knowing the connection of the world, (carelessness is not for his benefit⁴).' 'Look at the exterior

¹ Samuḥḥiyā is commonly used in the sense of right effort, and thus explained by the commentators in this place, though we should expect the contrary.

² The words in brackets [] are a gloss upon the preceding sentence. If we leave them out, the rest forms half a sloka.

³ Laghubhūya, i. e. nirvāṇa.

⁴ This is a very difficult passage. Connection (sandhi) is explained in different ways, as karmavivara, samyagñānāvāpti, and the state of the soul, which has only temporarily and not thoroughly come to rest. To complete the sentence the commentators add pramāda na sreyase. As the words of the text form the pāda of a sloka, it is probable that something like pramāda neva seggase

(world from analogy with thy own) self; [then] thou wilt neither kill nor destroy (living beings);' viz. out of reciprocal regard [well examining] he does no sinful act. What is the characteristic of a sage? 'Recognising the equality (of all living beings), he appeases himself.' (1)

Knowing the highest good, one should never be careless;

Guarding one's self, always prudent, one should pass life on the right road.

'One should acquire disregard of sensual enjoyment, being with a great one (i.e. a god) or the small ones (men).' When one knows whence men come and where they go, and when both ends are out of sight¹, one is not cut, nor slit, nor burnt, nor struck² (2) by any one in the whole world³.

Some do not remember what preceded the present: 'what has been his past? what will be his future?' Some men here say: 'what has been his past, that will be his future⁴.'

There is no past thing, nor is there a future one;
So opine the Tathâgatas.

He whose karman has ceased and conduct is right,

concluded the hemistich. The meaning is, 'Make good use of any opening to get out of worldly troubles.'

¹ See 1, lesson 4.

² The reading of the Nâgârgunîyas, according to the commentary, was, 'Knowing well and essentially the five (perceptions) in the object and the three degrees (i.e. good, middle, bad), in the twofold (i.e. what is to be avoided and to be adopted), one is not marred by either (love and hate).' These words form a sloka.

³ The commentary connects these words with the preceding sentence, saying that the accusative stands for the instrumental, by any one.

⁴ The words of the original read like a trish/tubh in disorder; the same is the case with a different reading quoted by the commentator.

who recognises the truth (stated above) and destroys sinfulness (thinks):

What is discontent and what is pleasure? not subject to either, one should live;

Giving up all gaiety, circumspect and restrained, one should lead a religious life. (3)

Man! Thou art thy own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself? Whom he knows as a dweller on high¹, him he should know as a dweller far (from sin); and whom he knows as a dweller far (from sin), him he should know as a dweller on high. Man! restraining thyself (from the outward world) 'thou wilt get free from pain.' Man, understand well the truth! exerting himself in the rule of truth a wise man overcomes Māra. (4)

'The gifted man², following the law, sees well his true interest.' In a twofold way³, for the sake of life's splendour, honour and glory (some men exert themselves), wherein they go astray. The gifted², touched by calamity, are not confounded. 'Mind this! the worthy one, in this world, gets out of the creation⁴.' Thus I say. (5)

FOURTH LESSON.

That man (i.e. the liberated) conquers wrath, pride, deceit, and greed. This is the doctrine of the Seer who does not injure living beings and has put an end (to acts and to *samsāra*). Preventing

¹ There is apparently a pun in the text: *ukālaiyam* is explained by *ukālayitāram*=remover (of sins), but as contrasted with *dūrā-laiya* it has the meaning we have adopted above.

² With knowledge, &c.

³ For the sake of love and hate, or worldly and heavenly bliss.

⁴ If *loyāloya* is omitted, the last words form the half of a sloka.

propensity to sin destroys former actions. He who knows one thing, knows all things; and he who knows all things, knows one thing¹. He who is careless in all respects, is in danger²; he who is not careless in all respects, is free from danger. (1)

He who conquers one (passion), conquers many; and he who conquers many, conquers one. 'Knowing the misery of the world' rejecting the connection with the world, 'the heroes go on the great journey,' they rise gradually; 'they do not desire life.' (2)

He who avoids one (passion), avoids (them all) severally; and he who avoids them severally, avoids one. Faithful according to the commandment (of the Tirthakaras), wise, and understanding the world according to the commandment—such a man is without danger³ from anywhere. There are degrees in injurious acts, but there are no degrees in control. (3)

He who knows³ wrath, knows pride; he who knows pride, knows deceit; he who knows deceit, knows greed; he who knows greed, knows love; he who knows love, knows hate; he who knows hate, knows delusion; he who knows delusion, knows conception; he who knows conception, knows birth; he who knows birth, knows death; he who knows death, knows hell; he who knows hell, knows animal existence; he who knows animal existence, knows pain.

Therefore, a wise man should avoid wrath, pride, deceit, greed, love, hate, delusion, conception, birth, death, hell, animal existence, and pain.

¹ Because true knowledge of one thing is inseparable from true knowledge of all things.

² I. e. he heaps up karman.

³ And accordingly avoids wrath.

This is the doctrine of the Seer, who does not injure living beings and has put an end (to acts and to *samsâra*). Preventing the propensity to sin destroys former actions. Is there any worldly weakness in the Seer? There exists none, there is none. Thus I say. (4)

End of the Third Lecture, called Hot and Cold.

FOURTH LECTURE,

CALLED

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

FIRST LESSON.

The Arhats and Bhagavats of the past, present, and future, all say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: all breathing, existing, living, sentient creatures¹ should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away. (1)

This is the pure, unchangeable, eternal law, which the clever ones, who understand the world, have declared: among the zealous and the not zealous, among the faithful and the not faithful, among the not cruel and the cruel, among those who have worldly weakness and those who have not, among those who like social bonds and those who do not: 'that is the truth, that is so, that is proclaimed in this (creed).' (2)

Having adopted (the law), one should not hide it, nor forsake it. Correctly understanding the law, one should arrive at indifference for the impressions of the senses², and 'not act on the motives of the world.' 'He who is not of this mind³, how should he come to the other⁴?'

¹ *Pāṇā bhūyā gīvā sattā*. In the sequel we translate these words, all sorts of living beings.

² Literally, what one sees.

³ Who acts not on worldly motives.

⁴ Sinfulness.

What has been said here, has been seen (by the omniscient ones), heard (by the believers), acknowledged (by the faithful), and thoroughly understood by them. Those who acquiesce and indulge (in worldly pleasures), are born again and again. 'Day and night exerting thyself, steadfast,' always having ready wisdom, perceive that the careless (stand) outside (of salvation); if careful, thou wilt always conquer. Thus I say. (3)

SECOND LESSON.

There are as many âsravas¹ as there are parisravas, and there are as many parisravas as there are âsravas. There are as many anâsravas as there are aparisravas, and there are as many aparisravas as there are anâsravas. He who well understands these words and regards the world according to the instruction (and understands), that which has been distinctly declared, that 'wise man proclaims (the truth) here to men,' who still belong to the *samsâra*, who are awakened, and have reached discrimination. (1)

'Those also who are afflicted and careless' (will be instructed). I say this as a truth. There is nothing secure from the mouth of death. Those who are led by their desires, who are the tabernacle of fraud, 'who seized by Time dwell in the heap (of karman),' are born again and again. [Many who are again and again (immersed) in delusion, (will

¹ Âsrava is that by means of which karman takes effect upon the soul, parisrava that (*nirgarâ*, &c.) by which the influence of karman is counteracted. Anâsrava is that by which âsrava is avoided (religious vows), and aparisrava that by which karman is acquired.

often renew) their acquaintance with the places of pain; they experience the pains inherent in re-generation. He who often does cruel acts, often undergoes (punishment in hell, &c.) He who seldom does cruel acts, seldom undergoes (punishment).]¹ (2)

Some say thus, also the wise ones; the wise ones say thus, also some others². Many and several in this world, Brâhmanas or Sramanas, raise this discussion: We have seen, heard, acknowledged, thoroughly understood, in the upper, nether, and sidelong directions, and in all ways examined it: all sorts of living beings may be slain, or treated with violence, or abused, or tormented, or driven away. Know about this: there is no wrong in it. (3)

That is a doctrine of the unworthy. But those who are teachers, have said: You have wrongly seen, wrongly heard, wrongly acknowledged, wrongly understood, in the upper, nether, and sidelong directions, in all ways wrongly examined it, when you say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus: All sorts of living beings may be slain, or treated with violence, or abused, or tormented, or driven away. Know about this: there is no wrong in it. That is a doctrine of the unworthy. (4) But we say thus, speak thus, declare thus, explain thus:

¹ The passage in brackets is introduced by the words *pâ/hântaram vâ*, 'various reading.' It occurs in all MSS. I have consulted, and is commented upon by the commentaries as belonging to the text.

² By some is meant the highest class of sages. The meaning is that all professors, high or low, say the same, agree in the doctrine of *ahimsâ*.

All sorts of living beings should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented, nor driven away. Know about this, there is no wrong in it. This is the doctrine of the teachers. (5)

First the persuasion of every one should be ascertained, and then we will ask them severally: Ye professors! is pain pleasant to you, or unpleasant? If they give the right answer, reply: For all sorts of living beings pain is unpleasant, disagreeable, and greatly feared. Thus I say. (6)

THIRD LESSON.

‘Reflect and observe that whether you go to this world or to that beyond, in the whole world those who are discerning beings, who abstain from cruelty¹, relinquish karman. They are flesh-subduing, called duty-knowing, upright men, aware that pain results from actions.’ Thus say those who have right intuition. (1)

All the professors, conversant with pain, preach renunciation. Thus thoroughly knowing karman, observing the commandment, wise, unattached (to the world), recognising thy Self as one², subdue the body, chastise thyself, weaken thyself: ‘just as fire consumes old wood!’ Thus with a composed mind, unattached, ‘unhesitatingly avoid wrath!’ Considering the shortness of life ‘know pain, or what will come³’; one shall feel the several feelings; and perceive the world suffering under them. (2)

¹ Nikkhittadandā, literally, those who have laid down the rod.

² I. e. as separate and different from the world.

³ According to the commentators the present and future pains.

Those who are free from sinful acts are called anidâna¹. Hence a very wise man should not be inflamed (by wrath). Thus I say. (3)

FOURTH LESSON.

One should mortify (one's flesh) in a low, high, and highest degree, quitting one's former connections, and entering tranquillity. Therefore a hero is careful, a person of pith², guarded, endowed (with knowledge, &c.), and always restrained. Difficult to go is the road of the heroes, who go whence there is no return (final liberation). Subdue blood and flesh. (1)

That man is called a worthy one, a hero, one to be followed, who living in chastity [guarding his eyes] shakes off the aggregate³.

He who desires the current of karman, is a fool who has not cut off the fetters of, nor conquered the connection with, (the world.) For such as dwell in darkness, and are without knowledge, there is no success in faith. Thus I say. (2)

'Whence should he have it⁴, who does not get it

¹ If we read *nivvudâ pâvakammehim aniyânâ viyâhiyâ*, we have a hemistich of a sloka.

² Sârae. The commentators translate it with *svârata* = *su + â* (*â gîvanamaryâdâyâ*) + *rata* (*saṃyamânush/hâne*), for ever delighting in the exercise of control. I think the Sanskrit prototype of *sârae* is *sâraka*.

³ These words seem to have formed a sloka, which could easily be restored if we read: *purise davie vîre âyânigge viyâhie | vâsittâ bambhaṭeramsi ge dhunâi samussayam* || The aggregate is either that of the constituent parts of the body, i. e. the body itself, or that of karman, i. e. the sum of karman.

⁴ Success in faith.

early, late, or in the middle of life?' But the discerning one is awakened, and ceases to act. See that it is good to be so! Cutting off that 'whence bondage, cruel death, and dreadful pain,' 'and the (desire for) external (objects) flow, he who among mortals knows freedom from acts,' 'seeing that acts will bear fruit, the knower of the sacred lore, parts from (karman).' (3)

There are those who have established themselves in the truth, who (were, are, or will be) heroes, endowed (with knowledge), always exerting themselves, full of equanimity¹, valuing the world (as it deserves) in the east, west, south, north. We shall tell the knowledge of them who (were, &c.) heroes, endowed (with knowledge), always exerting themselves, full of equanimity, valuing the world (as it deserves).

Is there any worldly weakness in the Seer? There exists none, there is none. Thus I say. (4)

End of the Fourth Lecture, called Righteousness.

¹ *Samghadamsino* : *nirantaradarsinaḥ* *subhâsubhasya*.

FIFTH LECTURE,

CALLED

ESSENCE OF THE WORLD.

FIRST LESSON.

Many entertain cruel thoughts against the world with a motive or without one; they entertain cruel thoughts against these (six classes of living beings). To him¹ pleasures are dear. Therefore he is near death. Because he is near death, he is far (from liberation). But he who is neither near (death) nor far (from liberation), considers the life of a slow and ignorant fool as similar to a dewdrop trembling on the sharp point of the blade of Kusa grass which falls down when shaken by the wind. A fool, doing cruel acts, comes thereby ignorantly to grief. 'Through delusion he is born, dies, &c.' Being conversant with the deliberation about this delusion, one is conversant with the *samsâra*; being not conversant with that deliberation, one is not conversant with the *samsâra*. He who is clever, should not seek after sexual intercourse. But having done so, (it would be) a second folly of the weak-minded not to own it. Repenting and excluding (from the mind) the begotten pleasures, one should instruct others to follow the commandment. Thus I say. (1)

See! many who desire colours, are led around

¹ The change of number here and in the analogous passages at the beginning of the second and third lessons is one of the grammatical irregularities in which our text abounds.

(in the *samsâra*), they (experience) here again and again feelings (i. e. punishment)¹. Many live by injurious deeds against the world, they live by injurious deeds against these (living beings)². Also the fool, suffering (for his passions), delights in bad acts here, mistaking that for salvation which is none. Many (heretics) lead the life of a hermit (in order to avoid worldly sorrows and pains). (2)

Such a man has much wrath, much pride, much conceit, much greed; he delights in many (works), acts frequently like a stage-player or a rogue, forms many plans, gives way to his impulses, is influenced by his acts though he pretends to be awakened: (thinking) that nobody will see him. Through the influence of ignorance and carelessness the fool never knows the law. Men! unhappy creatures, world-wise are those who, not freeing themselves from ignorance, talk about final liberation: they turn round and round in the whirlpool (of births). Thus I say. (3)

SECOND LESSON.

Many do not live by injurious deeds against the world, they do not live by injurious deeds against

¹ This interpretation of the scholiast can scarcely be correct. Probably the same ideas which are introduced in the last paragraph with the words, Being conversant with, &c., are to be repeated here. For this passage is similar to the commencement of that in § 1, or identical if we adopt the *pâ/hântaram*.

² This passage is perfectly analogous to that in the beginning of the lesson. But the scholiast explains the locatives which we have, according to his explanation in the former place, translated against the world, against these, here and in the similar passages which occur in this lecture, by, in the world, amongst these, viz. householders.

these (living beings). Ceasing from them, making an end of them, he perceives : this is a favourable opportunity¹; he who searches for² the right moment for this body (should never be careless). This is the road taught by the noble ones. (1)

When he has become zealous for the law, he should never be careless, knowing pain and pleasure in their various forms. Men act here on their own motives ; it has been declared that they suffer for their own sins. Neither killing nor lying, he should (patiently) bear (all unpleasant) feelings when affected by them. That man is called a true monk. (2)

Those who are not given to sinful acts are (nevertheless) attacked by calamities ; but then the steadfast will bear them. (He has to bear) them afterwards as (he has done) before (his conversion). (The body) is of a fragile, decaying nature, (it is) unstable, transient, uneternal, increasing and decreasing, of a changeable nature. Perceive this as its true character. For him who well understands this, who delights in the unique refuge³, for the liberated and inactive there is no passage (from birth to birth). Thus I say. (3)

Many are attached to something in the world—be it little or much, small or great, sentient or non-sentient—they are attached to it (here) amongst these (householders). Thus some incur great danger. For him who contemplates the course of the world and does not acknowledge these attachments (there

¹ For adopting the right conduct.

² Annesî=anveshin. I think that annesî may be an aorist of *gñâ*, knew.

³ Âyatana, i.e. the triad : right knowledge, right intuition, right conduct.

is no such danger). Knowing that that which is well understood is well practised, man! with thy eyes on the highest good, be victorious (in control). Among such men only is real Brahmanhood. Thus I say. (4)

I have heard this, and it is in my innermost heart ; and the freedom from bonds is in your innermost heart. He who has ceased (to have worldly attachments), the houseless, suffers with patience a long time.

The careless stand outside, the careful lead a religious life.

Maintain rightly this state of a sage. Thus I say. (5)

THIRD LESSON.

Many are not attached to something in this world, they are not attached to it among these (householders). He is a wise man who has heard and understood the word of the learned ones. Without partiality the law has been declared by the noble ones. As I have destroyed here¹ the connection with the world, so is the connection elsewhere difficult to destroy. Therefore I say: One should not abandon firmness. (1) Some who early exert themselves, do not afterwards slide back ; some who early exert themselves, afterwards slide back ; those who do not early exert themselves, (can of course) not slide back. That man also is of this description², who knowing the world (as worthless nevertheless) follows its ways. 'Knowing this, it has been declared by the sage.' Here the follower of the com-

¹ 'Here' and 'elsewhere' mean, in the church of Mahāvīra, and in that of the Tirthikas.

² Belongs to the last category, to which belong the Sākyas, &c.

mandment, the wise, the passionless, he who exerts himself before morning and after evening¹, always contemplating virtue² and hearing (the merit of it) will become free from love and delusion. 'Fight with this (your body)! why should you fight with anything else?' Difficult to attain is this (human body) which is worth the fight. For the clever ones have praised the discernment of wisdom; the fool who falls from it, is liable to birth, &c. (2) In this (religion of the *Gainas* the cause of the fool's fall) has been declared (to depend) on colour³ and killing. But a sage who walks the beaten track (to liberation), regards the world in a different way. 'Knowing thus (the nature of) acts in all regards, he does not kill,' he controls himself, he is not overbearing. (3)

Comprehending that pleasure (and pain) are individual, advising kindness, he will not engage in any work in the whole world: keeping before him the one (great aim, liberation), and not turning aside, 'living humbly, unattached to any creature.' The rich (in control) who with a mind endowed with all penetration (recognises) that a bad deed should not be done, will not go after it. What you acknowledge as righteousness, that you acknowledge as sagedom (*mauna*); what you acknowledge as sagedom, that you acknowledge as righteousness. It is

¹ *Purvâvararâyam*, the first and the last wake (*yâma*) of the night; the intermediate time is allowed for sleep.

² *Sîla* is either *saṃyama*, control with its 18,000 subdivisions, or it consists of (1) the five great vows, (2) the three *guptis*, (3) the restraint of the senses, (4) the avoidance of sin (*kashâya*).

³ Colour stands for all perceptions of the senses. Of course, the attachment to sensual pleasures is meant.

inconsistent with weak, sinning, sensual, ill-conducted house-inhabiting men. (4) 'A sage, acquiring sage-dom, should subdue his body.' 'The heroes who look at everything with indifference, use mean and rough (food, &c.)' Such a man is said to have crossed the flood (of life), to be a sage, to have passed over (the *samsâra*), to be liberated, to have ceased (from acts). Thus I say. (5)

FOURTH LESSON.

For a monk who has not yet reached discrimination¹, it is bad going and difficult proceeding when he wanders (alone) from village to village. Some men (when going wrong) will become angry when exhorted with speech. And a man with wary pride is embarrassed with great delusion². (1) There are many obstacles which are very difficult to overcome for the ignorant and the blinded. Let that not be your case! That is the doctrine of the clever one (Mahavtra). Adopting the (*âtârya*'s) views, imitating his indifference (for the outer world), making him the guide and adviser (in all one's matters), sharing his abode, living carefully, acting according to his mind, examining one's way³, not coming too near (the *âtârya*), minding living beings, one should go (on one's business). (2)

¹ Avyakta, either with regard to *sruta*, sacred knowledge, or to his age.

² The result will be that he thinks himself above the admonition of the spiritual head (*âtârya*) of the chapter (*gakkha*), and leaves the chapter, living as a *gakkhanirgata*.

³ The monk must closely inspect everything with which he comes in contact in order to avoid killing animals; this holds good with regard to walking, sitting, sleeping, eating, drinking, &c.

(A monk should according to the ācārya's order) go and return, contract or stretch (his limbs), thoroughly clean (what ought to be cleaned). Sometimes, though a monk be endowed with virtue and walks in righteousness, living beings, coming in contact with his body, will be killed. (If this happens through mere carelessness) then he will get his punishment in this life; but if it was done contrary to the rules¹, he should repent of it and do penance for it². Thus he who knows the sacred lore³, recommends penance combined with carefulness. (3)

(When a monk) with fully developed intuition and knowledge, calm, guarded, endowed (with knowledge), always restrained, perceives (a woman tempting him), he should consider within himself: what will this person do? The greatest temptation in this world are women. This has been declared by the sage. (4)

When strongly vexed by the influence of the senses, he should eat bad food, mortify himself, stand upright, wander from village to village, take no food at all, withdraw his mind from women. First troubles, then pleasures; first pleasures, then troubles⁴: thus they are the cause of quarrels. Considering this and well understanding it, one should teach oneself not to cultivate (sensuality). Thus I say. He should not speak of women, nor look at them, nor converse with them, nor claim them as his own, nor do their work. Careful in his speech and

¹ Āu//īkammam=āku//īkarman.

² Vivega=viveka, explained as prāyaskittam. ³ Vedavid.

⁴ In order to attain pleasure, one has to work for the means; after the enjoyment of the pleasures one has to undergo punishment in hell, &c.

guarding his mind, he should always avoid sin. He should maintain this sagedom. Thus I say. (5)

FIFTH LESSON.

Thus I say: a lake is full of water, it is in an even plain, it is free from dust, it harbours (many fish)¹. Look! he (the teacher) stands in the stream (of knowledge) and is guarded in all directions. Look! there are great Seers in the world, wise, awakened, free from acts. Perceive the truth: from a desire of (a pious) end they chose a religious life. Thus I say. (1)

He whose mind is always wavering, does not reach abstract contemplation². Some, bound (by worldly ties), are followers (i. e. understand the truth); some who are not bound, are followers. How should he not despond who amongst followers is a non-follower? 'But that is truth beyond doubt, what has been declared by the *Ginas*.' (2)

Whatever³ a faithful, well-disposed man, on entering the order, thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to him true; what he thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to him untrue; what he thought to be untrue, that may afterwards appear to him true; what he thought to be untrue, that may afterwards appear to him true. What he thinks to be true, that may, on consideration, appear to him true, whether it be true or untrue. What he thinks to be untrue, that may, on consideration, appear to him untrue, whether it be true or untrue. But he

¹ Like unto it is a teacher who is full of wisdom, who lives in a quiet country, is free from passion, and protects living beings.

² *Samâdhi*, the means of a religious death.

³ Any article of the *Gaina* faith.

who reflects should say unto him who does not reflect : Consider it to be true. Thus the connection (i. e. the continuity of sins) is broken. (3)

Regard this as the course of the zealous one, who stands (in obedience to the spiritual guide). In this point do not show yourself a fool¹ !

As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to kill. As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to tyrannise over. As it would be unto thee, so it is with him whom thou intendest to torment. In the same way (it is with him) whom thou intendest to punish, and to drive away. The righteous man who lives up to these sentiments, does therefore neither kill nor cause others to kill (living beings). He should not intentionally cause the same punishment for himself². (4)

The Self is the knower (or experiencer), and the knower is the Self. That through which one knows, is the Self. With regard to this (to know) it (the Self) is established³. Such is he who maintains the right doctrine of Self. This subject has truly been explained. Thus I say. (5)

SIXTH LESSON.

Some not instructed (in the true law) make (only a show) of good conduct ; some, though instructed,

¹ Fool, *bāla* ; the scholiast explains *bāla* as *Sākya* or *Pārsvastha*, an outsider, or a follower of *Pārsva* (?).

² For the same pain he has caused to others in this life, he will suffer in the life hereafter.

³ This means that knowledge is a modification (*pariṇāma*) of the Self, and therefore one with it, but not as a quality or action of the Self different from it.

have no good conduct. Let that not be your case! That is the doctrine of the clever one. Adopting the (âkârya's) views, imitating his indifference (for the outer world), making him the guide and adviser (in all one's matters), sharing his abode, conquering (sinfulness), one sees the truth; unconquered one should be one's own master, having no reliance on anything (in the world). He who is great and withdraws his mind from the outer world, should learn the teaching (of the Tîrthakaras) through the teaching (of the âkârya); by his own innate knowledge, or through the instruction of the highest¹, or having heard it from others. A wise man should not break the commandment. Examining all (wrong) doctrines from all sides and in all respects, one should clearly understand (and reject) them. 'Knowing the delight of this world², circumspect and restrained, one should lead the life of an ascetic.' Desiring liberation³, a hero should, through the sacred lore, ever be victorious. Thus I say. (1)

The current (of sin)⁴ is said to come from above, from below, and from the sides; these have been declared to be the currents through which, look, there is sinfulness.

'Examining the whirlpool⁵, a man, versed in the sacred lore, should keep off from it.' Leaving the world to avert the current (of sin), such a great

¹ I. e. the Tîrthakaras.

² I. e. self-control.

³ The original has *nishîya* = *nishîta*.

⁴ It is called the door of âsrava. The three directions mentioned in the text, are the three divisions of the universe. Objects of desire in each induce men to sin. The original is a sloka, noticed as such by the scholiast.

⁵ Of worldly desires and their objects.

man, free from acts, knows and sees the truth; examining (pleasures) he does not desire them. (2) Knowing whence we come and whither we go, he leaves the road to birth and death, rejoicing in the glorious (liberation). 'All sounds recoil thence, where speculation has no room,' nor does the mind penetrate there¹. The saint² knows well that which is without support³. (3)

(The liberated) is not long nor small nor round nor triangular nor quadrangular nor circular; he is not black nor blue nor red nor green nor white; neither of good nor bad smell; not bitter nor pungent nor astringent nor sweet; neither rough nor soft; neither heavy nor light; neither cold nor hot; neither harsh nor smooth; he is without body, without resurrection, without contact (of matter), he is not feminine nor masculine nor neuter; he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy (whereby to know the nature of the liberated soul); its essence is without form; there is no condition of the unconditioned. There is no sound, no colour, no smell, no taste, no touch—nothing of that kind. Thus I say. (4)

End of the Fifth Lecture, called Essence of the World.

¹ It is impossible to express the nature of liberation in words, since it cannot be reached even by the mind.

² Oe=oga, he who is free from love and hate.

³ I.e. liberation, or the state of the liberated. Support, pati-*hâna*, is the body or karman.

SIXTH LECTURE,

CALLED

THE CLEANING¹.

FIRST LESSON.

He who is awakened amongst men, preaches; the man to whom all these classes of lives are well known, preaches the unparalleled wisdom. He praises the road to liberation for those who well exert themselves, who have forsworn cruelty, are zealous and endowed with knowledge. Thus some great heroes are victorious; but, look, some others who are wanting in control do not understand (the welfare of) their souls. Thus I say. (1)

As in a lake a greedy leaf-covered tortoise cannot rise up; as the trees do not leave their place (though shaken by storms, &c.): thus men, born in various families, cry bitterly because they are attached to the objects of the senses²; on account of their sinfulness they do not reach liberation³. (2)

Now look at those who are born in these families to reap the fruit of their own acts⁴:

Boils and leprosy, consumption, falling sickness, blindness and stiffness, lameness and humpbackedness, 1

¹ Dhuta, literally, shaken. Compare the dhutaṅgas of the Buddhists. Childers' Pāli Dict. s. v.

² Literally, the colours.

³ This paragraph reads like prose mixed with parts of verses. But it is not possible to restore one complete verse.

⁴ 'To reap the fruit of their own acts' is, according to the commentary, the meaning of âyattâe=âtmavâya.

Dropsy and dumbness, look ! apoplexy(?) and eye-disease, trembling and crippledness, elephantiasis and diabetes, 2

These are the sixteen diseases enumerated in due order; besides them many illnesses and wounds occur. 3

Contemplating their (i. e. the creatures') death, knowing their births in higher and lower regions, contemplating the fruit (of their acts), hear about this according to truth. 4

There are said to be blind beings dwelling in darkness; once or frequently meeting this lot, they experience pleasant and unpleasant feelings. This has been declared by the awakened ones. (3) There are beings endowed with voice, with taste, water-beings dwelling in water, beings living in the air: 'beings torment beings. See the great danger in this world¹;' many pains (are the lot) of the creatures. Men who are given to their lusts, come to destruction through their weak, frail body. 'The fool works hard, thinking' that the unhappy one suffers many pains. 'Knowing that these diseases are many, should the afflicted search after (remedies)?' See! they are of no avail, have done with them! Sage! see this great danger! Do not hurt anybody! Contemplate. Be attentive! I shall proclaim the doctrine of renunciation². (4)

To reap the fruit of their acts they are born in these various families, they increase, are born, grow up, become awakened, and leave the world in due order as great sages. The lamenting parents say to them who proceed on the glorious road: 'Do not

¹ The result of former acts.

² Dhûtavâda.

leave us!' (5) Consulting their own pleasure, indulging their passions, 'making a noise'¹, the parents cry: 'No man who leaves his parents is (fit to become) a flood-crossing sage! (The ascetic) does not take refuge there (in his family); for what could attract him there?

He should always maintain this knowledge! Thus I say. (6)

SECOND LESSON.

Though some know the misery of the world, have relinquished their former connections, have given up ease, live in chastity, and, whether monk or layman, thoroughly understand the law, they are not able (to persevere in a religious life). The ill-disposed, giving up the robe, alms-bowl, blanket, and broom, do not bear the continuous hardships that are difficult to bear. He who prefers pleasures will, now or after an hour², be deprived (of the body³, not to recover it) for an infinite space of time. And thus they do not cross (the *samsâra*), for the sake of these pleasures which entail evil consequences and are associated with others of their kind. (1)

But some who embrace the law, will practise it, being careful about its outward signs; not giving way to worldliness, but being firm. Knowing (and renouncing) all lust, a devout man becomes a great sage when he breaks all bonds, thinking: Nothing

¹ The commentator explains this passage: 'We do your will, we depend on you (?)', so shouting they cry, &c.

² I.e. after a short time.

³ The body with five organs, in which alone liberation can be realised.

belongs to me. A man who, thinking, I am I¹, exerts himself for this (creed), ceases (to act), is houseless, walks about bald-headed. The naked, fasting (monk), who combats the flesh, will be abused, or struck, or hurt²; he will be upbraided with his former trade, or reviled with untrue reproaches. Accounting (for this treatment) by his former sins, knowing pleasant and unpleasant occurrences, he should patiently wander about. Quitting all worldliness³ one should bear all (disagreeable) feelings, being possessed of the right view⁴. (2)

Those are called naked, who in this world, never returning (to a worldly state), (follow) my religion according to the commandment. This highest doctrine has here been declared for men. Delighted with this, destroying that (i.e. the effect of works), he will successively⁵ give up sinfulness⁶, after having come to a knowledge of it. Here (in our religion) some live as single mendicants. Therefore a wise man should lead the life of an ascetic by collecting pure alms or any alms in all sorts of families. 'If (the food) be of good or bad smell, or if dreadful beasts inflict pain on (other) beings'—

¹ I have nothing to do with anybody else.

² Lûsie. The commentator translates it by *lunkita*, to tear out the hair. This would be a rather difficult operation on the bald head of a *Gaina* monk. *Lûsiya* is, of course, the Sanskrit *lûshita*, hurt.

³ *Visottiyam*. Sanskrit *visrotasikâ* (?) = *saṅkā*.

⁴ *Samiyadamsane*. The commentator explains it by *samita-darsana*. I think it corresponds to *samyagdarsana*.

⁵ *Pariyâcnam* = *paryâya*. The commentator interprets it by *srâmanya*.

⁶ *Âdâniggam* = *âdânîya*. It means usually faith; but I have here translated it according to the commentary.

all that happens to you, you will firmly bear it. Thus I say. (3)

THIRD LESSON.

A sage who is well instructed in the law and leads a life of abstinence, is always a destroyer of the effects of works¹. To a mendicant who is little clothed² and firm in control, it will not occur (to think): My clothes are torn, I shall beg for (new) clothes; I shall beg for thread; I shall beg for a needle; I shall mend (my clothes); I shall darn them; I shall repair them; I shall put them on; I shall wrap myself in them. (1)

The unclothed one, who excels in this (abstinence), will often be molested by (sharp blades of) grass, by cold, heat, gnats, and mosquitoes. The unclothed one, who effects scarcity (of his wants or of his *karman*), bears these and various other hardships. He is fit for penance, as has been declared by the Revered One. Understanding this in all respects and with his whole mind, he should perfectly know righteousness. The great heroes (i. e. the *Tirthakaras*) who for a long time³ walked

¹ *Âdânam* explained as implements which are not requisite for the law.

² *Akela*, literally, unclothed. But it has that meaning only when it is applied to a *ginakalpika*. A *ginakalpika* is a monk who wears no clothes and uses the hollow of the hand for an alms-bowl. The only implements he has are the broom (*ragoharanam*) and the piece of cloth which the monk places before the mouth while speaking, in order to prevent insects from getting into his mouth (*mukhavastrikâ*).

³ *Kīrarâta*, literally, long night. Compare *dīrgharâtra*, which the *Bauddhas* and *Gainas* employ in the sense we have given to *kīrarâtam* in the text.

in the former years¹, the worthy ones bore the troubles (mentioned above); endowed with perfect knowledge they had lean arms and very little flesh and blood. He who discontinues (to sin) and is enlightened, is said to have crossed (the *samsâra*), to be liberated, and to have ceased (to act). Thus I say. (2)

But can discontent lay hold of a mendicant, who has ceased to act and leads a religious life, for a long time controlling himself? He advances in his spiritual career and exerts himself. As an island which is never covered with water, so is the law taught by the noble ones (a safe refuge for those in danger). They are free from desires, free from murder, beloved, wise, learned. For their benefit has been the exertion of the Revered One; as birds (feed) their young ones, so are the disciples regularly to be instructed day and night. Thus I say. (3)

FOURTH LESSON.

The disciples are thus regularly instructed, day and night, by the knowledge-endowed great heroes, receiving knowledge from them. Some, being seduced from the calmness of the mind, adopt rough manners. Some, living in chastity, dispute the authority (of the teacher), others hear and understand his words; they intend to lead a godly life, but having left the world², they are not qualified (for a religious life). Others, being incensed by lusts,

¹ *Puvvâim vâsâim*, the former years are those long periods by which the length of the early Tîrthakaras' life is measured. Walked means walked in righteousness.

² Or obedience to their teacher?

greedy, sensual, 'do not care for abstract meditation and religious instruction : these men speak harshly unto the teacher.' It is a second folly of the slow-minded to call virtuous, calm, religiously living men worthless.

Some, turning from (control), assign its difficulty as their reason (for doing so)¹; others, falling from the pure knowledge and defiling the creed, though not without devotion, for the love of life change (their vows). 'When they feel the hardships (of a religious life) they slide back, for their love of life.' Their leaving the world is a bad leaving. (1)

Those who deserve to be called fools, are born again and again. Standing low (in learning or control) they will exalt themselves (and say) in their pride : I am learned. They speak harshly unto the passionless ; they upbraid them with their former trades, or revile them with untrue reproaches². The wise, therefore, should know the law. Thou lovest unrighteousness, because thou art young, and lovest acts, and sayest : 'Kill beings ;' thou killest them or consentest to their being killed by others. (Such a man) thinks contemptuously : A very severe religion has been proclaimed. Sinking in opposition to the law, he is called murderer. Thus I say. (2)

Some think : What have I to do with this or that man ? Thus they leave father and mother, kith and kin, like heroes exerting themselves, free from murder. Look ! the pious and calm become

¹ They do not upbraid their teachers, and hence are not guilty of the second folly.

² Compare second lesson, § 3. Paliya, which we have here as in the passage above translated 'former trade,' is here explained by *anush/hâna*, exertion.

desponding; the rising, cast down. Those troubled with sensuality, the cowardly men become perverters of the faith¹. Therefore the reputation of some becomes bad. He is an apostate ascetic! He is an apostate ascetic! (3)

Look! Some, though living with religious, pious, calm, and worthy (monks), are not religious, nor pious, nor calm, nor worthy. Knowing them, the learned, the wise, the steadfast hero will always be victorious through the right faith. Thus I say. (4)

FIFTH LESSON.

Staying in or between houses, in or between villages, in or between towns, in or between counties, a monk is attacked by murderers, or is subject to the hardships (of a mendicant's life). A hero should bear these hardships. (1)

A saint², with right intuition, who cherishes compassion for the world, in the east, west, south, and north, should preach, spread, and praise (the faith), knowing the sacred lore³. He should proclaim it among those who exert themselves, and those who do not⁴, among those who are willing to hear (the word). (2)

Not neglecting tranquillity, indifference, patience, liberation, purity, uprightness, gentleness, and freedom from worldly cares⁵, one should, with due consideration, preach the law of the mendicants to all sorts of creatures. (3)

¹ Or breakers of vows.

² Oya, see note 2, p. 52.

³ Veyavî=vedavid.

⁴ This is equivalent either to believers and heretics, or to clerical and lay men.

⁵ Lâghaviya, lightness, explained, freedom from bonds.

With due consideration preaching the law of the mendicants, one should do no injury to one's self, nor to anybody else, nor to any of the four kinds of living beings. But a great sage, neither injuring nor injured, becomes a shelter for all sorts of afflicted creatures, even as an island, which is never covered with water. (4)

Thus a man who exerts himself, and is of a steady mind, without attachment, unmoved (by passion) but restless (in wandering about), having no worldly desires, should lead the life of an ascetic.

Having contemplated the beautiful law, the discerning one is liberated.

Therefore look at worldliness, ye men, fettered in fetters!

Those whom lust conquers, sink; therefore do not shrink from the hard (control)! He who knows (and renounces) perfectly and thoroughly these injurious acts, from whom the injurers do not shrink¹, 'who has shaken off wrath, pride,' delusion, and greed, 'he is called a removed one.' Thus I say. (5)

On the decay of the body (he does not despond, but deserves) his appellation, 'the leader of the battle.' The sage who has reached the other side, unafflicted and unmoved like a beam, being in the power of death, desires death as the dissolution of the body. Thus I say. (6)

End of the Sixth Lecture, called the Cleaning.

¹ One expects, who does not shrink from the injurers.

SEVENTH LECTURE,

CALLED

LIBERATION.

FIRST LESSON.

I say: To friendly or hostile (heretics) one should not give food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, alms-bowls, and brooms ; nor exhort these persons to give (such things), nor do them service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say¹. (1)

(A heretic may say): Know this for certain : having or not having received food, &c. (down to) brooms, having or not having eaten (come to our house), even turning from your way or passing (other houses ; we shall supply your wants). Confessing an individual creed, coming and going, he may give, or exhort to give, or do service (but one should not accept anything from him), showing not the slightest respect. Thus I say. (2)

Some here are not well instructed as regards the subject of conduct ; for desirous of acts, they say : ' Kill creatures ;' they themselves kill or consent to the killing of others ; or they take what has not been given ; or they pronounce opinions, e.g. the world exists, the world does not exist, the world is

¹ This and the following paragraph are extremely difficult to translate. I have translated the words according to the scholiast, and supplied what he supplies ; but his interpretation can scarcely be reconciled with the text.

unchangeable, the world is ever changing; the world has a beginning, the world has no beginning; the world has an end, the world has no end; (or with regard to the self and actions): this is well done, this is badly done; this is merit, this is demerit; he is a good man, he is not a good man; there is beatitude, there is no beatitude; there is a hell, there is no hell. When they thus differ (in their opinions) and profess their individual persuasion, know (that this is all) without reason¹. Thus they are not well taught, not well instructed in the religion such as it has been declared by the Revered One, who knows and sees with quick discernment. (One should either instruct the opponent in the true faith) or observe abstinence as regards speech. Thus I say. (3)

Everywhere² sins are admitted; but to avoid them is called my distinction. For ye who live in a village or in the forest, or not in a village and not in the forest, know the law as it has been declared. 'By the Brahman, the wise (Mahāvītra), three³ vows have been enjoined.' Noble and tranquil men who are enlightened and exert themselves in these (precepts), are called free from sinful acts. (4)

Knowing (and renouncing) severally and singly

¹ The *Gainas* do not espouse one of the alternative solutions of the metaphysical and ethical questions; but they are enabled by the *syādvāda* to believe in the co-existence of contrary qualities in one and the same thing.

² In all other religious sects.

³ *Gâma* = *yâma*. These are, (1) to kill no living being, (2) to speak no untruth, (3) to abstain from forbidden things (theft and sexual pleasures). Or the three ages of man are intended by *gâma*, which we have rendered vows.

the actions against living beings, in the regions above, below, and on the surface, everywhere and in all ways—a wise man neither gives pain to these bodies, nor orders others to do so, nor assents to their doing so. Nay, we abhor those who give pain to these bodies. Knowing this, a wise man should not cause this or any other pain (to any creatures). Thus I say. (5)

SECOND LESSON.

A mendicant may exert himself, or stand or sit or lie in a burying-place or in an empty house or in a mountain cave or in a potter's workshop. A householder may approach a mendicant who stays in any of these places, and say unto him: O long-lived Sramana! I shall give you what I have bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor given, but was taken by force, viz. food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, an alms-bowl, a plaid, a broom—by acting sinfully against all sorts of living beings; or I shall prepare you snug lodgings; eat (the offered food), dwell (in the prepared house¹). (1)

O long-lived Sramana! A mendicant should thus refuse a householder of good sense and ripe age: O long-lived householder! I do not approve of thy words, I do not accept thy words, that, for my sake, thou givest unto me what thou hast bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor given, but was taken by force, viz. food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, an alms-bowl, a plaid, a broom—by

¹ Later on in the commentary (beginning of the sixth lesson) this is called *udgamotpâdanaishanâ*.

acting sinfully against all sorts of living beings; or that thou preparest pleasant lodgings for me. O long-lived householder! I have given up this, because it is not to be done. (2) A mendicant may exert himself, &c. (first sentence of § 1). A householder, without betraying his intention, may approach him who stays in some one of the above-mentioned places, and give unto him what has been taken, &c. (all as above, down to) or prepare pleasant lodgings, and accommodate the mendicant with food (and lodging). A mendicant should know it by his own innate intelligence, or through the instruction of the highest (i. e. the Tirthakaras), or having heard it from others: This householder, forsooth, for my sake injures all sorts of living beings, to give me food, &c., clothes, &c., or to prepare pleasant lodgings. A mendicant should well observe and understand this, that he may order (the householder) not to show such obsequiousness. Thus I say. (3)

Those who having, with or without the mendicant's knowledge, brought together fetters¹, become angry (on the monk's refusal) and will strike him, saying: Beat, kill, cut, burn, roast, tear, rob, despatch, torture him! But the hero, come to such a lot, will bravely bear it, or tell him the code of conduct, considering that he is of a different habit; or by guarding his speech he should in due order examine the subject, guarding himself.

This has been declared by the awakened ones: The faithful should not give to dissenters food, &c., clothes, &c., nor should they exhort them (to give),

¹ The above-detailed benefactions.

nor do them service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say. (4)

Know the law declared by the wise Brāhmaṇa : one should give to one of the same faith food, &c., clothes, &c., and one should exhort him (to give) or do him service, always showing the highest respect. Thus I say. (5)

THIRD LESSON.

Some are awakened as middle-aged men and exert themselves well, having, as clever men, heard and received the word of the learned¹. The noble ones have impartially preached the law. Those who are awakened, should not wish for pleasure, nor do harm, nor desire (any forbidden things). A person who is without desires and does no harm unto any living beings in the whole world, is called by me 'unfettered.' (1)

One free from passions understands perfectly the bright one², knowing birth in the upper and nether regions.

'Bodies increase through nourishment, they are frail in hardships.' See some whose organs are failing (give way to weakness).

A person who has no desires, cherishes pity. He who understands the doctrine of sin, is a mendicant who knows the time, the strength, the measure, the occasion, the conduct, the religious precept; he disowns all things not requisite for religious purposes,

¹ The scholiast says that there are three classes of the awakened : the Svayambuddha, the Pratyekabuddha, and the Buddhābodhita. The last only is treated of in the text.

² I. e. self-control.

in time exerts himself, is under no obligations; he proceeds securely (on the road to final liberation) after having cut off both (love and hate)¹. (2)

A householder approaching a mendicant whose limbs tremble for cold, may say :

O long-lived Sramana! are you not subject to the influences of your senses?

O long-lived householder! I am not subject to the influences of my senses. But I cannot sustain the feeling of cold. Yet it does not become me to kindle or light a fire², that I may warm or heat myself; nor (to procure that comfort) through the order of others.

Perhaps after the mendicant has spoken thus, the other kindles or lights a fire that he may warm or heat himself. But the mendicant should well observe and understand this, that he may order him to show no such obsequiousness. Thus I say. (3)

FOURTH LESSON.

A mendicant who is fitted out with three robes³, and a bowl as fourth (article), will not think : I shall beg

¹ The latter part of this paragraph is nearly identical with lecture 2, lesson 5, § 3, to which we refer the reader for the explanation of the dark phrases.

² The original has fire-body, which the faithful are enjoined not to injure; see lecture 2, lesson 4.

³ The three robes allowed to a Gaina monk are two linen under garments (kshaumikakalpa) and one woollen upper garment (aurvikakalpa). Besides these (kalpatraya), the monk possesses, 2. an alms-bowl (pâtra) with six things belonging to it, 3. a broom (ragoharana), 4. a veil for the mouth (mukhavastrikâ). The alms-bowl and the articles belonging to it are specialised in the following gâthâ: *pattam pattâbandho pâya/havanam ka pâyakesariyâ padâlâi rayattânam ka gokkhao pâyaniggogo* ||

for a fourth robe. He should beg for (clothes) which he wants, and which are permitted by the religious code¹; he should wear the clothes in the same state in which they are given him; he should neither wash nor dye them, nor should he wear washed or dyed clothes, nor (should he) hide (his garments when passing) through other villages, being careless of dress. This is the whole duty² of one who wears clothes. But know further, that, after winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up (garment of the three), being clad with an upper and under garment, or with the undermost garment, or with one gown, or with no clothes— aspiring to freedom from bonds³. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Reverend One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it. (1)

When it occurs to a blessed⁴ mendicant that he suffers pain, and cannot bear the influence of cold, he should not try to obviate these trials, but stand fast in his own self which is endowed with all knowledge⁵. 'For it is better for an ascetic that he should take poison.' Even thus he will in due time put an end to existence. This (way to escape trials) has been adopted by many who were

¹ Things, &c.: this is the meaning of the technical term *ahesanigga yathaishanfiya*, allowed objects of begging.

² Literally, outfit. Cf. II, 5, 2, § 1.

³ I. e. freedom from worldly cares and interest.

⁴ *Vasumam*: rich (in control).

⁵ But he should not, in order to escape these trials, commit such suicide as is only permitted to ascetics who have reached the highest degree of perfection, when they are ripe for *Nirvâna*. Suicide only puts off the last struggle for *Nirvâna*; but it is better than breaking the vow.

free from delusion; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say. (2)

FIFTH LESSON.

A mendicant who is fitted out with two robes, and a bowl as third (article), will not think: I shall beg for a third robe. He should beg for robes which are allowed to be begged for; he should wear the clothes, &c. &c.¹ This is the whole outfit of one who wears clothes. But know further, that after the winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up garments; having left off the used-up garments, (one should) be clad with the undermost garment, with a gown², or with no clothes at all—aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Reverend One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it. (1)

When the thought occurs to a mendicant that through illness he is too weak, and not able to beg from house to house—and on his thus complaining a householder brings food, &c., obtained (without injuring life³), and gives it him—then he should, after deliberation, say⁴: O long-lived householder! it does not become me to eat or drink this³ food, &c., or (accept) anything else of the same kind. (2)

¹ See lesson 4, § 1.

² The MSS. are at variance with each other in adapting the words of the former lesson to the present case. As the commentaries are no check, and do not explain our passage, I have selected what seemed to me to be the most likely reading.

³ *Abhihada*=*abhyâhrîta*: it is a typical attribute of objectionable things. The commentator explains it here by *gîvopamardani-vrîta*.

⁴ The original has only *âloeggâ*, he should examine whether

A mendicant who has resolved, that he will, when sick, accept the assistance of fellow-ascetics¹ in good health, when they offer (assistance) without being asked, and that vice versa he, when in health, will give assistance to sick fellow-ascetics, offering it without being asked—(he should not deviate from his resolution though he die for want of help). (3)

Taking the vow to beg (food, &c.) for another (who is sick), and to eat (when sick) what is brought by another; taking the vow to beg, &c., and not to eat what is brought; taking the vow not to beg, &c., but to eat what is brought; taking the vow neither to beg, &c., nor to eat what is brought—(one should adhere to that vow). Practising thus the law as it has been declared, one becomes tranquil, averted from sin, guarded against the allurements of the senses. . Even thus (though sick) he will in due time put an end to existence². This (method) has been adopted by many who were free from delusion; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say. (4)

the food &c. is acceptable or not. This is called the *grahanai-shanā*.

¹ *Sāhammiya*=*sādharmika*, one who follows the same rule in cases where different rules are left to the option of the mendicants. The word *abhikaṃkha*=*abhikāṅkshya* is not translated, the commentator makes it out to mean, wishing for freedom from sinful acts.

² As in the preceding lesson a man who cannot conquer his sensuality, is permitted to commit suicide (by hanging himself, &c.), in order to put an end to his trials and temptations, so in this lesson a man whose sickness prevents him from persevering in a life of austerities, is permitted to commit suicide by rejecting food and drink. This is called *bhaktapānapratyākhyaṇamukti*. It seems therefore to have been regarded as leading to final liberation (*mukti*).

SIXTH LESSON.

A mendicant who is fitted out with one robe, and a bowl as second (article), will not think : I shall beg for a second robe. He should beg for such a robe only as is allowed to be begged for, and he should wear it in the same state as he receives it. This is, &c. (see lesson 4, § 1).

But when the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up clothes ; one should be clad with one or no garment—aspiring to freedom from bonds. Knowing what the Revered One, &c. (see lesson 5, § 1).

When the thought occurs to a mendicant : ‘ I am myself, alone ; I have nobody belonging to me, nor do I belong to anybody,’ then he should thoroughly know himself as standing alone—aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it. (1)

A male or female mendicant eating food &c. should not shift (the morsel) from the left jaw to the right jaw, nor from the right jaw to the left jaw, to get a fuller taste of it, not caring for the taste (of it)—aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it. (2)

If this thought occurs to a monk : ‘ I am sick and not able, at this time, to regularly mortify the flesh,’ that monk should regularly reduce his food ; regularly reducing his food, and diminishing his sins, ‘ he should take proper care of his body, being

immovable like a beam; exerting himself he dissolves his body¹. (3)

Entering a village, or a scot-free town, or a town with an earth-wall, or a town with a small wall, or an isolated town, or a large town, or a sea-town, or a mine, or a hermitage, or the halting-places of processions, or caravans, or a capital²—a monk should beg for straw; having begged for straw he should retire with it to a secluded spot. After having repeatedly examined and cleaned the ground, where there are no eggs, nor living beings, nor seeds, nor sprouts, nor dew, nor water, nor ants, nor mildew, nor waterdrops, nor mud, nor cobwebs—he should spread the straw on it. Then he should there and then effect (the religious death called) itvara³. (4)

¹ There is no finite verb in this sentence, nor any word which could supply its place. The old Gaina authors were so accustomed to surround their meaning with exclusions and exceptions, and to fortify it with a maze of parentheses, that they sometimes apparently forgot to express the verb, especially when they made use of fragments of old verses, as in the present case.

² This is one of the most frequent gamas or identical passages which form a rather questionable ornament of the Sūtra style. The gamas are usually abbreviated, e.g. villages, &c., all down to capital, or eggs, &c., all down to cobwebs, which we shall presently meet with.

³ Itvara or *ingitamaraṇa* consists in starving oneself, while keeping within a limited space. A religious death is usually permitted only to those who have during twelve years undergone preparatory penance, consisting chiefly in protracted periods of fasting. The scholiast says that in our case the itvara is not enjoined for sick persons who can no longer sustain austerities; but they should act as if they were to commit the itvara suicide, hoping that in five or six days the sickness would leave them, in which case they are to return to their former life. But if they should not get better but die, it is all for the best.

This is the truth : speaking truth, free from passion, crossing (the *samsâra*), abating irresoluteness, knowing all truth and not being known, leaving this frail body, overcoming all sorts of pains and troubles through trust in this (religion), he accomplishes this fearful (religious death). Even thus he will in due time put an end to existence. This has been adopted by many who were free from delusion ; it is good, wholesome, proper, beatifying, meritorious. Thus I say. (5)

SEVENTH LESSON.

To a naked¹ monk the thought occurs : I can bear the pricking of grass, the influence of cold and heat, the stinging of flies and mosquitos ; these and other various painful feelings I can sustain, but I cannot leave off the covering of the privities. Then he may cover his privities with a piece of cloth².

A naked monk who perseveres in this conduct, sustains repeatedly these and other various painful feelings : the grass pricks him, heat and cold attack him, flies and mosquitos sting him. A naked monk (should be) aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Reverend One has declared, one should thoroughly and in all respects conform to it. (1)

A monk who has come to any of the following resolutions,—having collected food, &c., I shall give of it to other monks, and I shall eat (what they have) brought ; (or) having collected food, &c., I shall give of it to other monks, but I shall not eat

¹ *Akela*.

² This is the *kaṭibandhana* or *kolapaṭṭaka* ; it should be four fingers broad and one hasta long.

(what they have) brought; (or) having collected food, &c., I shall not give of it to other monks, but I shall eat (what they have) brought; (or) having collected food, &c., I shall not give of it to other monks, nor eat (what they have) brought; (2) (or) I shall assist a fellow-ascetic with the remnants of my dinner, which is acceptable¹ and remained in the same state in which it was received², and I shall accept the assistance of fellow-ascetics as regards the remnants of their dinner, which is acceptable and remained in the same state in which it was received;—(that monk should keep these vows even if he should run the risk of his life) (3)—aspiring to freedom from bonds. Penance suits him. Knowing what the Revered One has declared, one should thoroughly conform to it. (4)

(The last two paragraphs of the last lesson are to be reproduced here.)

Thus I say. (5)

EIGHTH LESSON.

The wise ones who attain in due order³ to one of the unerring states (in which suicide is prescribed), those who are rich in control and endowed with knowledge, knowing the incomparable (religious death, should continue their contemplation). (1)

¹ *Ahesanigga*: it had those qualities which are required of a thing the mendicant may accept.

² *Ahâpariggahiya*=*ahâparigrihîta*.

³ The preceding lessons treated of suicide conceded to sick persons as a means of entering *Nirvâna*. The eighth lesson, which is written in *slokas*, describes the different kinds of religious deaths which form the end of a twelve-years' mortification of the flesh (*saṃlekhanâ*). But the ascetic must ask and get the permission of his Guru, before he commits suicide.

Knowing the twofold (obstacles, i. e. bodily and mental), the wise ones, having thoroughly learned the law, perceiving in due order (that the time for their death has come), get rid of karman. (2)

Subduing the passions and living on little food¹, he should endure (hardships). If a mendicant falls sick, let him again take food. (3)

He should not long for life, nor wish for death; he should yearn after neither, life or death. (4)

He who is indifferent and wishes for the destruction of karman, should continue his contemplation. Becoming unattached internally and externally, he should strive after absolute purity. (5)

Whatever means one knows for calming one's own life², that a wise man should learn (i. e. practise) in order to gain time (for continuing penance). (6)

In a village or in a forest, examining the ground and recognising it as free from living beings, the sage should spread the straw³. (7)

Without food he should lie down and bear the pains which attack him. He should not for too long time give way to worldly feelings which overcome him. (8)

When crawling animals or such as live on high or below, feed on his flesh and blood, he should neither kill them nor rub (the wound). (9)

Though these animals destroy the body, he should not stir from his position.

¹ Compare lecture 7, lesson 6, § 3.

² I. e. for preserving the life, when too severe penance brings on sickness and the probability of instant death.

³ Here commences the description of the bhaktapratyâkhyâ-namarâna, suicide by rejecting food.

After the āsraṃas have ceased, he should bear (pains) as if he rejoiced in them. (10)

When the bonds fall off, then he has accomplished his life.

(We shall now describe) a more exalted (method¹) for a well-controlled and instructed monk. (11)

This other law has been proclaimed by *Gñātri-putra* :

He should give up all motions except his own in the thrice-threefold way². (12)

He should not lie on sprouts of grass, but inspecting the bare ground he should lie on it.

Without any comfort and food, he should there bear pain. (13)

When the sage becomes weak in his limbs, he should strive after calmness³.

For he is blameless, who is well fixed and immovable (in his intention to die). (14)

He should move to and fro (on his ground), contract and stretch (his limbs) for the benefit of the whole body; or (he should remain quiet as if he were) lifeless. (15)

He should walk about, when tired of (lying), or stand with passive limbs; when tired of standing, he should sit down. (16)

Intent on such an uncommon death, he should regulate the motions of his organs.

¹ Viz. the *īṅgitamarāṇa*, which differs from the preceding one by the restriction of the motions of the candidate for suicide to a limited space.

² I. e. of body, speech, and mind; doing, or causing, or allowing to be done.

³ He should not give way to melancholy thoughts.

Having attained a place swarming with insects, he should search for a clean spot. (17)

He should not remain there whence sin would rise.

He should raise himself above (sinfulness), and bear all pains. (18)

And this is a still more difficult method¹, when one lives according to it: not to stir from one's place, while checking all motions of the body. (19)

This is the highest law, exalted above the preceding method:

Having examined a spot of bare ground he should remain there; stay O Brâhmaṇa! (20)

Having attained a place free from living beings, he should there fix himself.

He should thoroughly mortify his flesh, thinking: There are no obstacles in my body. (21)

Knowing as long as he lives the dangers and troubles, the wise and restrained (ascetic) should bear them as being instrumental to the dissolution of the body. (22)

He should not be attached to the transitory pleasures, nor to the greater ones; he should not nourish desire and greed, looking only for eternal praise. (23)

He should be enlightened with eternal objects², and not trust in the delusive power of the gods;

¹ It is called *pâovagamana*, translated by the commentators *pâdapopagamana*, remaining motionless like a felled tree. This etymology, which is generally adopted by the *Gainas*, is evidently wrong; for the Sanskrit prototype is the Brahmanical *prâyopagamana*.

² This is the scholiast's interpretation of *nimaṃteggâ nimantrayet*.

a Brâhmana should know of this and cast off all inferiority¹. (24)

Not devoted to any of the external objects he reaches the end of his life ; thinking that patience is the highest good, he (should choose) one of (the described three) good methods of entering Nirvâna. (25) Thus I say.

End of the Seventh Lecture, called Liberation.

¹ Nûmam karma mâyâ vâ.

EIGHTH LECTURE,

(CALLED)

THE PILLOW OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

FIRST LESSON.

As I have heard it, I shall tell how the Venerable Ascetic, exerting himself and meditating, after having entered the order in that winter, wandered about¹,

'I shall not cover myself with that robe²,' only in that winter (he used it). He had crossed (the sam-sâra) for the rest of his life. This (refusing of dress) is in accordance with his doctrine. (1)

More than four months many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it, and caused pain there. (2)

For a year and a month he did not leave off his robe. Since that time the Venerable One, giving up his robe, was a naked, world-relinquishing, houseless (sage)³. (3)

Then he meditated (walking) with his eye fixed on a square space before him of the length of a

¹ The commentators call this passage a sloka, though only the beginning of it looks like a pāda, the rest showing no metrical law. The beginning of the last passage looks also like the first pāda of a sloka; but the rest requires some violent alterations to answer the metrical laws of a sloka.

² The divine robe given him by Indra.

³ The commentator says that this happened at the Suvarṇabâlukâ river.

man¹. Many people assembled, shocked at the sight ; they struck him and cried. (4)

Knowing (and renouncing) the female sex in mixed gathering places², he meditated, finding his way himself : I do not lead a worldly life. (5)

Giving up the company³ of all householders whomsoever, he meditated. Asked, he gave no answer ; he went, and did not transgress the right path. (6)

For some it is not easy (to do what he did), not to answer those who salute ; he was beaten with sticks, and struck by sinful people. (7)

Disregarding slights difficult to bear, the Sage wandered about, (not attracted) by story-tellers, pantomimes, songs, fights at quarter-staff, and boxing-matches. (8)

At that time the son of *Gñâtri* saw without sorrow (or pleasure) people in mutual conversation. *Gñâtriputra* obtained oblivion of these exquisite sorrows. (9)

For more than a couple of years he led a religious life without using cold water ; he realised singleness, guarded his body, had got intuition, and was calm. (10)

Thoroughly knowing the earth-bodies and water-bodies and fire-bodies and wind-bodies, the lichens, seeds, and sprouts, (11)

He comprehended that they are, if narrowly

¹ *Tiriyabhittim* is left out in the translation. I cannot make out the exact meaning of it, perhaps : 'so that he was a wall for the animals.'

² *Sayanchim* in the original.

³ Literally, the mixed state.

inspected, imbued with life, and avoided to injure them; he, the great Hero. (12)

The immovable (beings) are changed to movable ones, and the movable beings to immovable ones; beings which are born in all states become individually sinners¹ by their actions. (13)

The Venerable One understands thus: he who is under the conditions (of existence)², that fool suffers pain. Thoroughly knowing (karman), the Venerable One avoids sin. (14)

The sage, perceiving the double (karman)³, proclaims the incomparable activity⁴, he, the knowing one; knowing the current of worldliness, the current of sinfulness, and the impulse, (15)

Practising the sinless abstinence from killing, he did no acts, neither himself nor with the assistance of others; he to whom women were known as the causes of all sinful acts, he saw (the true state of the world). (16)

He did not use what had expressly been prepared for him⁵; he well saw (that bondage comes) through action. Whatever is sinful, the Venerable One left that undone: he consumed clean food. (17)

He did not use another's robe, nor does he eat out of another's vessel. Disregarding contempt, he went with indifference to places where food was prepared. (18)

Knowing measure in eating and drinking, he was not desirous of delicious food, nor had he a longing for it. A sage should not rub his eyes nor scratch his body. (19)

¹ Or sinful? bālā.

² Upadhi.

³ Present and future.

⁴ I. e. religious life.

⁵ *Āhākaḍam: yathā yena prakāreṇa prish/vā aprish/vā vā kṛitam yathākṛitam ādhākarmādinā.*

Looking a little sideward, looking a little behind, answering little when spoken to, he should walk attentively looking on his path. (20)

When the cold season has half-way advanced, the houseless, leaving off his robe and stretching out his arms, should wander about, not leaning against a trunk. (21)

This is the rule which has often been followed by the wise Brāhmaṇa, the Venerable One, who is free from attachment : thus proceed (the monks).

Thus I say. (22)

SECOND LESSON.

Whatever different seats and couches have been told, whatever have been used by the great Hero, these resting-places are thus detailed¹. (1)

He sometimes lodged in workshops, assembling-places, wells, or shops ; sometimes in manufactories or under a shed of straw. (2)

He sometimes lodged in travellers' halls, garden-houses, or towns ; sometimes on a burying-ground, in relinquished houses, or at the foot of a tree. (3)

In these places was the wise Sramaṇa for thirteen long years ; he meditated day and night, exerting himself, undisturbed, strenuously. (4)

The Venerable One, exerting himself, did not seek

¹ Silāṅka remarks : 'This verse has not been explained by the author of the old *śikā*. Why? Either because it offers no difficulty, or because it was wanting. Yet it is found in the MSS. of the text alone. We do not exactly know the reason.' Which old *śikā* is meant by Silāṅka we cannot tell with certainty. It scarcely can be the *Kūṛṇi*, for in the Bombay MS. of it the text of the verse in question is given, but no explanation beyond the words : *esā puṭṭhā*, this is (given as an answer to) a question.

sleep for the sake of pleasure ; he waked up himself, and slept only a little, free from desires. (5)

Waking up again, the Venerable One lay down, exerting himself ; going outside for once in a night, he walked about for an hour. (6)

In his resting-places he sustained fearful and manifold calamities ; crawling or flying animals attack him. (7)

Bad people, the guard of the village, or lance-bearers attack him ; or there were domestic temptations, single women or men ; (8)

Fearful and manifold (calamities) of this and the next world ; pleasant and unpleasant smells, and manifold sounds : (9)

Always well controlled, he bore the different sorts of feelings ; overcoming carelessness and pleasure, the Brâhmaṇa wandered about, speaking but little. (10)

In the resting-places there once, in a night, the single wanderers asked him (who he was, and why he was there) ; as he did not answer, they treated him badly ; but he persevered in his meditations, free from resentment. (11)

(Sometimes to avoid greater troubles when asked), 'Who is there within ?' he answered, 'It is I, a mendicant.' But this is the best law : silently to meditate, even if badly treated. (12)

When a cold wind blows, in which some feel pain, then some houseless monks in the cold rain seek a place sheltered from the wind. (13)

(Some heretical monks say), 'We shall put on more clothes ; kindling wood or (well) covered, we shall be able (to bear) the very painful influence of the cold.' (14)

But the Venerable One desired nothing of the kind ;

strong in control, he suffered, despising all shelter. Going outside once of a night, the Venerable One was able (to endure all hardships) in calmness. (15)

This is the rule which has often been followed by the wise Brāhmaṇa, the Venerable One, who is free from attachment : thus proceed (the monks).

Thus I say. (16)

THIRD LESSON.

Always well guarded, he bore the pains (caused by) grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats ; manifold pains. (1)

He travelled in the pathless country of the *Lādhas*, in *Vaggabhūmi* and *Subbhabhūmi*¹; he used there miserable beds and miserable seats. (2)

In *Lādha* (happened) to him many dangers. Many natives attacked him. Even in the faithful part of the rough country² the dogs bit him, ran at him. (3)

Few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk, they cried '*Khukkhū*,' and made the dogs bite him. (4)

Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in *Vaggabhūmi*, and carrying about a strong pole or a stalk (to keep off the dogs), lived there. (5)

Even thus armed they were bitten by the dogs, torn by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in *Lādha*. (6)

¹ *Vagrabhūmi* and *Subhrabhūmi* (or *Svabhrabhūmi*) are, according to the commentaries, the two divisions of *Lādha*. I think that *Lādha* may be identical with the classical *Rādhā* or western Bengal and the *Lāla* of the Buddhists, the native country of *Vigaya*, the legendary conqueror of Ceylon. *Subbhabhūmi* is probably the country of the *Suhmas*, who are also identified with the *Rādhās*.

² The commentator seems to understand the words *lukkhaḍesie bhatte* in the sense: There the living also was rough; for they used clothes of grass instead of cotton.

Ceasing to use the stick (i. e. cruelty) against living beings, abandoning the care of the body, the houseless (Mahāvīra), the Venerable One, endures the thorns of the villages (i.e. the abusive language of the peasants), (being) perfectly enlightened. (7)

As an elephant at the head of the battle, so was Mahāvīra there victorious. Sometimes he did not reach a village there in *Lādha*. (8)

When he who is free from desires approached the village, the inhabitants met him on the outside, and attacked him, saying, 'Get away from here.' (9)

He was struck with a stick, the fist, a lance, hit with a fruit, a clod, a potsherd. Beating him again and again, many cried. (10)

When he once (sat) without moving his body, they cut his flesh¹, tore his hair under pains, or covered him with dust. (11)

Throwing him up, they let him fall, or disturbed him in his religious postures; abandoning the care of his body, the Venerable One humbled himself and bore pain, free from desire. (12)

As a hero at the head of the battle is surrounded on all sides², so was there Mahāvīra. Bearing all hardships, the Venerable One, undisturbed, proceeded (on the road to Nirvāṇa). (13)

This is the rule which has often been followed, &c.

FOURTH LESSON.

The Venerable One was able to abstain from indulgence of the flesh³, though never attacked by

¹ Or his mustaches.

² Or is on his guard.

³ Omodariya.

diseases. Whether wounded or not wounded, he desired not medical treatment. (1)

Purgatives and emetics, anointing of the body and bathing, shampooing and cleansing of the teeth do not behove him, after he learned (that the body is something unclean). (2)

Being averse from the impressions of the senses¹, the Brâhmaṇa wandered about, speaking but little. Sometimes in the cold season the Venerable One was meditating in the shade. (3)

In summer he exposes himself to the heat, he sits squatting in the sun ; he lives on rough (food) : rice, pounded jujube, and beans. (4)

Using these three, the Venerable One sustained himself eight months. Sometimes the Venerable One did not drink for half a month or even for a month. (5)

Or he did not drink for more than two months, or even six months, day and night, without desire (for drink). Sometimes he ate stale food. (6)

Sometimes he ate only the sixth meal, or the eighth, the tenth, the twelfth ; without desires, persevering in meditation. (7)

Having wisdom, Mahâvîra committed no sin himself, nor did he induce others to do so, nor did he consent to the sins of others. (8)

Having entered a village or a town, he begged for food which had been prepared for somebody else. Having got clean² food, he used it, restraining the impulses. (9)

When there were hungry crows, or thirsty beings stood in his way, where he begged, or when he saw them flying repeatedly down, (10)

¹ Gâmadhamma.

² I. e. free from faults.

When a Brâhmana or Sramana, a beggar or guest, a *Kândâla*¹, a cat, or a dog stood in his way, (11)

Without ceasing in his reflections, and avoiding to overlook them², the Venerable One slowly wandered about, and, killing no creatures, he begged for his food. (12)

Moist or dry or cold food, old beans, old pap, or bad grain, whether he did or did not get such food, he was rich (in control). (13)

And Mahâvîra meditated (persevering) in some posture, without the smallest motion; he meditated in mental concentration on (the things) above, below, beside, free from desires. (14)

He meditated free from sin and desire, not attached to sounds or colours; though still an erring mortal (*khadmastha*), he wandered about, and never acted carelessly. (15)

Himself understanding the truth and restraining the impulses for the purification of the soul, finally liberated, and free from delusion, the Venerable One was well guarded during his whole life. (16)

This is the rule which has been followed, &c.

End of the Ninth Lecture, called the Pillow of Righteousness.

End of the First Book.

¹ Svapâka.

² Tassa appattiyam pariharamto, avoiding the non-perception of it, i. e. the interruption of his reflections.

SECOND BOOK

FIRST PART¹.

FIRST LECTURE,

CALLED

BEGGING OF FOOD².

FIRST LESSON.

WHEN a male or a female mendicant, having entered the abode of a householder with the intention of collecting alms, recognises³ food, drink, dainties, and spices as affected by, or mixed up with, living beings, mildew, seeds or sprouts, or wet with water, or covered with dust—either in the hand or the pot of another⁴—they should not, even if they can get it, accept of such food, thinking that it is impure and unacceptable⁵. (1)

But if perchance they accept of such food, under pressing circumstances⁶, they should go to a secluded spot, a garden, or a monk's hall—where there are no

¹ *Kūḍā*.

² *Pindaishanā*.

³ This is the typical beginning of most precepts or sūtras in this *Kūḍā*: *se bhikkhū vā bhikkhunī vā gāhāvaikulam pindavāyapadīyāe anupavitthe samāne se ggam puna gāneggā*. In the sequel I have shortened this rather lengthy preamble.

⁴ By the other is meant the householder or the giver (*dātrī*).

⁵ This is the typical conclusion of all prohibitions: *aphāsuyam anesaniggam ti mannam'ne lābhe samte no padiggāheggā*. In the translation the plural is used throughout, in order to avoid the necessity of always repeating 'he or she.'

⁶ As e. g. total want of another opportunity to get suitable food during famine and sickness.

eggs, nor living beings, nor sprouts, nor dew, nor water, nor ants, nor mildew, nor drops (of water), nor mud, nor cobwebs—and rejecting (that which is affected by), and cleaning that which is mixed up (with living beings, &c.), they should circumspectly eat or drink it. But with what they cannot eat or drink, they should resort to a secluded spot, and leave it there on a heap of ashes or bones, or rusty things, or chaff, or cowdung, or on any such-like place which they have repeatedly examined and cleaned. (2)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever herbs they recognise, on examining them, as still whole, containing their source of life, not split longwise or broadwise, and still alive, fresh beans, living and not broken; for such food is impure and unacceptable. (3)

But when they recognise after examination that those herbs are no more whole, do not contain their source of life, are split longwise or broadwise, and no more alive, fresh beans, lifeless and broken, then they may accept them, if they get them; for they are pure and acceptable. (4)

A monk or nun on a begging-tour should not accept as alms whatever flattened grains, grains containing much chaff, or half-roasted spikes of wheat, &c., or flour of wheat, &c., or rice or flour of rice, they recognise as only once worked¹; for such food is impure and unacceptable. (5)

But when they recognise these things as more than once worked, as twice, thrice worked, then they may accept them, if they get them; for they are pure and acceptable. (6)

¹ Pounded or cooked or roasted, &c., because after only one operation sperms of life might still be left.

A monk or a nun desiring to enter the abode of a householder for collecting alms, should not enter or leave it together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, &c., together with one who does not. (7)

A monk or a nun entering or leaving the out-of-door places for religious practices or for study¹ should not do so together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, together with one who does not. (8)

A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should not do so together with a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, together with one who does not. (9)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not give, immediately or mediately, food, &c., to a heretic or a householder; or a monk who avoids all forbidden food, to one who does not. (10)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., from a householder whom they know to give out of respect for a Nirgrantha, in behalf of a fellow-ascetic, food, &c., which he has bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken nor given, but was taken by force, by acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings; for such-like food, &c., prepared by another man² or by the giver himself, brought out of the house or not brought out of the house, belonging to the giver or not belonging to him, partaken or tasted of, or not partaken or tasted of, is impure and unacceptable.

¹ These are the viḥārabhūmi and viḥārabhūmi.

² Purisaṃtarakaḍa. I have rendered this word according to the interpretation of the commentators; but in a similar passage, 8, 3, §§ 2 and 3, they understand the word to mean appropriated by another person.

In this precept substitute for 'on behalf of one fellow-ascetic,' (2) on behalf of many fellow-ascetics, (3) on behalf of one female fellow-ascetic, (4) on behalf of many female fellow-ascetics; so that there will be four analogous precepts. (11)

A monk or a nun should not accept of food, &c., which they know has been prepared by the householder for the sake of many *Sramanas* and *Brāhmanas*, guests, paupers, and beggars, after he has counted them, acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings; for such food, whether it be tasted of or not, is impure and unacceptable. (12)

A monk or a nun should not accept of food, &c., procured in the way described in § 11 for the sake of the persons mentioned in § 12, if the said food, &c., has been prepared by the giver himself, has been brought out of the house, does not belong to the giver, has not been partaken or tasted of; for such food, &c., is impure and unacceptable; but if the food, &c., has been prepared by another person, has been brought out of the house, belongs to the giver, has been partaken or tasted of, one may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable. (13)

A monk or a nun wishing to enter the abode of a householder with the intention of collecting alms, should not, for the sake of food or drink, enter or leave such always liberal, always open houses, where they always give a morsel, always the best morsel, always a part of the meal, always nearly the half of it.

This certainly is the whole duty of a monk or a nun in which one should, instructed in all its meanings and endowed with bliss, always exert oneself.

Thus I say. (14)

SECOND LESSON.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., in the following case : when, on the eighth or paushadha day, on the beginning of a fortnight, of a month, of two, three, four, five, or six months, or on the days of the seasons, of the junction of the seasons, of the intervals of the seasons, many Sramanas and Brâhmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars are entertained with food, &c., out of one or two or three or four vessels, pots, baskets, or heaps of food ; such-like food which has been prepared by the giver, &c., (all down to) not tasted of, is impure and unacceptable. But if it is prepared by another person, &c. (see first lesson, § 13), one may accept it ; for it is pure and acceptable. (1)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour may accept food, &c., from unblamed, uncensured families, to wit, noble families, distinguished families, royal families, families belonging to the line of Ikshvâku, of Hari, cowherds' families, Vaisya families, barbers' families, carpenters' families, *takurs'* families, weavers' families ; for such food, &c., is pure and acceptable. (2)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., in the following case : when in assemblies, or during offerings to the manes, or on a festival of Indra or Skanda or Rudra or Mukunda or demons or Yakshas or the snakes, or on a festival in honour of a tomb, or a shrine, or a tree, or a hill, or a cave, or a well, or a tank, or a pond, or a river, or a lake, or the sea, or a mine—when on such-like various festivals many Sramanas and Brâhmanas,

guests, paupers, and beggars are entertained with food, &c. (all as in § 1, down to) acceptable. (3)

But when he perceives that all have received their due share, and are enjoying their meal, he should address¹ the householder's wife or sister or daughter-in-law or nurse or male or female servant or slave and say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give me something to eat?' After these words of the mendicant, the other may bring forth food, &c., and give it him. Such food, &c., whether he beg for it or the other give it, he may accept; for it is pure and acceptable. (4)

When a monk or a nun knows that at a distance of more than half a *yogana* a festive entertainment² is going on, they should not resolve to go there for the sake of the festive entertainment. (5)

When a monk hears that the entertainment is given in an eastern or western or southern or northern place, he should go respectively to the west or east or north or south, being quite indifferent (about the feast); wherever there is a festive entertainment, in a village or scot-free town, &c. (see I, 7, 6, § 4), he should not go there for the sake of the festive entertainment.

The Kevalin assigns as the reason for this precept, that if the monk eats food, &c., which has been given him on such an occasion, he will incur the sin of one

¹ *Puvvâm eva âloeggâ*, he should first look at him or her (and then say).

² *Samkhadî*, somewhere explained *odanapâka*, cooking of rice; in the commentary the following etymology is given: *sam-khandyante virâdhyante prânino yatra sâ samkhadî*. But the Guzerati commentator explains it: *gihâm ghanâ gan nimitti âhâra kelvivâ bhanâ*.

who uses what¹ has been prepared for him, or is mixed up with living beings, or has been bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken, nor was it given, but taken by force. (6)

A layman² might, for the sake of a mendicant, make small doors large, or large ones small; put beds³ from a level position into a sloping one, or from a sloping position into a level one; place the beds³ out of the draught or in the draught; cutting and clipping the grass outside or within the upāsraya, spread a couch for him, (thinking that) this mendicant is without means for a bed³. Therefore should a well-controlled Nirgrantha not resolve to go to any festival which is preceded or followed by a feast.

This certainly is the whole duty, &c. (see end of lesson 1).

Thus I say. (7)

THIRD LESSON.

When he has eaten or drunk at a festive entertainment, he might vomit (what he has eaten), or not well digest it; or some other bad disease or sickness might befall him. (1)

The Kevalin says this is the reason :

A mendicant, having drunk various liquors, together with the householder or his wife, monks or nuns, might not find the (promised) resting-place on leaving the scene of entertainment and looking

¹ This stands for āhākammiya and uddesiya, pure and impure food prepared for a mendicant.

² Asaṃgae, the uncontrolled one; it denotes a layman or a householder.

³ Seggā=sayyā, bed; but the scholiast explains it by vasati, dwelling, lodging.

out for it; or in the resting-place he may get into mixed company; in the absence of his mind or in his drunkenness he may lust after a woman or a eunuch; approaching the mendicant (they will say): 'O long-lived *Sramana*! (let us meet) in the garden, or in the sleeping-place, in the night or in the twilight.' Luring him thus by his sensuality (she says): 'Let us proceed to enjoy the pleasures of love.' He might go to her, though he knows that it should not be done.

These are the causes to sin, they multiply continuously. Therefore should a well-controlled *Nirgrantha* not resolve to go to any festival which is preceded or followed by a feast. (2)

A monk or a nun, hearing or being told of some festivity, might hasten there, rejoicing inwardly: 'There will be an entertainment, sure enough!' It is impossible to get there from other families alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for the cloth¹, and to eat the meal. As this would lead to sin, they should not do it². But they should enter there, and getting from other families their alms, should eat their meal. (3)

A monk or a nun, knowing that in a village or a scot-free town, &c. (see I, 7, 6, § 4), an entertainment will be given, should not resolve to go to that village, &c., for the sake of the entertainment. The *Kevalin* assigns as the reason herefore: When a man goes to

¹ *Esiyam vesiyam*. The latter word is explained by *rago-haranâdiveshâl labdham*, what one gets for the sake of one's apparel, the broom, &c.

² *Mâitthânam samphâse, no evam kareggâ*, i. e. *mâtristhânam samspriset, na evam kuryât*: *mâtristhâna* is somewhere explained *karmopadânasthâna*.

a much-frequented and vulgar entertainment somebody's foot treads on his foot, somebody's hand moves his hand, somebody's bowl clashes against his bowl, somebody's head comes in collision with his head, somebody's body pushes his body, or somebody beats him with a stick or a bone or a fist or a clod, or sprinkles him with cold water, or covers him with dust; or he eats unacceptable food, or he receives what should be given to others. Therefore should a well-controlled Nirgrantha not resolve to go to a much-frequented and vulgar entertainment to partake of it. (4)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such food, &c., about the acceptability or unacceptability of which his (or her) mind has some doubts or misgivings; for such food, &c. (5)

When a monk or a nun wishes to enter the abode of a householder, they should do so with the complete outfit¹. (6)

A monk or a nun entering or leaving the out-of-door places for religious practices or study, should do so with the complete outfit. (7)

A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should do so with the complete outfit². (8)

A monk or a nun should not, with the complete outfit, enter or leave the abode of a householder to collect alms, or the out-of-door places for religious practices and study, or wander from village to village on perceiving that a strong and widely-spread rain pours down, or a strong and widely-spread mist is

¹ See I, 7, 4, note 1.

² These Sūtras are perfectly analogous with §§ 7, 8 of the first lesson.

coming on, or a high wind raises much dust, or many flying insects are scattered about and fall down. (9)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., in the houses of Kshatriyas, kings, messengers, and relations of kings, whether they are inside or outside, or invite them; for such food, &c., is impure and unacceptable. Thus I say. (10)

FOURTH LESSON.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not resolve to go to a festival, preceded or followed by an entertainment, to partake of it, when they know that there will be served up chiefly meat or fish or roasted slices of meat or fish; nor to a wedding breakfast in the husband's house or in that of the bride's father; nor to a funeral dinner or to a family dinner where something is served up,—if on their way there, there are many living beings, many seeds, many sprouts, much dew, much water, much mildew, many drops (of water), much dust, and many cob-webs; or if there have arrived or will arrive many Sramanas and Brâhmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, and if it will be a crowded assembly, so that a wise man may not enter or leave it, or learn there the sacred texts, to question about them, to repeat them, to consider them, to think about the substance of the law. (1)

A monk or a nun may go to such an entertainment (as described in the preceding Sûtra), provided that on their way there, there are few living beings, few seeds, &c.; that no Sramanas and Brâhmanas, &c., have arrived or will arrive; that it is not a

crowded assembly, so that a wise man may enter or leave, &c.¹ (2)

A monk or a nun desirous to enter the abode of a householder, should not do so, when they see that the milch cows are being milked, or the food, &c., is being cooked, and that it is not yet distributed. Perceiving this, they should step apart and stay where no people pass or see them. But when they conceive that the milch cows are milked, the dinner prepared and distributed, then they may circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode for the sake of alms. (3)

Some of the mendicants say to those who follow the same rules of conduct, live (in the same place), or wander from village to village: 'This is indeed a small village, it is too populous, nor is it large; reverend gentlemen, go to the outlying villages to beg alms².'

Some mendicant may have there kinsmen or relations, e. g. a householder or his wife, or daughters, or daughters-in-law, or nurses, or male and female slaves or servants. Such families with which he is connected by kindred or through marriage, he intends to visit before (the time of begging): 'I shall get there (he thinks) food or dainties or milk or thick sour milk or fresh butter or ghee or sugar or oil or honey or meat or liquor, a sesamum dish³, or raw sugar, or a meal of parched wheat⁴, or a meal of curds and sugar with spices⁵; after having eaten and drunk, and having cleaned and rubbed the alms-bowl, I shall,

¹ This precept applies, according to the commentator, only to sick monks, or such as can get nothing elsewhere.

² The just arrived monks should do as they are bidden.

³ Samkuli.

⁴ Pûya.

⁵ Sikhariṇṭ.

together with other mendicants, enter or leave the abode of a householder to collect alms.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. (4)

But, at the proper time, entering there with the other mendicants, he may there in these or other families accept alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for his cloth, and eat his meal.

This certainly is the whole duty, &c. (see end of lesson 1).

Thus I say. (5)

FIFTH LESSON.

When a monk or a nun on entering the abode of a householder sees that the first portion of the meal is being thrown away¹ or thrown down, or taken away, or distributed, or eaten, or put off, or has already been eaten or removed; that already other *Sramanas* and *Brāhmanas*, guests, paupers, and beggars go there in great haste; (they might think), 'Hallo! I too shall go there in haste.' As this would be sinful, they should not do so. (1)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour comes upon walls or gates, or bolts or holes to fit them, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid those (obstacles), and not go on straight.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Walking there, he might stumble or fall down; when he stumbles or falls down, his body might become contaminated with *fæces*, urine, phlegmatic humour, mucus, saliva, bile, matter, semen, or blood. And if his body has become soiled, he should not wipe or

¹ In honour of the gods.

rub or scratch or clean¹ or warm or dry it on the bare ground or wet earth [or dusty earth²] on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, or timber inhabited by worms, or anything containing eggs, living beings, &c. (down to) cobwebs; but he should first beg for some straw or leaves, wood or a potsherd, which must be free from dust, resort with it to a secluded spot, and on a heap of ashes or bones, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 2), which he has repeatedly examined and cleaned, he should circumspectly wipe or rub, warm or dry (his body). (2)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives a vicious cow coming towards them, or a vicious buffalo coming towards them, or a vicious man, horse, elephant, lion, tiger, wolf, panther, bear, hyena, sarabha, shakal, cat, dog, boar, fox, leopard coming towards them, they should, in case there be a byway, circumspectly avoid them, and not walk on straight. (3)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour comes on their way upon a pit, pillar, thorns, or unsafe, marshy or uneven ground, or mud, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid these (obstacles), and not walk on straight.

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that the entrance of a householder's abode is secured by a branch of a thorn bush, they should not, without having previously got the (owner's) permission, and having examined and swept (the entrance), make it passable or enter and leave (the

¹ This stands for *uvvalegga vâ uvva//eggâ vâ* (*udvaled vâ udvar-ted vâ*), for which words, denoting some rather indistinct varieties of rubbing, I know no adequate English words.

² The words in brackets are the translation of *varia lectio*.

house). But they may circumspectly do so, after having got the (owner's) permission, and having examined and swept it. (4)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour knows that a *Sramana* or a *Brâhmaṇa*, a guest, pauper or beggar has already entered (the house), they should not stand in their sight or opposite the door¹.

The Kevalin² says: This is the reason: Another, on seeing him, might procure and give him food, &c. Therefore it has been declared to the mendicants: This is the statement, this is the reason, this is the order, that he should not stand in the other mendicants' sight or opposite the door.

Knowing this, he should go apart and stay where no people pass or see him. Another man may bring and give him food, &c., while he stays where no people pass or see him, and say unto him: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! this food, &c., has been given for the sake of all of you; eat it or divide it among you.' Having silently accepted the gift, he might think: 'Well, this is just (enough) for me!' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

Knowing this, he should join the other beggars, and after consideration say unto them³: 'O long-lived *Sramanas*! this food, &c., is given for the sake of all of you; eat it or divide it among you.' After these words another might answer him: 'O long-lived

¹ This might also be translated: at an opposite door.

² The following passage is not explained in the commentaries, and is wanting in the oldest MS., though supplied on the margin. It may therefore be concluded that the whole passage, the greater part of which is typical, is a later addition.

³ *Âloeggâ*. The scholiast explains it here by *darsayet*, he should show the food, &c. Professor Oldenberg has identified this word with the Pâli *âroḥeti*.

Sramana! distribute it yourself.' Dividing the food, &c., he should not (select) for himself too great a portion, or the vegetables, or the conspicuous things, or the savoury things, or the delicious things, or the nice things, or the big things; but he should impartially divide it, not being eager or desirous or greedy or covetous (of anything). When he thus makes the division, another might say: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! do not divide (the food); but let us, all together, eat and drink.' When he thus eats, he should not select for himself too great a portion, &c.; but should eat and drink alike with all, not being desirous, &c.¹ (5)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that a *Sramana* or *Brâhmaṇa*, a beggar or guest has already entered the house, they should not overtake them and address (the householder) first. Knowing this, they should go apart and stay where no people pass or see them. But when they perceive that the other has been sent away or received alms, and has returned, they may circumspectly enter the house and address the householder.

This certainly is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (6)

SIXTH LESSON.

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour perceives that many hungry animals have met and come together in search of food, e.g. those of the chicken-kind or those of the pig-kind, or that crows

¹ The scholiast says that the way to procure food, &c., as described in this paragraph, should only be resorted to under pressing circumstances.

have met and come together, where an offering is thrown on the ground, they should, in case there be a byway, avoid them and not go on straight. (1)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not stand leaning against the door-post of the householder's abode, or his sink or spitting-pot, nor in sight of, or opposite to his bathroom or privy; nor should they contemplate a loophole or a mended spot or a fissure (of the house) or the bathing-house, showing in that direction with an arm or pointing with a finger, bowing up and down. (2)

Nor should they beg, pointing with a finger at the householder, or moving him with a finger, or threatening him with a finger, or scratching him with a finger, or praising him, or using coarse language. (3)

If he sees somebody eating, e.g. the householder or his wife, &c., he should after consideration say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give me some of that food?' After these words the other might wash or wipe his hand or pot or spoon or plate with cold or hot water¹. He should after consideration say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not wash or wipe your hand or pot or spoon or plate! If you want to give me something, give it as it is!' After these words the other might give him a share, having washed or wiped his hand, &c., with cold or hot water. But he should not accept anything out of such a hand, &c., which has been before treated thus; for it is impure and unacceptable. (4)

It is also to be known that food, &c., is impure

¹ *Ślodagavigāḍa*, *uśnodagavigāḍa*. *Vigāḍa*, Sanskrit *vikaṭa*, is explained *apkāya*. It is therefore cold or hot water which is to be considered as containing life.

and unacceptable, which is given with a wet hand, though the hand be not purposely wetted. (5)

The same rule holds good with regard to a moistened hand, &c., and a dusty hand, &c., and a hand which is soiled with clay, dew, orpiment, vermilion, realgar, collyrium, white chalk, alum, rice-flour, kukkusa, ground drugs. (6)

It is also to be known that he may accept such food, &c., which is given with a soiled hand, &c., to one similarly soiled (i.e. with what one is to receive), or to one unsoiled, with hand similarly soiled ; for such food, &c., is pure and acceptable. (7)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept flattened grains, grains containing much chaff, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 5), which a layman, for the sake of the mendicant, has ground¹, grinds, or will grind, has winnowed, winnows, or will winnow on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, &c. (see II, 1, 5, § 2, all down to) cobwebs; for such large, parched grains, &c., are impure and unacceptable. (8)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept fossil salt or sea salt which a householder, for the sake of the mendicant, has ground or pounded, grinds or pounds, will grind or pound on a rock or a piece of clay containing life, &c.; for such-like fossil salt or sea salt is impure and unacceptable. (9)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not

¹ The subject *asamgae*, the uncontrolled one, i.e. layman, stands in the singular, but the verb in the plural. The same irregularity occurs in the next paragraph. The commentator accounts for it simply by saying: *ekavaṭanādhikāre pi kṛtāṇḍa-satvāt tadvyatyayena bahuvaṭanam drashavyam, pūrvatra vā gātāv ekavaṭanam.*

accept food, &c., which is prepared over the fire; for such food is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: A layman will kill the fire-bodies, by wetting or moistening, wiping or rubbing, throwing up or turning down the food, &c., for the sake of the mendicant. Hence it has been declared to the mendicants: This is the statement, this is the reason, this is the order, that they should not accept food, &c., which has been prepared over the fire, &c.

This certainly is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (10)

SEVENTH LESSON.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., which has been placed on a post or pillar or beam or scaffold or loft¹ or platform or roof or some such-like elevated place; for such food fetched from above is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The layman might fetch and erect a stool or a bench or a ladder or a handmill, get upon it, and getting upon it fall or tumble down. Thus he might hurt his foot or arm or breast or belly or head or some other part of his body; or he might kill or frighten or bruise or smash or crush or afflict or pain or dislocate all sorts

¹ Māla. The word is not explained in the *Tikā* and *Dīpikā*; the Guzerati translation says that the word is *lokapratīta*, commonly understood. It is probably the Marāṭhī *māḷ* or *māḷā*; the former word denotes a loft, floored with bamboos; the second, the room formed by overlaying with slight sticks the cross-beams of a house, a loft, an erection or stand in a cornfield, scaffolding (of a building). Molesworth, Marāṭhī and English Dictionary, s. v.

of living beings. Therefore he should not accept such-like food, &c., fetched from above. (1)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., which a layman, for the sake of the mendicant, has taken from a granary or vault by contorting himself up and down and horizontally; thinking that such-like food is brought from underground¹. (2)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., which is kept in earthenware. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The layman might, for the sake of the mendicant, break the earthen vessel containing the food, &c., and thereby injure the earth-body; in the same way he might injure the fire-body, the wind-body, plants and animals; by putting it again (in earthenware), he commits the *paṭṭhāka* sin. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should not accept food, &c., which is put in earthenware. (3)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., placed on the earth-body, the wind-body, the fire-body, for such food is impure and unacceptable. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: A layman might, for the sake of the mendicant, stir or brighten the fire, and taking the food, &c., down from it, might give it to the mendicant. Hence it has been said, &c., that he should accept no such food. (4)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour sees that a layman might, for the sake of the mendicant,

¹ The original has *bho mālohadaṃ ti naṭṭā*. *Bho mālohada* is explained *adhomālāhṛitam*. *Mālohada*, which I translate 'fetched from above,' is the technical term for things affected by the dosha under question.

cool too hot food, &c., by blowing or fanning with a winnowing basket or fan or a palm leaf or a branch or a part of a branch or a bird's tail or a peacock's tail or a cloth or a corner of a cloth or the hand or the mouth, they should, after consideration, say (to the householder or his wife): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not blow or fan the hot food, &c., with a winnowing basket, &c.; but if you want to give it me, give it as it is.' After these words the other might give it after having blown or fanned it with a winnowing basket, &c.; such-like food they should not accept, because it is impure and unacceptable. (5)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., which is placed on vegetable or animal matter¹; for such food is impure and unacceptable. (6)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept water which has been used for watering flour or sesamum or rice, or any other such-like water which has been recently used for washing, which has not acquired a new taste, nor altered its taste or nature, nor has been strained; for such-like water is impure and unacceptable. But if it has long ago been used for washing, has acquired a new taste, has altered its taste or nature, and has been strained, it may be accepted, for it is pure and acceptable. (7)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour finds water used for washing sesamum, chaff or barley, or rainwater² or sour gruel or pure water, they should, after consideration, say (to the householder or his wife): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) will you give

¹ *Vaṇassaikāyapati//hiya and tasakāyapati//hiya.*

² *Āyāma, ātāmlam avaryānam.*

me some of this water ?' Then the other may answer him : 'O long-lived *Sramaṇa* ! take it yourself by drawing it with, or pouring it in, your bowl !' Such-like water, whether taken by himself or given by the other, he may accept. (8)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such water as has been taken from the bare ground, &c. (see II, 1, 5, § 2, all down to) cobwebs, or water which the layman fetches in a wet or moist or dirty vessel, mixing it with cold water.

This certainly is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (9)

EIGHTH LESSON.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept juice of mangos, inspissated juice of mangos, juice of wood-apples, citrons, grapes, wild dates, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, bamboos, jujubes, myrobalans, tamarinds, or any such-like liquor containing particles of the shell or skin or seeds, which liquor the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, pressed, strained, or filtered through a basket¹, cloth, or a cow's tail ; for such liquor is impure and unacceptable. (1)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour smells, in travellers' houses or garden houses or householders' houses or *maths*, the scent of food or drink or sweet scents, they should not smell them, being indifferent against smell, and not eager or desirous or greedy or covetous of the pleasant smell. (2)

¹ *Khavva*, Sanskrit *kṛhābdaka* (sic). The Hindī has *kṛhāvāḍā*, basket.

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept raw things which are not yet modified by instruments¹, as bulbous roots, growing in water or dry ground, mustard stalks ; for they are impure and unacceptable. The same holds good with regard to long pepper, ground long pepper, common pepper, ground common pepper, ginger or ground ginger. (3)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such raw fruits which are not yet modified by instruments, as those of Mango, Amrâtaka, *Ghig-ghitrâ*², Surabhi³, Sallakt⁴; for they, &c. (4)

The same holds good with regard to raw shoots which, &c., as those of Asvattha, Nyagrodha, Pilamkhu⁵, Nityûra⁶, Sallakt. (5)

The same holds good with regard to raw berries which, &c., as those of Kapittha⁷, pomegranate, or Pippala. (6)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept raw, powdered fruits which are not well ground and still contain small seeds, as those of Umbara, Pilamkhu, Nyagrodha, and Asvattha ; for &c. (7)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept unripe wild rice⁸, dregs, honey, liquor, ghee, or sediments of liquor, if these things be old or if living beings are engendered or grow or thrive in

¹ I. e. when they have undergone no operation which takes the life out of them.

² Name of a shrub.

³ Explained by satagru.

⁴ Boswellia Thurifera.

⁵ Explained by pipparf.

⁶ Cedrela Toona.

⁷ The wood-apple tree, Feronia Elephantum.

⁸ Âmadâga, explained in the commentary âmapannam, unripe or half ripe, aravikatandulîyakâdi.

them, or are not taken out, or killed or destroyed in them. (8)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like raw plants¹ as Ikshumeru, Añ-kakarelu, Kaseru, *Samghâtika*, Pûtiálu. (9)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like (vegetables) as *Nymphaea* or stalk of *Nymphaea* or the bulb of *Nelumbium* or the upper part or the filament of *Lotus* or any part of the plant. (10)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such-like raw substances as seeds or sprouts, growing on the top or the root or the stem or the knots (of a plant), likewise the pulp or blossoms of the plantain, cocoa-nut, wild date, and palmyra trees. (11)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any such-like raw unmodified substances as sugar-cane, which is full of holes, or withering or peeling off or corroded by wolves; or the points of reeds or the pulp of plantains. (12)

The same holds good with regard to garlic or its leaves or stalk or bulb or integument. (13) Likewise with regard to cooked fruits of *Atthiya*², *Tinduka*³, *Vilva*⁴, *Srīparṇī*⁵. (14)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept such raw, unmodified substances as corn, clumps of corn, cakes of corn, sesamum, ground sesamum, or cakes of sesamum.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (15)

¹ Of these plants only Kaseru, a kind of grass, and *Samghâtika* *Trapa Bispinosa* are specialised in our dictionaries.

² A certain tree.

³ *Diospyros Glutinosa*.

⁴ *Aegle Marmelos*.

⁵ *Pistia Stratiotes*.

NINTH LESSON.

In the east or west or south or north, there are some faithful householders, &c., (all down to) servants who will speak thus: 'It is not meet that these illustrious, pious, virtuous, eloquent, restrained, controlled, chaste ascetics, who have ceased from sensual intercourse, should eat or drink food, &c., which is *ādhākarmika*¹; let us give to the ascetics all food, &c., that is ready for our use, and let us, afterwards, prepare food for our own use.' Having heard such talk, the mendicant should not accept such-like food, &c., for it is impure and unacceptable. (1)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour or in their residence or on a pilgrimage from village to village, who know that in a village or scot-free town, &c., dwell a mendicant's nearer or remoter relations—viz. a householder or his wife, &c.—should not enter or leave such houses for the sake of food or drink. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: Seeing him, the other might, for his sake, procure or prepare food, &c. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should not enter or leave such houses for the sake of food or drink.

Knowing this, he should go apart and stay where no people pass or see him. In due time he may enter other houses, and having begged for alms which are acceptable and given out of respect for

¹ For the meaning of this frequently used term, see note 5 on p. 81, and note 1 on p. 94.

his cloth, he may eat his dinner. If the other has, on the mendicant's timely entrance, procured or prepared food, &c., which is ādhākarmika, he might silently examine it, and think: 'Why should I abstain from what has been brought.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. But after consideration he should say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) as it is not meet that I should eat or drink food, &c., which is ādhākarmika, do not procure or prepare it.' If after these words the other brings and gives him ādhākarmika food which he has prepared, he should not accept such-like food, &c., for it is impure and unacceptable. (2)

When a monk or a nun on a begging-tour sees that meat or fish is being roasted, or oil cakes, for the sake of a guest, are being prepared, they should not, quickly approaching, address the householder; likewise if the food is prepared for the sake of a sick person. (3)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour might, of the received quantity of food, eat only the sweet-smelling parts and reject the bad-smelling ones. As this would be sinful, they should not do so; but they should consume everything, whether it be sweet smelling or bad smelling, and reject nothing. (4)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour might, of the received quantity of drink, imbibe only the well-flavoured part, and reject the astringent part. As this would be sinful, they should not do so; but they should consume everything, whether it be well flavoured or astringent, and reject nothing. (5)

A monk or a nun, having received a more than sufficient quantity of food, might reject (the superfluous part) without having considered or consulted

fellow-ascetics living in the neighbourhood, who follow the same rules of conduct, are agreeable and not to be shunned; as this would be sinful, they should not do so. Knowing this, they should go there and after consideration say: 'O long-lived *Sramanas*! this food, &c., is too much for me, eat it or drink it!' After these words the other might say: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! we shall eat or drink as much of this food or drink as we require; or, we require the whole, we shall eat or drink the whole.' (6)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food, &c., which for the sake of another has been put before the door, if the householder has not permitted him to do so, or he gives it him; for such food, &c. But on the contrary he may accept it.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (7)

TENTH LESSON.

A single mendicant, having collected alms for many, might, without consulting his fellow-ascetics, give them to those whom he list; as this would be sinful, he should not do so. Taking the food, he should go there (where his teacher &c. is) and speak thus: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! there are near or remote (spiritual) relations of mine: a teacher, a sub-teacher, a religious guide, a *Sthavira*, a head of a *Gana*, a *Ganadhara*, a founder of a *Gana*; forsooth, I shall give it them.' The other may answer him: 'Well now, indeed, O long-lived one! give such a portion!' As much as the other commands, thus much he should give; if the other commands the whole, he should give the whole. (1)

A single mendicant, having collected agreeable food, might cover it with distasteful food, thinking: 'The teacher or sub-teacher, &c., seeing what I have received, might take it himself; indeed, I shall not give anything to anybody!' As this would be sinful, he should not do so.

Knowing this, he should go there (where the other mendicants are), should put the vessel in his out-stretched hand, show it (with the words): 'Ah, this! ah, this!' and hide nothing. (2)

A single mendicant, having received some food, might eat what is good, and bring what is discoloured and tasteless; as this would be sinful, he should not do so. (3)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept any part of the sugar-cane¹, whether small or large, pea-pods, seed-pods, of which articles a small part only can be eaten, and the greater part must be rejected; for such things are impure and unacceptable. (4)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept meat or fish containing many bones, so that only a part of it can be eaten and the greater part must be rejected; for such meat or fish, &c., is impure and unacceptable. (5)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour may be invited to meat or fish containing many bones, (by the householder who addresses him thus): 'O long-lived Śramaṇa! will you accept meat with many bones?' Hearing such a communication, he should

¹ They are detailed in the original: *amtaruḥḥuyam*, a piece between two knots; *uḥḥugamḍīyam*, a piece containing a knot; *uḥḥukoyagam* (?), *uḥḥumeragam*, top of a stalk; *uḥḥusālagam*, long leaf; *uḥḥudālagam*, fragment of a leaf.

say, after consideration : 'O long-lived one ! (or, O sister !) it is not meet for me to accept meat with many bones ; if you want to give me a portion of whatever size, give it me ; but not the bones !' If after these words the other (i.e. the householder) should fetch meat containing many bones, put it in a bowl and return with it, (the mendicant) should not accept such a bowl, whether out of the other's hand or a vessel¹ ; for it is impure and unacceptable. But if he has inadvertently accepted it, he should not say : 'No, away, take it !' Knowing this, he should go apart, and in a garden or an upâsraya, where there are few eggs, &c., (all down to) cobwebs, eat the meat or fish, and taking the bones, he should resort to a secluded spot and leave them on a heap of ashes, &c. (see II, I, I, § 2). (6)

If a householder should fetch fossil salt or sea salt, put it in a bowl and return with it, a monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept it out of the other's hand or vessel ; for, &c.

But if he has inadvertently accepted it, he should return with it to the householder, if he is not yet too far away, and say, after consideration² : 'Did you give me this with your full knowledge or without it ?' He might answer : 'I did give it without my full knowledge ; but indeed, O long-lived one ! I now give it you ; consume it or divide it (with others) !'

Then being permitted by, and having received it from, the householder, he should circumspectly eat it or drink it, and what he cannot eat or drink he

¹ Parahatthamsi vâ parapâyamsi vâ. This is a typical phrase, and seems rather out of place here.

² Aloeggâ, he should show, would perhaps be better.

should share with his fellow-ascetics in the neighbourhood, who follow the same rules of conduct, are agreeable, and not to be shunned ; but if there are no fellow-ascetics, the same should be done as in case one has received too much food.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (7)

ELEVENTH LESSON.

Some mendicants say unto (others) who follow the same rules of conduct, or live in the same place, or wander from village to village, if they have received agreeable food and another mendicant falls sick¹ : 'Take it! give it him! if the sick mendicant will not eat it, thou mayst eat it.' But he (who is ordered to bring the food) thinking, 'I shall eat it myself,' covers it and shows it (saying): 'This is the lump of food, it is rough to the taste², it is pungent, it is bitter, it is astringent, it is sour, it is sweet; there is certainly nothing in it fit for a sick person.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. But he should show him which parts are not fit for a sick person (saying): 'This particle is pungent, this one bitter, this one astringent, this one sour, this one sweet.' (1)

Some mendicants say unto (others) who follow the same rules of conduct, or live in the same place, or wander from village to village, if they have received agreeable food and another mendicant falls sick : 'Take it! give it him! if the mendicant will not eat it, bring it to us!' 'If nothing prevents me, I shall

¹ This is the way in which the commentator construes the sentence. There is some confusion in the text, which cannot easily be removed.

² Loe, Sanskrit rūksha?

bring it.' (Then he might act as stated in § 1, which would be sinful.) (2)

For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are seven rules for begging food and as many for begging drink, to be known by the mendicants.

Now, this is the first rule for begging food. Neither hand nor vessel are wet¹: with such a hand or vessel he may accept as pure, food, &c., for which he himself begs or which the other gives him. That is the first rule for begging food. (3)

Now follows the second rule for begging food. The hand and the vessel are wet. The rest as in the preceding rule. That is the second rule for begging food. (4)

Now follows the third rule for begging food. In the east, &c., there are several faithful householders, &c., (all down to) servants: they have put (food) in some of their various vessels, as a pan, a pot, a winnowing basket, a basket, a precious vessel. Now (the mendicant) should again know: is the hand not wet and the vessel wet; or the hand wet and the vessel not wet? If he collect alms with an alms-bowl or with his hand², he should say, after consideration: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) with your not-wet hand, or with your wet vessel, put (alms) in this my bowl, or hand, and give it me!' Such-like food, for which he himself begs or which the other gives him, he may accept; for it is pure and acceptable. That is the third rule for begging food. (5)

Now follows the fourth rule for begging food. A

¹ *Samsattha*; it would perhaps be more correct to translate this word, soiled with the food in question.

² These are the *paḍiggahadhârî* and the *pâṇipadiggahiya*, lit. one who uses his hand instead of an alms-bowl.

monk or a nun may accept flattened grains, &c. (cf. II, 1, 1, § 5), for which they beg themselves or which the other gives them, if it be such as to require little cleaning or taking out (of chaff); for it is pure, &c. That is the fourth rule for begging food. (6)

Now follows the fifth rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food which is offered on a plate or a copper cup or any vessel, if the moisture on the hands of the giver is almost dried up; for, &c. That is the fifth rule for begging food. (7)

Now follows the sixth rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food which had been taken up from the ground, either taken up for one's own sake or accepted for the sake of somebody else, whether it be placed in a vessel or in the hand; for, &c. That is the sixth rule for begging food. (8)

Now follows the seventh rule for begging food. A monk or a nun may accept food of which only a part may be used, and which is not wanted by bipeds, quadrupeds, Sramanas, Brāhmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars, whether they beg for it themselves, or the householder gives it them. That is the seventh rule for begging food. (9)

These are the seven rules for begging food; now follow the seven rules for begging drink. They are, however, the same as those about food, only the fourth gives this precept: A monk or a nun may accept as drink water which has been used for watering flour or sesamum, &c. (II, 1, 7, § 7), if it be such as to require little cleaning and taking out (of impure) articles; for, &c. (10)

One who has adopted one of these seven rules for begging food or drink should not say: 'These reverend persons have chosen a wrong rule, I alone

have rightly chosen.' (But he should say): 'These reverend persons, who follow these rules, and I who follow that rule, we all exert ourselves according to the commandment of the *Gina*, and we respect each other accordingly.'

This certainly is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (11)

End of the First Lecture, called Begging of
Food.

SECOND LECTURE,

CALLED

BEGGING FOR A COUCH¹.

FIRST LESSON.

If a monk or a nun want to ask for a lodging, and having entered a village or scot-free town, &c., conceive that lodging to contain eggs, living beings, &c., they should not use it for religious postures, night's-rest, or study². (1)

But if the lodging contains only few eggs or few living beings, &c., they may, after having inspected and cleaned it, circumspectly use it for religious postures, &c. Now, if they conceive that the householder, for the sake of a Nirgrantha and on behalf of a fellow-ascetic (male or female, one or many), gives a lodging which he has bought or stolen or taken, though it was not to be taken nor given, but was taken by force, by acting sinfully towards all sorts of living beings, they should not use for religious postures, &c., such a lodging which has been appropriated by the giver himself, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 11).

The same holds good if there be instead of a fellow-ascetic many Sramanas and Brāhmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars. But if the lodging has been

¹ Seggā.

² Tahappagāre uvassae no *thānam* vā *seggam* vā *nisīhiyam* vā *keteggā*. *Thāna* = *sthāna* is explained *kāyotsarga*; *seggā* = *sayyā*, *saṃstāraka*; *nisīhiyā* = *nisīthikā*, *svādhyāya*; *keteggā* = *kin-tayet*. The last word is elsewhere translated *dadyāt*.

appropriated by another man than the giver, &c., they may, after having inspected and cleaned it, circumspectly use it for religious postures, &c. (2)

A monk or a nun, knowing that the layman has, for the sake of the mendicant, matted the lodging, whitewashed it, strewn it (with grass, &c.), smeared it (with cowdung), levelled, smoothed, or perfumed it (or the floor of it), should not use that lodging, which has been prepared by the giver himself, &c., for religious postures. But if it has been prepared by another person, &c., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures. (3)

A monk or a nun, knowing that a layman will, for the sake of a mendicant, make small doors large, &c. (all as in II, 1, 2, § 7, down to) spread his couch or place it outside, should not use such a lodging which has been appropriated by the giver himself, &c., for religious postures, &c. But if it has been appropriated by another person, &c., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures, &c. (4)

Again, a monk or a nun, knowing that the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, removes from one place to another, or places outside, bulbs or roots or leaves or flowers or fruits or seeds or grass-blades of water plants, should not use such a lodging, which is appropriated by the giver himself, for religious postures, &c. But if it has been prepared by another person, &c., they may circumspectly use it for religious postures, &c. (5)

A monk or a nun, knowing that the layman, for the sake of the mendicant, removes from one place to another, or places outside, a chair or a board or a ladder or a mortar, should not use such a lodging-place, &c. (all as at the end of the last paragraph). (6)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging-place above ground, as a pillar or a raised platform or a scaffold or a second story or a flat roof, likewise no underground place (except under urgent circumstances). If by chance they are thus lodged, they should there not wash or clean their hands or feet or eyes or teeth or mouth with hot or cold water ; nor should they put forth there any other secretion, as excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, bilious humour, ichor, blood, or any other part of the bodily humours.

The Kevalin says : This is the reason : Making secretions he might stumble or fall ; stumbling or falling he might hurt his hand, &c. (II, 1, 7, § 1), or any other limb of his body, or kill, &c., all sorts of living beings. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should use no above-ground lodging-place for religious postures, &c. (7)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not use, for religious postures, a lodging-place used by the householder, in which there are women, children, cattle, food, and drink. This is the reason : A mendicant living together with a householder's family may have an attack of gout, dysentery, or vomiting ; or some other pain, illness, or disease may befall him ; the layman might, out of compassion, smear or anoint the mendicant's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease, rub or shampoo it with perfumes, drugs, lodhra, dye, powder, padmaka, then brush or rub it clean ; clean, wash, or sprinkle it with hot or cold water, kindle or light a fire by rubbing wood on wood ; and having done so, he might dry or warm (the mendicant's body).

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c.,

that he should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging-place which is used by the householder. (8)

This is (another) reason: While a mendicant lives in a lodging used by the householder, the householder or his wife, &c., might bully, scold¹, attack or beat each other. Then the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike: 'Let them bully each other!' or, 'Let them not bully each other!' &c. &c.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should not use, for religious postures, &c., a lodging-place used by the householder. (9)

This is (another) reason: While the mendicant lives together with householders, the householder might, for his own sake, kindle or light or extinguish a fire-body. Then the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike: 'Let them kindle or light or extinguish a fire-body;' or, 'Let them not do so.'

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c. (see above). (10)

This is (another) reason: While the mendicant lives together with householders, he might see the householder's earrings or girdle or jewels or pearls or gold and silver² or bracelets (those round the wrist and those round the upper arm) or necklaces (those consisting of three strings, or those reaching halfway down the body, or those consisting of eighty

¹ *Vahamti*. The Guzerati translation renders it *nirbhamkhe*, which is derived from Sanskrit *nirbharts*.

² *Hiranne suvanne*. The commentators explain these two words, which are synonyms in the later language, as 'raw and wrought gold, or coined gold.' I translate 'gold and silver,' because the distinction of the commentators seems rather far-fetched, and because silver would be missed in enumerations like the present one.

strings or forty strings or one string or strings of pearls, golden beads or jewels) or a decked or ornamented girl or maiden. Thus the mendicant might direct his mind to approval or dislike : 'Let her be thus;' or, 'Let her not be thus.' So he might say, so he might think. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c. (see above). (11)

This is (another) reason : While a mendicant lives together with householders, the householder's wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, nurses, slave-girls or servant-girls might say: 'These reverend Sramanas, &c., have ceased from sexual intercourse; it behoves them not to indulge in sexual intercourse : whatever woman indulges with them in sexual intercourse, will have a strong, powerful, illustrious, glorious, victorious son of heavenly beauty.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, one of them might induce the mendicant ascetic to indulge in sexual intercourse.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging used by the householder.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (12)

SECOND LESSON.

Some householders are of clean habits and the mendicants, because they never bathe, are covered with uncleanness; they smell after it, they smell badly, they are disagreeable, they are loathsome. Hence the householders, with regard to the mendicant, put off some work which otherwise they would have done before, and do some work which otherwise they would have put off.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c.,

that he should not use, for religious postures, &c., a lodging used by the householder. (1)

This is the reason: While a mendicant lives together with householders, the householder might, for his own sake, have prepared something to eat. Then, afterwards, he might, for the sake of the mendicant, prepare or dress food, &c., and the mendicant might desire to eat or drink or swallow it.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c. (see above). (2)

This is the reason: While the mendicant lives together with a householder, there may be ready wood cleft for the use of the householder. Then, afterwards, (the householder) might, for the sake of the mendicant, cleave or buy or steal wood, kindle or light, by rubbing wood on wood, the fire-body, and the mendicant might desire to dry or warm himself at, or enjoy, the fire.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c. (see above). (3)

When in the night or twilight a mendicant, to ease nature, leaves the door open, a thief, watching for an occasion, might enter. It is not meet for the mendicant to say: This thief enters or does not enter, he hides himself or does not hide himself, he creeps in or does not creep in, he speaks or does not speak; he has taken it, another has taken it, it is taken from that man; this is the thief, this is the accomplice, this is the murderer, he has done so¹. The householder will suspect the ascetic, the men-

¹ For if he gives warning of the thief, the warner or the thief might be slain; but if he gives no warning, no life will be lost, though the mendicant's integrity may be doubted.

dicant, who is not a thief, to be the thief. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c. (4)

A monk or a nun should not use, for religious postures, &c., sheds of grass or straw which contain eggs, living beings, &c. But they may do so if they contain few eggs, few living beings, &c. (5)

A mendicant should not stay in halting-places, garden houses, family houses, monasteries, where many fellow-ascetics are frequently arriving.

1. If the reverend persons continue to live in those places after staying there for a month¹ in the hot or cold seasons or for the rainy season (he should say): 'O long-lived one! you sin by overstaying the fixed time.' (6)

2. If the reverend persons repeatedly live in halting-places, &c., after staying there for the proper time, without passing two or three intermediate months somewhere else, (he should say): 'O long-lived one! you sin by repeating your retreat in the same place.' (7)

3. Here, in the east, west, north, or south, there are, forsooth, some faithful householders, householders' wives, &c., who are not well acquainted with the rules of monastic life (with regard to the fitness of lodging-places); nevertheless they believe in, perceive, are convinced of, (the merit of) giving lodging to mendicants. They (accordingly) give lodging-places for the sake of many Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, guests, paupers, and beggars, in workshops, chapels, temples, assembly halls, wells, houses or halls for shopkeeping or for keeping or building carriages, distilleries, houses where Darbha-grass,

¹ Or any fixed period, which the mendicant has vowed not to exceed staying in one place.

bark, trees, wood or charcoal are being worked, houses on burial-places, rooms for retirement near the place of sacrifice¹, empty houses, hill-houses, caves, stone-houses, or palaces. He should say to those reverend persons who live in such-like places as workshops, &c., together with other guests: 'O long-lived one! you sin by living in a place frequented by other sectarians.' (8)

4. Here, in the east, &c. They accordingly give, &c. (all as in § 8 down to) palaces. If the mendicants come there while the other religious men do not come there, they sin by living in a place not frequented by other mendicants. (9)

5. In the east, west, north, or south there are faithful householders, viz. a householder or his wife, &c., who will speak thus: 'It is not meet that these illustrious, pious, virtuous, eloquent, controlled, chaste ascetics, who have ceased from sexual intercourse, should dwell in a lodging which is *âdhâkarmika*²: let us give to the mendicants the lodgings which are ready for our use, viz. workshops, &c., and let us, afterwards, prepare lodgings for our own use, viz. workshops, &c.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, if the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) *vargakriyâ*.' (10)

6. Here, in the east, &c. (see § 8 all down to) they give lodging-places for the sake of many *Sramanas* and *Brâhmanas*, guests, paupers, and beggars, after having well counted them, in workshops, &c.

¹ *Sântigrîha*.

² See note 5 on p. 81.

If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) mahāvargakriyā.' (11)

7. Here, in the east, &c. They accordingly give, for the sake of many sorts of Sramanas¹, after having well counted them, lodging-places, viz. workshops, &c. If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., and live in them which are ceded by other people (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) sāvadyakriyā.' (12)

8. Here, in the east, &c. They accordingly prepare, for the sake of one sort of Sramanas, lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., for which purpose great injury is done to the earth, water, fire, wind-bodies, plants, and animals, great injury, great cruelty, great and manifold sinful acts; by wasting cold water or strewing (the ground), smearing it with cowdung, shutting the doors and securing the bed, lighting a fire. If the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., and lead in such ceded lodgings an ambiguous² life (they should be warned): 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the sin called) mahāsāvadyakriyā.' (13)

9. But if the lodgings, viz. workshops, &c., are

¹ There are five sorts of Sramanas enumerated in the following hemistich, which occurs not only in Sīlāṅka's commentary, but also in that of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra, as Dr. Leumann informs me: Niggamtha, Sakka, Tāvāsa, Gerua, Āgīva pamāhā samanā. Nirgranthas, Sākyas, Tāpasas, Gairikas, Āgīvakas.

² Dupakkham te kanīma sevanti, lit. use twofold work; the meaning is, according to the commentary, that they act like householders, though they make a show of monastic life.

prepared by the householders for their own sake under the same circumstances as detailed in the preceding paragraph, and the reverend persons frequent such-like lodgings, they lead, in those lodgings, an unambiguous life. 'O long-lived one! that (lodging is infected by the very small sin called) *alpasā-vadyakriyā*.'

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (14)

THIRD LESSON.

'It¹ is difficult to obtain pure, acceptable alms; it is indeed not free from such preparations as strewing the ground (with *Darbha*-grass), smearing it (with cowdung), shutting the doors and securing the beds. And he (the mendicant) delights in pilgrimage, religious exercises, study, begging for a bed, a couch, or other alms.'

Some mendicants explain thus (the requisites of a lodging); they are called upright, searching after liberation, practising no deceit.

Some householders (who, having learned the requisites of a lodging-place, fit one out accordingly, try to deceive the mendicants, saying): 'This lodging, which we offer you, has been assigned to you, it has been originally prepared for our sake, or for the sake of some relations, it has been used, it has been relinquished.'

Explaining² thus, he truly explains. (The teacher says): Well, he is (an explainer of the truth). (1)

¹ The commentators say that this passage contains the mendicant's answer to an invitation to live in this or that village. By the second it is meant the lodging.

² The commentator supposes here the householder to further

If a mendicant, at night or at the twilight, leaves or enters a small lodging, one with a small door, a low or cramped lodging, (he should put forward) first his hand, then his foot, and thus circumspectly leave or enter it.

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: There might be a badly bound, badly placed, badly fastened, loose umbrella, pot, stick, staff, robe, hide, leather boots or piece of leather belonging to Sramanas or Brāhmanas; and the mendicant, when leaving or entering (the lodging) at night or twilight, might stumble or fall; stumbling or falling he might hurt his hand or foot, &c. (see IV, 1, 7, § 1), kill, &c., all sorts of living beings.

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that one (should put forward) first the hand, then the foot, and thus circumspectly leave or enter such a lodging. (2)

He (the mendicant) should, at halting-places, &c., ask for a lodging-place, after having inquired who is the landlord or who is the tenant. He should ask permission to use the lodging-place in this way: 'By your favour, O long-lived one! we shall dwell here for a while (for the time and in the place) which you will concede.' (If the landlord should object and say that he owns the lodging for a limited time only, or if he asks for the number of monks for which the lodging is required, he should answer)¹: 'As long as this lodging belongs to you, (or) for the sake of as

inquire after the requisites of, and the objections to, the lodging-place. The mendicant should explain them.

¹ The passage in parentheses contains what the commentator supplies.

many fellow-ascetics (as shall stand in need of it), we shall occupy the lodging; afterwards we shall take to wandering.' (3)

A monk or a nun may know the name and gotra of him in whose lodging he lives; in that case they should not accept food, &c., in that house whether invited or not invited; for it is impure and unacceptable. (4)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging-place which is used by the householder, which contains fire or water; for it is not fit for a wise man to enter or leave it, &c. (cf. II, 1, 4, § 1). (5)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging for which they have to pass through the householder's abode, or to which there is no road; for it is not fit, &c. (see last paragraph). (6)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging where the householder or his wife, &c., might bully or scold, &c., each other (see II, 2, 1, § 9); for it is not fit, &c. (7)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging where the householder or his wife, &c., rub or anoint each other's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease; for it is not fit, &c. (8)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging where the householder or his wife, &c., rub or shampoo each other's body with perfumes, ground drugs, powder, lodhra, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 8); for it is not fit, &c. (9)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging where the householder or his

wife, &c., clean, wash, or sprinkle each other's body with cold or hot water; for it is not fit, &c. (10)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging where the householder or his wife, &c., go about naked or hide themselves, or talk about sexual pleasures, or discuss a secret plan; for it is not fit, &c. (11)

A monk or a nun should not use for religious postures, &c., a lodging which is a much-frequented playground¹; for it is not fit, &c. (12)

1. If a monk or a nun wish to beg for a couch, they should not accept one which they recognise full of eggs, living beings, &c. (13)

2. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, but is heavy, they should not accept such a couch. (14)

3. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, light, but not movable, they should not accept such a couch. (15)

4. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, &c., light, movable, but not well tied, they should not accept such a couch². (16)

5. If the couch is free from eggs, living beings, light, movable, and well tied, they may accept such a couch. (17)

For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules, according to which the mendicant should beg for a couch.

¹ *Ānnasamlekkham*. I am not certain whether I have found the correct meaning.

² In the first case, there would be *samyamavirâdhanâ*, or obstruction to control; in the second, *âtmavirâdhanâ*, injury to him who lifts the couch; in the third, *tatparityâga*; in the fourth, *bandhanâdipalimantha*, friction of the ropes. The word which I have translated movable is *paḍihâriya pratihâruka*. The translation is conjectural.

Now this is the first rule for begging for a couch.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch, specifying (its quality), viz. one of Ikkaṭa-reed, a hard one, one of Gantuka-grass, of Para-grass¹, of peacock feathers, of hay, of Kusa-grass, of brush-hair, of Paṭṭaka, of Pippala, of straw, they should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) please give me this here!' If the householder prepares one of the above-specified couches, or if the mendicant asks himself, and the householder gives it, then he may accept it as pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule. (18)

Now follows the second rule.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch (of the above-detailed description) after having well inspected it, they should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! &c.' (all as in the first rule).

This is the second rule². (19)

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch of the above-detailed description, viz. one of Ikkaṭa-grass, &c., from him in whose house he lives, they may use it if they get it; if not, they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture (for the whole night).

This is the third rule. (20)

Now follows the fourth rule.

If a monk or a nun beg for a couch such as it is spread, either on the ground or on a wooden plank, they may use it if they get it; if not, they

¹ The commentator says that from this grass artificial flowers are produced.

² According to the commentary the first and second rules may not be adopted by a gaṭṭha-nirgata, or a monk who is attached to no order of monks.

should remain in a squatting or sitting posture (for the whole night).

This is the fourth rule. (21)

A monk who has adopted one of these four rules, should not say, &c. (all as in II, 1, 11, § 12, down to) we respect each other accordingly. (22)

If a monk or a nun wish to give back a couch, they should not do so, if the couch contains eggs, living beings, &c. But if it contains few living beings, &c., they may restrainedly do so, after having well inspected, swept, and dried it¹. (23)

A monk or a nun on a begging-tour or in a residence or on a pilgrimage from village to village should first inspect the place for easing nature. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: If a monk or a nun, in the night or the twilight, ease nature in a place which they have not previously inspected, they might stumble or fall, stumbling or falling they might hurt the hand or foot, &c., kill, &c., all sorts of living beings. (24)

A monk or a nun might wish to inspect the ground for their couch away from² that occupied by a teacher or sub-teacher, &c. (see II, 1, 10, § 1), or by a young one or an old one or a novice or a sick man or a guest, either at the end or in the middle, either on even or uneven ground, or at a place where there is a draught or where there is no draught. They should then well inspect and sweep

¹ One past preterite participle *vimittunīya* is left out in the translation, as I do not know its meaning.

² Nannattha with instr., here explained *muktvā*. Though I suspect the correctness of this translation, I have nothing better to offer.

(the floor), and circumspectly spread a perfectly pure bed or couch. (25)

Having spread a perfectly pure bed or couch, a monk or a nun might wish to ascend it. When doing so, they should first wipe their body from head to heels; then they may circumspectly ascend the perfectly pure bed or couch, and circumspectly sleep in it. (26)

A monk or a nun sleeping in a perfectly pure bed or couch (should have placed it at such a distance from the next one's) that they do not touch their neighbour's hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body; and not touching it, should circumspectly sleep in their perfectly pure bed or couch. (27)

Before inhaling or breathing forth, or coughing or sneezing or yawning or vomiting or eructating, a monk or a nun should cover their face or the place where it lies; then they may circumspectly inhale or breathe forth, &c. (28)

Whether his lodging¹ be even or uneven; full of, or free from, draughts; full of, or free from, dust; full of, or free from, flies and gnats; full of, or free from, dangers and troubles—in any such-like lodging one should contentedly stay, nor take offence at anything.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (29)

End of the Second Lecture, called Begging
for a Couch.

¹ *Seggâ*, here explained by *vasati*.

THIRD LECTURE,

CALLED

WALKING¹.

FIRST LESSON.

When the rainy season has come and it is raining, many living beings are originated and many seeds just spring up, the roads between (different places) contain many living beings, seeds, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 2), the footpaths are not used, the roads are not recognisable. Knowing this (state of things) one should not wander from village to village, but remain during the rainy season in one place². (1)

When a monk or a nun knows that in a village or scot-free town, &c. (see I, 7, 6, § 3), there is no large place for religious practices nor for study; that there cannot easily be obtained a stool, bench, bed, or couch, nor pure, acceptable alms; that there have come or will come many Sramanas and Brâhmanas, guests, paupers, and beggars; that the means of existence are extremely small; that it is not fit for a wise man to enter or leave it, &c. (see II, 1, 4, § 1); in such a village, scot-free town, &c., they should not remain during the cold season. (2)

When a monk or a nun knows that in a village or scot-free town, &c., there is a large place for religious practices or for study; that there can easily

¹ Iriyâ.² I. e. keep the paggusan.

be obtained a stool, bench, bed, or couch, or pure, acceptable alms; that there have not come nor will come *Sramanas* and *Brāhmanas*, guests, paupers, and beggars; that the means of existence are not small, &c., they may remain in such a village, &c., during the rainy season. (3)

Now they should know this: After the four months of the rainy season are over, and five or ten days of the winter have passed, they should not wander from village to village, if the road contains many living beings, &c., and if many *Sramanas* and *Brāhmanas*, &c., do not yet travel¹. (4)

But if after the same time the road contains few living beings, and many *Sramanas* and *Brāhmanas*, &c., travel, they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (5)

A monk or a nun wandering from village to village should look forward for four cubits, and seeing animals they should move on by walking on his toes or heels or the sides of his feet. If there be some bypath, they should choose it, and not go straight on; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (6)

A monk or a nun wandering from village to village, on whose way there are living beings, seeds, grass, water, or mud, should not go straight if there be an unobstructed byway; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (7)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road (lies through) places belonging to borderers, robbers, *Mlekkhas*, non-Aryan people², half-civilised people,

¹ He should in that case stay in the same place for the whole month *Mārgasīrsha*, where he was during the rainy season.

² According to the commentary *mlekkha* (*milakkhu*) means

unconverted people, people who rise or eat at an improper time, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage. (8)

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The ignorant populace might bully, beat, &c., the mendicant, in the opinion that he is a thief or a spy, or that he comes from yonder (hostile village); or they might take away, cut off, steal or rob his robe, alms-bowl, mantle, or broom. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that one whose road (lies through) places belonging, &c. (all as in the last paragraph); then he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (9)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road (lies through) a country where there is no king or many kings or an unanointed king or two governments or no government or a weak government, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage. The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The ignorant populace might bully or beat, &c., the mendicant, &c. (all as in § 9). (10)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, whose road lies through a forest¹ which they are not certain of crossing in one or two or three or four or five days, should, if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage. (11)

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: During

the Varvara, Sarvara, Pulindra, &c.; the non-Aryans are those who live not in the 36½ countries.

¹ Vihaṃ, forest, as explained in the third lesson. But the commentator here explains it, a journey of some days.

the rain (he might injure) living beings, mildew, seeds, grass, water, mud. Hence it has been said to the mendicant that one whose road lies through such a forest, &c. (all as in the last paragraph); then he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (12)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, on whose way there is some watercourse which must be crossed by a boat, should not ascend such a boat which plies up or down or across (the river), neither for one *yogana's* or half a *yogana's* distance, neither for a shorter nor a longer voyage, if they know that the householder¹ will buy or purloin the boat, or doing the work necessary to put the boat in order, pull it ashore out of the water, or push it from the shore into the water, or bale it, if it is filled (with water), or cause a sinking boat to float. (13)

A monk or a nun, knowing that a boat will cross the river, should, after having received the owner's permission, step apart, examine their outfit, put aside their provender, wipe their body from head to heels, reject the householder's food, and putting one foot in the water and the other in the air², they should circumspectly enter the boat. (14)

A monk or a nun in entering the boat should not choose for that purpose the stern or the prow or the middle of the boat; nor should they look at it holding up their arms, pointing at it with their finger, bowing up and down. (15)

If, on board, the boatman should say to the monk, 'O long-lived *Sramana*! pull the boat forward or back-

¹ By householder is here intended the host of the mendicant.

² *Thale*=*sthale*. The commentator explains it by *âkâse*.

ward, or push it, or draw it with the rope towards you, or, let us do it together,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (16)

If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! you cannot pull the boat forward or backward, or push it, or draw it with a rope towards you; give us the rope, we will ourselves pull the boat forward or backward, &c.,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (17)

If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! if you can, pull the boat by the oar, the rudder, the pole, and other nautical instruments¹, he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (18)

If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! please, lade out the water with your hand, or pitcher², or vessel, or alms-bowl, or bucket,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (19)

If, on board, the other should say to him, 'O long-lived Sramana! please, stop the boat's leak with your hand, foot, arm, thigh, belly, head, body, the bucket, or a cloth, or with mud, Kusa-grass, or lotus leaves,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (20)

If a monk or a nun see that water enters through a leak in the boat, and the boat becomes dirty all over, they should not approach the boatman and say: 'O long-lived householder! water enters through a leak into the boat, and it becomes dirty all over.'

¹ Rudder is a guess for *pīḍha*, nautical instruments for *valaya* and *avallaya*.

² *Pāṇa* = *pātrena*. The Guzerati commentator takes it for *pādena*, foot.

One should not think so or speak so; but undisturbed, the mind not directed outwardly, one should collect one's self for contemplation; then one may circumspectly complete one's journey by the boat on the water.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (21)

SECOND LESSON.

If, on board, the boatman should say to the mendicant, 'O long-lived *Sramana*! please, take this umbrella, pot, &c. (see II, 2, 3, § 2), hold these various dangerous instruments¹, let this boy or girl drink,' he should not comply with his request, but look on silently. (1)

If, on board, the boatman should say to another of the crew, 'O long-lived one! this *Sramana* is only a heavy load for the boat, take hold of him with your arms and throw him into the water!' hearing and perceiving such talk, he should, if he wears clothes, quickly take them off or fasten them or put them in a bundle on his head. (2)

Now he may think: These ruffians, accustomed to violent acts, might take hold of me and throw me from the boat into the water. He should first say to them: 'O long-lived householders! don't take hold of me with your arms and throw me into the water! I myself shall leap from the boat into the water!' If after these words the other, by force and violence, takes hold of him with his arms and throws him into the water, he should be neither glad nor sorry, neither in high nor low spirits, nor should he offer

¹ *Satthagāya* = *sastragāta*. About *sastra*, see I, 1, 2.

violent resistance to those ruffians ; but undisturbed, his mind not directed to outward things, &c. (see II, 3, 1, § 21), he may circumspectly swim in the water. (3)

A monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should not touch (another person's or their own?) hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body ; but without touching it they should circumspectly swim in the water. (4)

A monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should not dive up or down, lest water should enter into their ears, eyes, nose, or mouth ; but they should circumspectly swim in the water. (5)

If a monk or a nun, swimming in the water, should be overcome by weakness, they should throw off their implements (clothes, &c.), either all or a part of them, and not be attached to them. Now they should know this : If they are able to get out of the water and reach the bank, they should circumspectly remain on the bank with a wet or moist body. (6)

A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub or brush or stroke¹ or dry or warm or heat (in the sun) their body. But when they perceive that the water on their body has dried up, and the moisture is gone, they may wipe or rub, &c., their body in that state ; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (7)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage should not wander from village to village, conversing with householders ; they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (8)

If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come

¹ The original has six words for different kinds of rubbing, which it would be impossible to render adequately in any other language.

across a shallow water¹, they should first wipe their body from head to heels, then, putting one foot in the water and the other in the air, they should wade through the shallow water in a straight line². (9)

If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come across a shallow water, they should wade through it in a straight line, without being touched by or touching (another person's or their own?) hand, foot, or body with their own hand, foot, or body. (10)

A monk or a nun, wading through shallow water in a straight line, should not plunge in deeper water for the sake of pleasure or the heat; but they should circumspectly wade through the shallow water in a straight line. Now they should know this: If one is able to get out of the water and reach the bank, one should circumspectly remain on the bank with a wet or moist body. (11)

A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub, &c. (all as in § 7). (12)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, with their feet soiled with mud, should not, in order that the grass might take off the mud from the feet, walk out of the way and destroy the grass by cutting, trampling, and tearing it. As this would be sinful, they should not do so. But they should first inspect a path containing little grass; then they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (13)

If a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage come upon walls or ditches or ramparts or gates or bolts

¹ *Gamghâsamtârime udae*, literally, a water which is to be crossed by wading through it up to the knees; or perhaps water to be crossed on foot.

² *Ahâriyam* = *yathâ rigu bhavati*. It might also mean, in the right way. Another explanation is *yathâtâryam*.

or holes to fit them, or moats or caves, they should, in case there be a byway, choose it, and not go on straight. (14)

The Kevalin says : This is the reason : Walking there, the mendicant might stumble or fall down ; when he stumbles or falls down, he might get hold of trees, shrubs, plants, creepers, grass, copsewood, or sprouts to extricate himself. He should ask travellers who meet him, to lend a hand ; then he may circumspectly lean upon it and extricate himself ; so he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (15)

If a monk or a nun perceive in their way (transports of) corn, waggons, cars, a friendly or hostile army¹, some encamped troops, they should, in case there be a byway, circumspectly choose it, and not walk on straight. One trooper might say to another : ' O long-lived one ! this Sramana is a spy upon the army ; take hold of him with your arms, and drag him hither ! ' The other might take hold of the mendicant with his arms and drag him on. He should neither be glad nor sorry for it, &c. (see § 3) ; then he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (16)

If on his road travellers meet him and say, ' O long-lived Sramana ! how large is this village or scot-free town, &c. ? how many horses, elephants, beggars, men dwell in it ? is there much food, water, population, corn ? is there little food, water, population, corn ? ' he should not answer such questions if asked, nor ask them himself.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (17)

¹ Svaṭakrâni vâ paraṭakrâni vâ. My translation is merely a guess.

THIRD LESSON.

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, in whose way there are walls or ditches or ramparts or gates, &c. (see II, 3, 2, § 14), hill houses, palaces, underground houses, houses in trees, mountain caves, a sacred tree or pillar, workshops, &c. (see II, 2, 2, § 8), should not look at them holding up their arms, pointing at them with their fingers, bowing up and down. Then they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (1)

A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage, on whose way there are marshes, pasture-grounds, moats, fortified places, thickets, strongholds in thickets, woods, mountains, strongholds on mountains, caves¹, tanks, lakes, rivers, ponds, lotus ponds, long winding ponds, water-sheets, rows of water-sheets, should not look at them holding up their arms, &c. (see § 1). (2)

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: The deer, cattle, birds, snakes, animals living in water, on land, in the air might be disturbed or frightened, and strive to get to a fold or (other place of) refuge, (thinking): 'The Sramana will harm me!'

Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should not look at the objects (mentioned in § 2) holding up his arms, &c.² (3)

¹ The word *agaḍa* has been left out in the translation.

² The passage closes: 'then he may circumspectly wander from village to village together with the master and teacher (*āyariovagghāya*).'³ But as the master and teacher have not been mentioned before, and will be mentioned in the next Sūtra, it is almost certain that the words in question have been brought over from the next Sūtra, or that they ought to be supplied to all Sūtras from the beginning of the third lesson.

A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village together with the master or teacher, should not touch the master's or teacher's hand with their own, &c.; but without touching or being touched they should circumspectly wander from village to village together with the master or teacher. (4)

A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village together with the master or teacher, might be met on the road by travellers and asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! who are you? whence do you come, and where do you go?' The master or teacher may answer and explain; but whilst the master or teacher answers and explains, one should not mix in their conversation. Thus they may wander from village to village with a superior priest¹. (5)

A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village with a superior priest, should not touch the superior's hand with their own, &c. (see § 4). (6).

A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village with superior priests, might be met on the road by travellers, and be asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! who are you?' He who has the highest rank of them all, should answer and explain; but whilst the superior answers and explains, one should not mix in their conversation, &c. (see § 5). (7)

A monk or a nun, wandering from village to village, might be met on the road by travellers, and be asked: 'O long-lived Sramana! did you see somebody on the road? viz. a man, cow, buffalo, cattle, bird, snake, or aquatic animal—tell us, show

¹ Ahârâtiniyâe, Com. yathâratnâdhikam. Râtiniya is opposed to seha (disciple); it is elsewhere explained by *gyeshtha*; see Kalpa Sûtra, Sâm. 59. I am not sure if the phrase ought not to be translated, with due respect for his superior.

us!' The mendicant should not tell it, nor show it, he should not comply with their request, but look on silently, or, though knowing it, he should say that he did not know. Then he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (8)

He should act in the same manner, if asked about bulbs of water-plants, roots, bark, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, water in the neighbourhood, or a kindled fire; (9)

Likewise, if asked about (transports of) corn, waggons, cars, &c. (see II, 3, 2, § 16). (10)

Likewise, if asked: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! how large is this village or scot-free town, &c.?' (11)

Likewise, if asked: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! How far is it to that village or scot-free town, &c.?' (12)

If a monk or a nun, wandering from village to village, sees a vicious cow coming towards them, &c. (see II, 1, 5, § 3), they should not, from fear of them, leave the road, or go into another road, nor enter a thicket, wood, or stronghold, nor climb a tree, nor take a plunge in a large and extended water-sheet, nor desire a fold or any other place of refuge, or an army or a caravan; but undisturbed, the mind not directed to outward things, they should collect themselves for contemplation; thus they may circumspectly wander from village to village. (13)

If the road of a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage lies through a forest, in which, as they know, there stroll bands of many thieves desirous of their property, they should not, for fear of them, leave the road, &c. (all as in § 13). (14)

If these thieves say, 'O long-lived *Sramana*! bring us your clothes, &c., give them, put them down!' the mendicant should not give or put them down.

Nor should he reclaim (his things) by imploring (the thieves), or by folding his hands, or by moving their compassion, but by religious exhortation or by remaining silent. (15)

If the thieves, resolving to do it themselves, bully him, &c., tear off his clothes, &c., he should not lodge an information in the village or at the king's palace; nor should he go to a layman, and say, 'O long-lived householder! these thieves, resolving to do (the robbing) themselves, have bullied me, &c., they have torn off my clothes,' &c. He should neither think so, nor speak so; but undisturbed, &c. (see § 13).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (16)

End of the Third Lecture, called Walking.

FOURTH LECTURE,

CALLED

MODES OF SPEECH¹.

FIRST LESSON.

A monk or a nun, hearing and perceiving these uses of speech, should know that the following ones are not to be employed and have not hitherto been employed (by persons of exemplary conduct); those who speak in wrath or in pride, for deception or for gain, who speak, knowingly or unknowingly, hard words. They should avoid all this, which is blamable. Employing their judgment, they should know something for certain and something for uncertain²: (1) (N. N.) having received food or not having received food, having eaten it or not having eaten it, has come or has not come, comes or does not come, will come or will not come. (2)

Well considering (what one is to say), speaking with precision, one should employ language in moderation and restraint: the singular, dual, plural; feminine, masculine, neuter gender; praise, blame,

¹ Bhāṣagāya.

² The commentator understands this passage and the following paragraph in a different way: a man of ripe judgment should utter no such positive assertions, e. g. it is certain (that it will rain), or it is not certain, &c. He seems to have been of opinion that the prohibition in the last sentence, *savvam etam sāvaḡgam vaḡgeggā*, extends also to the following sentence. But this is not probable, as *etam* generally refers to what precedes, and *imam* to what follows.

praise mixed with blame, blame mixed with praise ; past, present, or future (tenses), the first and second, or third (person)¹. If one thinks it necessary to speak in the singular, he should speak in the singular ; if he thinks it necessary to speak in the plural, he should speak in the plural, &c. Considering well : this is a woman, this is a man, this is a eunuch, this is to be called thus, this is to be called otherwise, speaking with precision, he should employ language in moderation and restraint. (3)

For the avoidance of these occasions to sin, a mendicant should know that there are four kinds of speech : the first is truth ; the second is untruth ; the third is truth mixed with untruth ; what is neither truth, nor untruth, nor truth mixed with untruth, that is the fourth kind of speech : neither truth nor untruth². Thus I say.

All past, present, and future Arhats have taught and declared, teach and declare, will teach and declare these four kinds of speech ; and they have explained all those things which are devoid of intellect, which possess colour, smell, taste, touch, which are subject to decay and increase, which possess various qualities. (4)

A monk (or a nun should know that) before (the utterance) speech is speech in (antecedent) non-existence³; that while uttered, it is (real) speech ;

¹ *Paṭṭakkhāvayaṇam*, *parokkhāvayaṇam*.

² The first, second, and third cases refer to assertions, the fourth (*asatyamrīṣhā*) to injunctions.

³ Literally, non-speech. The commentary has the terms used in the translation, which are taken from the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy. But it is well known that many *Gainas* have adopted and written on the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy, and that the *Gainas* themselves maintain

that the moment after it has been uttered, the spoken speech is speech in (subsequent) non-existence. (5)

A monk or a nun, well considering, should not use speech whether truth or untruth, or truth mixed with untruth, if it be sinful, blamable, rough, stinging, coarse, hard, leading to sins, to discord and factions, to grief and outrage, to destruction of living beings. (6)

A monk or a nun, considering well, should use true and accurate speech, or speech which is neither truth nor untruth (i.e. injunctions); for such speech is not sinful, blamable, rough, stinging, &c. (7)

A monk or a nun, if addressing a man who, if addressed, does not answer, should not say: 'You loon! you lout!¹ you Sûdra! you low-born wretch! you slave! you dog! you thief! you robber! you cheat! you liar! &c.; you are such and such! your parents² are such and such!' Considering well, they should not use such sinful, blamable, &c., speech. (8)

But in that case they should say: 'N. N.! O long-lived one! O long-lived ones! O layman! O pupil! O faithful one! O lover of faith!' Considering well, they should use such sinless, blameless, &c., speech. (9)

A monk or a nun, if addressing a woman who, if addressed, does not answer, should not say: 'You hussy! you wench! &c.' (repeat the above list of

that one of their own creed, *Kṛuluya-Rohagutta*, is the author of the *Vaisheshika Darshanam*; see *Kalpa Sûtra*, p. 119.

¹ The original has *hole*, *gole*, which are said by the commentator to have been used, in another country, as abusive words. My conjectural translation is based on the meaning of the Sanskrit words *hoḍā*, *golā*.

² It is well known that the Hindus include the parents of the abused party in their maledictions.

abusive words adapted to females). Considering well, they should not use such sinful, blamable, &c., speech. (10)

A monk or a nun, if addressing a woman who, if addressed, does not answer, should say: 'O long-lived one! O sister! madam! my lady! O lay-sister! O pupil! O faithful one! O lover of faith!' Considering well, they should use such sinless, blameless, &c., speech. (11)

A monk or a nun should not say: 'The god¹ of the sky! the god of the thunderstorm! the god of lightning! the god who begins to rain! the god who ceases to rain! may rain fall or may it not fall! may the crops grow or may they not grow! may the night wane or may it not wane! may the sun rise or may it not rise! may the king conquer or may he not conquer!' They should not use such speech. (12)

But knowing the nature of things, he should say: 'The air; the follower of Guhya; a cloud has gathered or come down; the cloud has rained.'

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (13)

SECOND LESSON.

A monk or a nun, seeing any sort (of diseases), should not talk of them in this way: 'He has got boils, or leprosy, &c. (see I, 6, 1, § 3); his hand is cut, or his foot, nose, ear, lip is cut.' For as all such people, spoken to in such language, become

¹ This prohibition to use the word god in such phrases as the god (deva) rains, is a curious instance of the rationalism of the early Gainas. As they were allowed to speak nothing but the truth, they were enjoined not to say, 'the god rains,' but 'the air (*amtalikkham*) rains.'

angry, hence, considering well, they should not speak to them in such language. (1)

A monk or a nun, seeing any sort (of good qualities), should speak thus : 'He is strong, powerful, vigorous, famous, well-formed, well-proportioned, handsome.' For as all such people, spoken to in such language, do not become angry, they should, considering well, speak to them in such language. (2)

A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of such things as walls or ditches, &c. (see II, 3, 2, § 14), should not speak of them in this way : 'This is well-executed, finely executed, beautiful, excellent, (so done) or to be done ;' they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (3)

A monk or a nun, seeing walls, &c., should speak about them in this way : 'This has been executed with great effort, with sin, with much labour ; it is very magnificent, it is very beautiful, it is very fine, it is very handsome ;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (4)

A monk or a nun, seeing food, &c., prepared, should not speak about it in this way : 'This is well executed, finely executed, beautiful, excellent, (so done) or to be done ;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (5)

A monk or a nun, seeing food, &c., prepared, should speak about it in this way : 'This has been executed with great effort, with sin, with much labour ; it is very good, it is excellent, it is well seasoned, it is most delicious, it is most agreeable ;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (6)

A monk or a nun, seeing a man, a cow, a buffalo, deer, cattle, a bird, a snake, an aquatic animal of

increased bulk, should not speak about them in this way : 'He (or it) is fat, round, fit to be killed or cooked ;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (7)

A monk or a nun, seeing a man, a cow, &c., of increased bulk, should speak about them in this way : 'He is of increased bulk, his body is well grown, well compacted, his flesh and blood are abundant, his limbs are fully developed ;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (8)

A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of cows (or oxen), should not speak about them in this way : 'These cows should be milked or tamed or covered, should draw a waggon or car ;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (9)

A monk or a nun, seeing any sort of cows (or oxen), should speak about them in this way : 'It is a young cow, a milch cow, she gives much milk, it is a short or a large one, a beast of burden ;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (10)

A monk or a nun, seeing big trees in parks, on hills, or in woods, should speak about them in this way : 'These (trees) are fit for palaces, gates, houses, benches, bolts, boats, buckets, stools, trays, ploughs, mattocks(?), machines, poles, the nave of a wheel(?), *gandī*¹, seats, beds, cars, sheds ;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (11)

A monk or a nun, seeing big trees in parks, on hills, or in woods, should speak about them in this way : 'These trees are noble, high and round, big ;

¹ The Guzerati commentator explains *gandī* by a kind of utensil. The Sanskrit commentaries give no explanation.

they have many branches, extended branches, they are very magnificent,' &c. (see § 4); considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (12)

A monk or a nun, seeing many wild fruits, should not speak about them in this way: 'They are ripe, they should be cooked or eaten, they are just in season, or soft, or they have just split;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (13)

A monk or a nun, seeing many wild fruits, should speak about them in this way: 'They are very plentiful, they contain many seeds, they are fully grown, they have developed their proper shape;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (14)

A monk or a nun, seeing many vegetables, should not speak about them in this way: 'They are ripe, they are dark coloured, shining, fit to be fried or roasted or eaten;' considering well, they should not use such sinful, &c., language. (15)

A monk or a nun, seeing many vegetables, should speak about them in this way: 'They are grown up, they are fully grown, they are strong, they are excellent, they are run to seed, they have spread their seed, they are full of sap;' considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (16)

A monk or a nun, hearing any sort of sounds, should not speak about them in this way: 'This is a good sound, this is a bad sound;' considering well, they should not use such sinless, &c., language; but they should call them good, if they are good; bad, if they are bad; considering well, they should use such sinless, &c., language. (17)

In the same manner they should speak about the

(five) colours, as black, &c.; the (two) smells, as pleasant or unpleasant; the (five) tastes, as sharp &c.; the (five) kinds of touch, as hard, &c. (18)

A monk or a nun, putting aside wrath, pride, deceit, and greed, considering well, speaking with precision, what one has heard, not too quick, with discrimination, should employ language in moderation and restraint.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (19)

End of the Fourth Lecture, called Modes of Speech.

FIFTH LECTURE,

CALLED

BEGGING OF CLOTHES¹.

FIRST LESSON.

A monk or a nun wanting to get clothes, may beg for cloth made of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton, or Arkatûla, or such-like clothes. If he be a youthful, young, strong, healthy, well-set monk, he may wear one robe, not two; if a nun, she should possess four raiments, one two cubits broad, two three cubits broad, one four cubits broad². If one does not receive such pieces of cloth, one should afterwards sew together one with the other. (1)

A monk or a nun should not resolve to go further than half a *yogana* to get clothes. As regards the acceptance of clothes, those precepts which have been given in the (First Lesson of the First Lecture, called) Begging of Food³, concerning one fellow-ascetic, should be repeated here; also concerning many fellow-ascetics, one female fellow-ascetic, many female fellow-ascetics, many *Sramanas* and *Brâhmanas*; also about (clothes) appropriated by another person⁴. (2)

A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which the layman, for the mendicant's sake, has bought,

¹ *Vatthesanâ*.

² The first to wear in the cloister, the second and third for out-of-door, the fourth for assemblies.

³ See II, I, I, § 11.

⁴ See II, I, I, § 13.

washed, dyed, brushed, rubbed, cleaned, perfumed, if these clothes be appropriated by the giver himself. But if they be appropriated by another person, they may accept them; for they are pure and acceptable. (3)

A monk or a nun should not accept any very expensive clothes of the following description : clothes made of fur, fine ones, beautiful ones ; clothes made of goats' hair, of blue cotton, of common cotton, of Bengal cotton, of *Patta*, of Malaya fibres, of bark fibres, of muslin, of silk ; (clothes provincially called) *Desaraga*, *Amila*, *Gaggala*, *Phāliya*, *Kâyaha* ; blankets or mantles. (4)

A monk or a nun should not accept any of the following plaids of fur and other materials : plaids made of *Udra*, *Pesa fur*¹, embroidered with *Pesa fur*, made of the fur of black or blue or yellow deer, golden plaids, plaids glittering like gold, interwoven with gold, set with gold, embroidered with gold, plaids made of tigers' fur, highly ornamented plaids, plaids covered with ornaments. (5)

For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules for begging clothes to be known by the mendicants.

Now, this is the first rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for clothes specifying (their quality), viz. wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton, *Arkatûla*. If they beg for them, or the householder gives them, they may accept them ; for they are pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule. (6)

Now follows the second rule :

¹ According to the commentary *udra* and *pesa* are animals in Sindh.

A monk or a nun may ask for clothes which they have well inspected, from the householder or his wife, &c. After consideration, they should say : ' O long-lived one ! (or, O sister !) please give me one of these clothes ! ' If they beg for them, or the householder gives them, they may accept them ; for they are pure and acceptable.

This is the second rule. (7)

Now follows the third rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for an under or upper garment. If they beg for it, &c. (see § 7).

This is the third rule. (8)

Now follows the fourth rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for a left-off robe, which no other *Sramana* or *Brâhmaṇa*, guest, pauper or beggar wants. If they beg, &c. (see § 7).

This is the fourth rule.

A monk or a nun who have adopted one of these four rules should not say, &c. (all as in II, I, II, § 12, down to) we respect each other accordingly. (9)

A householder may perhaps say to a mendicant begging in the prescribed way : ' O long-lived *Sramana* ! return after a month, ten nights, five nights, to-morrow, to-morrow night ; then we shall give you some clothes.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, he should, after consideration, say : ' O long-lived one ! (or, O sister !) it is not meet for me to accept such a promise. If you want to give me (something), give it me now ! '

After these words the householder may answer : ' O long-lived *Sramana* ! follow me ! then we shall give you some clothes.' The mendicant should give the same answer as above.

After his words the householder may say (to one

of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that robe! we shall give it the Sramana, and afterwards prepare one for our own use, killing all sorts of living beings.'

Hearing and perceiving such talk, he should not accept such clothes; for they are impure and unacceptable. (10)

The householder¹ may say (to one of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that robe, wipe or rub it with perfume, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 8); we shall give it to the Sramana.'

Hearing and perceiving such talk, the mendicant should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not wipe or rub it with perfume, &c. If you want to give it me, give it, such as it is!'

After these words the householder might nevertheless offer the clothes after having wiped or rubbed them, &c.; but the mendicant should not accept them, for they are impure and unacceptable. (11)

The householder may say (to another of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) bring that robe, clean or wash it with cold or hot water!'

The mendicant should return the same answer as above (in § 11) and not accept such clothes. (12)

The householder may say (to another of his

¹ Here and in the following paragraph the original adds *nettā*, which may be = *nītvā*, bringing (the clothes); but the following words seem to militate against this rendering. For the householder's order to fetch (*āhara*) the clothes would be superfluous, if he had already brought (*nettā*) them. Unless *āhara* has here some other meaning than the common one, perhaps 'take it,' *nettā* cannot be translated 'having brought them.'

people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) bring that cloth, empty it of the bulbs, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 5); we shall give it to the *Sramana*.' Hearing and perceiving such talk, the mendicant should say, after consideration: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) do not empty that cloth of the bulbs, &c.; it is not meet for me to accept such clothes.' After these words the householder might nevertheless take away the bulbs, &c., and offer him the cloth; but he should not accept it; for it is impure and unacceptable. (13)

If a householder brings a robe and gives it to the mendicant, he should, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) I shall, in your presence, closely inspect the inside of the robe.'

The Kevalin says: This is the reason: There might be hidden in the robe an earring or girdle or gold and silver, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 11), or living beings or seeds or grass. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should closely inspect the inside of the robe. (14)

A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which are full of eggs or living beings, &c.; for they are impure, &c. A monk or a nun should not accept clothes which are free from eggs or living beings, &c., but which are not fit nor strong nor lasting nor to be worn¹—which though pleasant are not fit (for a mendicant); for they are impure and unacceptable. (15)

¹ If they contain stains of mustard or *Añjana*, &c. The commentator quotes two slokas which, as I understand them, assign to the different parts of the cloth different significations as omens. They run thus: *Kattāri deviyā bhāgā do ya bhāgā ya mānusaḥ | asurāna ya do bhāgā magghe vatthassa rakkhaso || devesu uttamo lobho mānusesu ya magghimo | asuresu ya galannam maranam gāna rakkhase ||*

A monk or a nun may accept clothes which are fit, strong, lasting, to be worn, pleasant and fit for a mendicant ; for they are pure and acceptable. (16)

A monk or a nun should not wash his clothes, rub or wipe them with ground drugs, &c., because they are not new.

A monk or a nun should not clean or wash his clothes in plentiful water, because they are not new. (17)

A monk or a nun should not make his clothes undergo the processes (prohibited in § 17), because they have a bad smell. (18)

A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not do so on the bare ground or wet earth or rock or piece of clay containing life, &c. (see II, 1, 5, § 2). (19)¹

A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not hang them for that purpose on a post of a house, on the upper timber of a door-frame, on a mortar, on a bathing-tub, or on any such-like above-ground place, which is not well fixed or set, but shaky and movable. (20)

A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not lay them for that purpose on a dyke, wall, rock, stone, or any such-like above-ground place, &c. (21)

A monk or a nun wanting to air or dry (in the sun) their clothes, should not do it on a pillar, a raised platform, a scaffold, a second story, a flat roof, or any such-like above-ground place, &c. (22)

¹ If the garment falls on the ground, it would come in contact with dust, &c., then it would contain living beings and be no more pure.

Knowing this, he should resort to a secluded spot, and circumspectly air or dry his clothes there on a heap of ashes or bones, &c. (see II, I, 1, § 1), which he has repeatedly inspected and cleaned.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (23)

SECOND LESSON.

A monk or a nun should beg for acceptable clothes, and wear them in that state in which they get them ; they should not wash or dye them, nor should they wear washed or dyed clothes, nor (should they) hide (their clothes) when passing through other villages, being careless of dress. This is the whole duty for a mendicant who wears clothes¹.

A monk or a nun wanting, for the sake of alms, to enter the abode of a householder, should do so outfitted with all their clothes ; in the same manner they should go to the out-of-door place for religious practices or study, or should wander from village to village.

Now they should know this : A monk or a nun dressed in all their clothes should not enter or leave, for the sake of alms, the abode of a householder, &c. &c., on perceiving that a strong and widely spread rain pours down, &c. (see II, I, 3, § 9). (1)

If a single mendicant borrows for a short time a robe² (from another mendicant) and returns after staying abroad for one, two, three, four, or five days,

¹ See I, 7, 4, § 1.

² *Paḍihāriyam*, which is translated *prātihāruka*. There are various readings as *parihāriya*, *pāḍihāriya*; but the meaning of the word remains uncertain, and my translation is but conjectural.

he (the owner) should not take such a robe for himself, nor should he give it to somebody else, nor should he give it on promise (for another robe after a few days), nor should he exchange that robe for another one. He should not go to another mendicant and say: 'O long-lived Sramana! do you want to wear or use this robe?' He (the owner of the robe) should not rend the still strong robe, and cast it away; but give it him (who had borrowed it) in its worn state; he should not use it himself. (2)

The same rule holds good when many mendicants borrow for a short time clothes, and return after staying abroad for one, &c., days. All should be put in the plural. (3)

'Well, I shall borrow a robe and return after staying abroad for one, two, three, four, or five days; perhaps it will thus become my own.' As this would be sinful, he should not do so. (4)

A monk or a nun should not make coloured clothes colourless, or colour colourless clothes; nor should they give them to somebody else thinking that they will get other clothes; nor should they give it on promise (for other clothes); nor should they exchange them for other clothes; nor should they go to somebody else and say: 'O long-lived Sramana! do you want to wear or use these clothes?' They should not rend the still strong clothes, and cast them away, that another mendicant might think them bad ones. (5)

If he sees in his way thieves, he should not from fear of them, and to save his clothes, leave the road or go into another road, &c. (see II, 3, 3, § 13), but undisturbed, his mind not directed to outward things,

he should collect himself for contemplation; then he may circumspectly wander from village to village. (6)

If the road of a monk or a nun on the pilgrimage lies through a forest in which, as they know, there stroll bands of many thieves desirous of their clothes, they should not from fear of them, and to save their clothes, leave the road or go into another road, &c. (all as in § 6). (7)

If these thieves say: 'O long-lived *Sramana*! bring us your robe, give it, deliver it!' he should not give or deliver it. He should act in such cases (as prescribed in II, 3, 3, §§ 15 and 16).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (8)

End of the Fifth Lecture, called Begging of
Clothes.

SIXTH LECTURE,

CALLED

BEGGING FOR A BOWL¹.

FIRST LESSON.

A monk or a nun wanting to get a bowl, may beg for one made of bottle-gourd or wood or clay, or such-like bowls. If he be a youthful, young, &c. (see II, 5, 1, § 1) monk, he may carry with him one bowl, not two².

A monk or a nun should not resolve to go farther than half a Yogana to get a bowl.

As regards the acceptance of a bowl, those four precepts which have been given in (the First Lesson of the First Lecture, called)³ Begging of Food, concerning one fellow-ascetic, &c., should be repeated here, the fifth is that concerning many Sramanas and Brâhmanas.

A monk or a nun should not accept a bowl which the layman has, for the mendicant's sake, bought, &c. (see the Lecture called Begging of Clothes⁴). (1)

A monk or a nun should not accept any very expensive bowls of the following description: bowls made of iron, tin, lead, silver, gold, brass, a mixture of

¹ Pâesanâ.

² This applies, according to the commentator, to Ginakalpikas, &c. Ordinary monks may have a drinking vessel besides the alms-bowl.

³ See II, 1, 1, § 11.

⁴ II, 5, 1, § 3.

gold, silver, and copper, pearl, glass, mother of pearl, horn, ivory, cloth, stone, or leather; for such very expensive bowls are impure and unacceptable. (2)

A monk or a nun should not accept bowls which contain a band of the same precious materials specialised in § 2; for &c. (3)

For the avoidance of these occasions to sin there are four rules for begging a bowl to be known by the mendicants.

Now this is the first rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for a bowl specifying its quality, viz. bottle-gourd or wood or clay. If they beg for such a bowl, or the householder gives it, they may accept it, for it is pure and acceptable.

This is the first rule. (4)

Now follows the second rule :

A monk or a nun may ask for a bowl, which they have well inspected, from the householder or his wife, &c. After consideration, they should say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) please give me one of these bowls, viz. one made of bottle-gourds or wood or clay.' If they beg for such a bowl, or the householder gives it, they may accept it; for &c.

This is the second rule. (5)

Now follows the third rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for a bowl which has been used by the former owner or by many people. If they beg for it, &c. (see § 5).

This is the third rule. (6)

Now follows the fourth rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for a left-off bowl which no other *Sramana* or *Brāhmaṇa*, guest, pauper, or beggar wants. If they beg for it, &c. (see § 5).

This is the fourth rule.

A monk or a nun having adopted one of these four rules should not say, &c. (see II, 1, 11, § 12, all down to) we respect each other accordingly. (7)

A householder may perhaps say to a mendicant begging in the prescribed way: 'O long-lived *Sramaṇa*! return after a month,' &c. (all as in the Lecture called *Begging of Clothes*¹). (8)

The householder may say (to one of his people): 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) fetch that bowl, rub it with oil, ghee, fresh butter or marrow, we shall give it,' &c. (see II, 5, 1, § 11); or 'wash, wipe, or rub it with perfumes,' &c.; or 'wash it with cold or hot water;' or 'empty it of the bulbs,' &c. (see II, 5, 1, §§ 11 and 12). (9)

The householder may say (to the mendicant): 'O long-lived *Sramaṇa*! stay a while till they have cooked or prepared our food, &c., then we shall give you, O long-lived one! your alms-bowl filled with food or drink; it is not good, not meet that a mendicant should get an empty alms-bowl.' After consideration, the mendicant should answer: 'O long-lived one! (or, O sister!) it is indeed not meet for me to eat or drink food &c. which is *ādhākarmika*; do not cook or prepare it; if you want to give me anything, give it as it is.' After these words the householder might offer him the alms-bowl filled with food or drink which had been cooked or prepared: he should not accept such an alms-bowl, for it is impure and unacceptable. (10)

Perhaps the householder will bring and give the mendicant an alms-bowl; the mendicant should then, after consideration, say: 'O long-lived one! (or, O

¹ II, 5, 1, § 10.

sister!) I shall in your presence closely inspect the interior of the bowl.'

The Kevalin says : This is the reason : In the alms-bowl there might be living beings or seeds or grass. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should closely inspect the interior of the alms-bowl. (11)

All that has been said in the Lecture called Begging of Clothes (II, 5, 1, § 15 down to the end) is mutatis mutandis to be repeated here. (In § 15, add before perfumes) with oil, ghee, butter or marrow.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (12)

SECOND LESSON.

A monk or a nun, entering the abode of a householder for the sake of alms, should after examining their alms-bowl, taking out any living beings, and wiping off the dust, circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode.

The Kevalin says : This is the reason : Living beings, seeds or dust might fall into his bowl. Hence it has been said to the mendicant, &c., that he should after examining his alms-bowl, taking out any living beings, circumspectly enter or leave the householder's abode. (1)

On such an occasion the householder might perhaps, going in the house, fill the alms-bowl with cold water and, returning, offer it him ; (the mendicant) should not accept such an alms-bowl¹ either in

¹ Though the alms-bowl is expressly mentioned, it must stand here for water, as the commentators interpret the passage.

the householder's hand or his vessel ; for it is impure and unacceptable. (2)

Perhaps he has, inadvertently, accepted it ; then he should empty it again in (the householder's) water-pot ; or (on his objecting to it) he should put down the bowl and the water somewhere, or empty it in some wet place. (3)

A monk or a nun should not wipe or rub a wet or moist alms-bowl. But when they perceive that on their alms-bowl the water has dried up and the moisture is gone, then they may circumspectly wipe or rub it. (4)

A monk or a nun wanting to enter the abode of a householder, should enter or leave it, for the sake of alms, with their bowl ; also on going to the out-of-door place for religious practices or study ; or on wandering from village to village.

If a strong and widely spread rain pours down, they should take the same care of their alms-bowl as is prescribed for clothes (in the preceding Lecture, Lesson 2, § 1).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (5)

End of the Sixth Lecture, called Begging for
a Bowl.

SEVENTH LECTURE,

CALLED

REGULATION OF POSSESSION¹.

FIRST LESSON.

'I shall become a Sramana who owns no house, no property, no sons, no cattle, who eats what others give him; I shall commit no sinful action; Master, I renounce to accept anything that has not been given.' Having taken such vows, (a mendicant) should not, on entering a village or scot-free town, &c., take himself, or induce others to take, or allow others to take, what has not been given. A mendicant should not take or appropriate any property, viz. an umbrella² or vessel or stick, &c. (see II, 2, 3, § 2), of those monks together with whom he stays, without getting their permission, and without having inspected and wiped (the object in question); but having got their permission, and having inspected and wiped (the object in question), he may take or appropriate it³. (1)

He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, &c.

¹ Oggahapaḍimā.

² The commentator (*Śīlāṅka*) states that the monks in Kuṇḍakanadesa, &c., are allowed to carry umbrellas, because of the heavy rains in that country.

³ *Ogginheggā vā pagginheggā vā*. The commentators explain these words 'to take for once' (*sakṛit*) and 'to take repeatedly' (*anekasas*). Later on the Guzerati commentator explains *ogginheggā* by *māge*, 'he should ask.'

(see II, 1, 8, § 2), having reflected (on its fitness for a stay); he should ask permission to take possession of it from him who is the landlord or the steward of that place: 'Indeed, O long-lived one! for the time, and in the space which you concede us, we shall dwell here. We shall take possession of the place for as long a time as the place belongs to you; and of as much of it as belongs to you; for as many fellow-ascetics (as shall stand in need of it); afterwards we shall take to wandering¹.' (2)

Having got possession of some place, a mendicant should invite to that food, &c., which he himself has collected, any fellow-ascetics arriving there who follow the same rules and are zealous brethren; but he should not invite them to anything of which he has taken possession for the sake of somebody else. (3)

Having got possession of some place (in a traveller's hall, &c.), a mendicant should offer a footstool or bench or bed or couch, which he himself has begged, to any fellow-ascetics arriving there who follow other rules than he, yet are zealous brethren; but he should not offer them anything of which he has taken possession for the sake of somebody else. (4)

Having got possession of some place in a traveller's hall, &c., a mendicant might ask from a householder or his sons the loan of a needle or a Pippalaka² or an ear-picker or a nail-parer, he should not give or lend it to somebody else; but

¹ Compare the corresponding precept in II, 2, 3, § 3.

² The Guzerati commentator only says that pippalaka is some utensil. The older commentators do not explain this passage.

having done that for which he wanted one of the above articles, he should go with that article there (where the householder, &c., is), and stretching out his hands or laying the article on the ground, he should, after consideration, say: 'Here it is! here it is!' But he should not with his own hand put it in the hand of the householder. (5)

A monk or a nun should not take possession of anything¹ on the bare ground, on wet ground, where there are eggs, &c.; nor on pillars or such an above-ground place (II, 2, 1, § 7); nor on a wall, &c.; nor on the trunk of a tree, &c.; nor where the householder or fire or water, or women or children or cattle are, and where it is not fit for a wise man to enter or to leave, &c., nor to meditate on the law; nor where they have to pass through the householder's abode or to which there is no road, and where it is not fit, &c.; nor where the householder or his wife, &c., bully or scold each other, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 9, and 3, § 7); nor where they rub or anoint each other's body with oil or ghee or butter or grease; nor where they take a bath, &c.; nor where they go about naked, &c. (all as in II, 2, 3, §§ 7-12).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (6-12)

SECOND LESSON.

He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, &c. (see II, 1, 8, § 2), having reflected (on its fitness); he should ask permission to take possession

¹ Oggaha.

of it from the landlord or the steward of that place : ' Indeed, O long-lived one ! for the time and in the space you concede us, we shall dwell here¹, &c. (see I, § 2). Now what further after the place is taken possession of ? He should not remove from without to within, or vice versa, any umbrella or stick, &c. (see II, 2, 3, § 2) belonging to Sramanas or Brâhmanas (previously settled there) ; nor should he wake up a sleeping person, nor offend or molest the (inmates). (1)

A monk or a nun might wish to go to a mango park ; they should then ask the landlord's or steward's permission (in the manner described above). Now what further after the place is taken possession of ? Then they might desire to eat a mango. If the monk or the nun perceive that the mango is covered with eggs, living beings, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 2), they should not take it ; for it is impure, &c. (2)

If the monk or the nun perceive that the mango is free from eggs, living beings, &c., but not nibbled at by animals, nor injured, they should not take it ; for it is impure, &c. But if they perceive that the mango is free from eggs, living beings, &c., and is nibbled at by animals and injured, then they may take it ; for it is pure, &c.² (3)

The monk might wish to eat or suck one half of a mango or a mango's peel or rind or sap or smaller particles. If the monk or the nun perceive that the above-enumerated things are covered with eggs, or living beings, they should not take them ; for they are impure, &c. But they may take them, if they are

¹ § 2 of the preceding Lesson is repeated word for word.

² See II, 1, 1, §§ 3, 4.

free from eggs, &c., and nibbled at by animals or injured¹. (4)

A monk or a nun might wish to go to a sugar-cane plantation. They should ask permission in the manner described above. The monk or the nun might wish to chew or suck sugar-cane. In that case the same rules as for eating mango apply also ; likewise if they wish to chew or to suck the sugar-cane's pulp, fibres, sap, or smaller particles. (5)

A monk or a nun might wish to go to a garlic field. They should ask permission in the manner described above. The monk or the nun might wish to chew or suck garlic. In that case the same rules as for eating mangoes apply also ; likewise if they wish to chew or suck the bulb or peel or stalk or seed of garlic². (6)

A monk or a nun, having got possession of a place in a traveller's hall, &c., should avoid all occasions to sin (proceeding from any preparations made by) the householders or their sons, and should occupy that place according to the following rules. (7)

Now this is the first rule :

He may beg for a domicile in a traveller's hall, &c., having reflected (on its fitness for a stay), &c. (§ 2 of the preceding Lesson is to be repeated here).

This is the first rule. (8)

Now follows the second rule :

A monk resolves : ' I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place, &c., for the sake of other mendicants,

¹ In the text § 3 is repeated with the necessary alterations.

² *Silāṅka*, in his commentary, remarks that the meaning of the *Sūtras* about eating mangoes, sugar-cane, and garlic should be learned from the Sixteenth Lesson of the *Nishītha Sūtra*.

and having taken possession of it for their sake, I shall use it.'

This is the second rule. (9)

Now follows the third rule :

A monk resolves : ' I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place, &c., for the sake of other mendicants, and having taken possession of it for their sake, I shall not use it.'

This is the third rule. (10)

Now follows the fourth rule :

A monk resolves : ' I shall not ask for possession of a dwelling-place, &c., for the sake of other mendicants; but if the dwelling-place, &c., has already been ceded to them, I shall use it.'

This is the fourth rule. (11)

Now follows the fifth rule :

A monk resolves : ' I shall ask for possession of a dwelling-place for my own sake, not for two, three, four, or five persons.'

This is the fifth rule. (12)

Now follows the sixth rule :

If a monk or a nun, occupying a dwelling-place in which there is *Ikkaḍḍa* reed, &c. (see II, 2, 3, § 18), get this thing, then they may use it; otherwise they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture.

This is the sixth rule. (13)

Now follows the seventh rule :

A monk or a nun may beg for a dwelling-place paved with clay or wood. If they get it, then they may use it; otherwise they should remain in a squatting or sitting posture.

This is the seventh rule.

One who has adopted one of these seven rules, should not say, &c. (all as in II, I, 11, § 12). (14)

I have heard the following explanation by the venerable (Mahāvīra): The Sthaviras, the venerable ones, have declared that dominion¹ is fivefold :

The lord of the gods' dominion ;

The king's dominion ;

The houseowner's² dominion ;

The householder's³ dominion ;

The religious man's⁴ dominion.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (15)

End of the Seventh Lecture, called Regulation of Possession.

¹ Oggaha, avagraha.

² Gāhavaṇi, grīhapati. In another part of the commentary it is explained grāmamahattarādi, his dominion is grāmapā-kādikam.

³ Sāgāriya, sāgārika. It is explained sayyātara, host. His dominion is shampasālādi.

⁴ Sāhammiya, sādhammika. His dominion is vasatyādi, his domicile which extends for a Yogana and a quarter. When he takes possession (parigraha) of it, he must ask permission of the possessors.

SECOND PART.

THE SEVEN LECTURES¹.EIGHTH LECTURE².

When a monk or a nun wishes to perform religious postures³, they should enter a village or a scot-free town, &c.; having entered it, they should not accept a place, even if it is offered, which is infected by eggs or living beings, &c.; for such a place is impure and unacceptable. In this way all that has been said about couches (in the Second Lecture) should be repeated here as far as 'water-plants' (II, 2, 1, § 5). (1)

Avoiding these occasions to sin, a mendicant may choose one of these four rules for the performance of religious postures.

This is the first rule :

I shall choose something inanimate⁴, and lean against it; changing the position of the body, and moving about a little, I shall stand there.

This is the first rule. (2)

Now follows the second rule :

I shall choose something inanimate, and lean

¹ Sattikao.

² *Thānasattikkayam*, *sthānasaptaikakam*.

³ *Thānam ihāittae*.

⁴ As a wall, &c.

against it; changing the position of the body, but not moving about a little, I shall stand there.

This is the second rule. (3)

Now follows the third rule :

I shall choose something inanimate, and lean against it; not changing the position of the body, nor moving about a little, I shall stand there.

This is the third rule. (4)

Now follows the fourth rule :

I shall choose something inanimate, but I shall not lean against it; not changing the position of the body, nor moving about a little, I shall stand there. Abandoning the care of the body, abandoning the care of the hair of the head, beard, and the other parts of the body, of the nails, perfectly motionless, I shall stand there.

This is the fourth rule. (5)

One who has adopted one of these four rules, &c. (see II, I, II, § 12).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say.

NINTH LECTURE¹.

When a monk or a nun wishes to go to a pure place for study, they² should not accept one which is infected by eggs or living beings, &c.; for it is impure and unacceptable. But if that place for study to which they wish to go, is free from eggs or living beings, &c., they may accept it; for it is pure and acceptable.

¹ Nis̥thiyasattikkayam; nish̥thikā = svādhyāyabhūmiḥ.

² The original has the first person k̥etissāmi.

In this way all that has been said in the corresponding passage about couches¹ should be repeated here as far as 'water-plants.' (1)

If parties of two, three, four, or five (mendicants) resolve to go to the place for study, they should not embrace or hug, bite with their teeth or scratch with their nails each other's body.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (2)

TENTH LECTURE².

A monk or a nun being pressed by nature should, in case they have not their own broom, beg for that of a fellow-ascetic. A monk or a nun, seeing that the ground is infected by eggs or living beings, &c., should not ease nature on such an unfit ground. But if the ground is free from eggs or living beings, &c., then they may ease nature on such a ground. (1)

A monk or a nun, knowing that the householder with regard to such a place for the sake of one or many, male or female fellow-ascetics, for the sake of many *Sramanas* or *Brāhmanas* whom he has well counted, kills living beings and commits various sins, should not ease nature on such a place or any other of the same sort, whether that place be appropriated by another person or not³, &c. (see II, 1, 1, § 13). (2 and 3).

¹ *Seggā-gamena*.

² *Ukkārapāsavanasattikkao*, discharging of feces and urine.

³ *Purisaṃtarakaḍa*, here translated *svikṛita*. The text proceeds *gāva bahiyā nīhadam vā*, which I do not know how to apply to the object in question. As § 3 differs from § 2 only in giving

Now he should know this : If that place has not been appropriated by another person, &c., he may ease nature on such a place (after having well inspected and cleaned it). (4)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a ground which for their sake has been prepared or caused to be prepared (by the householder), or has been occupied by main force, or strewn with grass, or levelled, or smeared (with cowdung), or smoothed, or perfumed. (5)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a ground where the householders or their sons remove from outside to inside, or vice versa, bulbs, roots, &c. (see II, 2, 1, § 5). (6)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature on a pillar or bench or scaffold or loft or tower or roof. (7)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature on the bare ground or on wet ground or on dusty ground or on a rock or clay containing life, or on timber inhabited by worms or on anything containing life, as eggs, living beings, &c. (8)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where the householders or their sons have, do, or will put¹ by bulbs, roots, &c. (9)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where the householders or their sons have sown, sow, or will sow rice, beans, sesamum, pulse, or barley. (10)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where there are heaps of refuse, furrows, mud,

the negative attributes (*apuriṣamtarakāḍam*), I have contracted both paragraphs in the translation.

¹ *Parisādeṃsu vā*, explained *parikshepaṇādikāḥ kriyāḥ kuryuḥ*.

stakes, sprigs, holes, caves, walls, even or uneven places¹. (11)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in fire-places, layers (or nests) of buffaloes, cattle, cocks, monkeys, quails, ducks², partridges, doves, or franco-line partridges. (12)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a place where suicide is committed, or where (those who desire to end their life) expose their body to vultures, or precipitate themselves from rocks or trees³, or eat poison, or enter fire. (13)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in gardens, parks, woods, forests, temples, or wells. (14)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in towers, pathways, doors, or town gates. (15)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature where three or four roads meet, nor in courtyards or squares. (16)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature where charcoal or potash is produced, or the dead are burnt, or on the sarcophagues or shrines of the dead. (17)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature at sacred places near rivers, marshes or ponds, or in a conduit. (18)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in fresh clay pits, fresh pasture grounds for cattle, in meadows or quarries. (19)

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in a field of shrubs, vegetables, or roots. (20)

¹ The translation of some of the words in the text is merely conjectural.

² *Va/aya*. I think this is the modern *ba/ak*, duck.

³ The commentator says: where they fall like a tree, having starved themselves to death, or where they fall from trees.

A monk or a nun should not ease nature in woods of Asana¹, Sana², Dhâtakî³, Ketakî⁴, Mango, Asoka, Punnâga, or other such-like places which contain leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, or sprouts. (21)

A monk or a nun should take their own chamber-pot or that of somebody else, and going apart with it, they should ease nature in a secluded place where no people pass or see them, and which is free from eggs or living beings, &c.; then taking (the chamber-pot), they should go to a secluded spot, and leave the excrements there on a heap of ashes, &c. (see II, I, I, § 2).

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (22)

ELEVENTH LECTURE⁵.

A monk or a nun should not resolve to go where they will hear sounds of a *Mridaṅga*, *Nandī-mridaṅga*, or *Ghallaṇī*⁶, or any such-like various sounds of drums. (1)

If a monk or a nun hear any sounds, viz. of the *Vīṇā*, *Vipamkī*, *Vadvīṣaka*, *Tuṇaka*, *Paṇaka*, *Tumba-vīṇikā*, or *Dharmkūṇa*, they should not resolve to go where they will hear any such-like various sounds of stringed instruments. (2)

The same precepts apply to sounds of kettle-drums, viz. of the *Tāla*, *Lattiyā*, *Gohiyā*⁷, or *Kirikiriyā*; (3)

¹ *Terminalia Tomentosa*.

² *Crotolaria Juncea*.

³ *Grislea Tomentosa*.

⁴ *Pandanus Odoratissimus*.

⁵ *Saddasattikkayam*. Lecture on Sounds.

⁶ These are different kinds of drums.

⁷ *Lattiyā* and *gohiyā* would be in Sanskrit *lattikā* and *godhikā*; both words are names of lizards.

Also to sounds of wind instruments, viz. the conch, flute, Kharamukhi, or Piripiriyā. (4)

A¹ monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to walls or ditches, &c. (see II, 3, 3, §§ 1 and 2); (5)

Nor to marshes, pasture grounds, thickets, woods, strongholds in woods, mountains, strongholds in mountains; (6)

Nor to villages, towns, markets, or a capital, hermitages, cities, halting-places for caravans; (7)

Nor to gardens, parks, woods, forests, temples, assembly halls, wells; (8)

Nor to towers, pathways, doors, or town gates; (9)

Nor where three or four roads meet, nor to courtyards or squares; (10)

Nor to stables (or nests) of buffaloes, cattle, horses, elephants, &c. (see 10, § 12); (11)

Nor to places where buffaloes, bulls, horses, &c., fight; (12)

Nor to places where herds of cattle, horses, or elephants are kept; (13)

Nor to places where story-tellers or acrobats perform, or where continuously story-telling, dramatical plays, singing, music, performance on the *Vīṇā*, beating of time, playing on the *Tūrya*, clever playing on the *Paṭaha* is going on; (14)

Nor to places where quarrels, affrays, riots, conflicts between two kingdoms, anarchical or revolutionary disturbances occur; (15)

¹ The beginning, 'If a monk or a nun hear particular sounds somewhere, viz.,' and the end, 'they should not resolve to go to such-like or other places for the sake of hearing sounds,' are in the text repeated in all, §§ 5-16. In the translation the text has been somewhat abridged.

Nor to places where a young well-attended girl, well-attired and well-ornamented, is paraded, or where somebody is led to death. (16)

A monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to places where there are many great temptations¹, viz. where many cars, chariots, *Mlekkhas*, or foreigners meet. (17)

A monk or a nun should not, for the sake of hearing sounds, go to great festivals where women or men, old, young, or middle-aged ones are well-dressed and ornamented, sing, make music, dance, laugh, play, sport, or give, distribute, portion or parcel out plenty of food, drink, dainties, and spices. (18)

A monk or a nun should not like or love, desire for, or be enraptured with, sounds of this or the other world, heard or unheard ones, seen or unseen ones.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (19)

TWELFTH LECTURE.

If a monk or a nun see various colours (or forms), viz. in wreaths, dressed images, dolls, clothes², wood-work, plastering, paintings, jewelry, ivory-work, strings, leaf-cutting, they should not for the sake of pleasing the eye resolve to go where they will see various colours (or forms). All that has been said

¹ *Mahāsava*, *mahāsrava*. The word has probably here the original meaning, conflux; or *mahāsava* is a mistake for *maho-sava*, which would be identical with *mahussava*, great festivals, in the next paragraph.

² I have translated the last four words, *gamthimāni*, *vedhīmāni*, *pūrimāni*, *saṃghātimāni*, according to the commentary. Later on I shall translate them garlands, ribbons, scarfs, and sashes.

in the last chapter with regard to sounds should be repeated here with regard to colours (or forms); only the passages on music are to be omitted. (1)

THIRTEENTH LECTURE.

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit the action of another which relates to one's self, and produces karman.

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it¹;

If another (i. e. a householder) wipes [or rubs] the mendicant's feet; (1)

If he kneads or strokes them; (2)

If he touches or paints them; (3)

If he smears or anoints them with oil, ghee, or marrow; (4)

If he rubs or shampoos them with Lodhra, ground drugs, powder, or dye; (5)

If he sprinkles or washes them with hot or cold water; (6)

If he rubs or anoints them with any sort of ointment; (7)

If he perfumes or fumigates them with any sort of incense; (8)

If he extracts or removes a splinter or thorn from them; (9)

If he extracts or removes pus or blood from them. (10)

If he wipes or rubs the mendicant's body, &c.² (see §§ 2-8 down to) if he perfumes or fumigates it with any sort of incense. (11)

If he wipes or rubs a wound in (the mendicant's)

¹ In the text these words are repeated after each Sūtra in §§ 1-10.

² The text gives the whole in extenso.

body (&c.¹, down to) if he sprinkles or washes it with hot or cold water; (12)

If he cuts or incises it with any sharp instrument; if after having done so, he extracts or removes pus or blood from it. (13)

If he wipes or rubs a boil, a¹ sccess, ulcer, or fistula (&c.¹, down to) if he cuts or incises it with any sharp instrument; if after having done so, he extracts or removes pus or blood from it; (14)

If he removes, or wipes off, the sweat and uncleanliness on his body; (15)

If he removes, or wipes off, the dirt of his eyes, ears, teeth, or nails. (16)

If he cuts or dresses the long hair of his head or his brows or his armpits; (17)

If he removes, or wipes off, the nit or lice from his head. (18)

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other, sitting in the Añka or Paryañka posture, wipes or rubs (the mendicant's) feet; in this way the §§ 1-18 should be repeated here. (19)

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other, sitting in the Añka or Paryañka posture, fastens or ties a necklace of many or less strings, a necklace hanging down over the breast, a collar, a diadem, a garland, a golden string; (20)

If the other leading him to, or treating him in, a garden or a park, wipes or rubs (the mendicant's) feet, &c. (all as above); similarly with actions done reciprocally. (21)

One should neither be pleased with nor prohibit it, if the other tries to cure him by pure charms;

¹ The text gives the whole in extenso as in § 11.

If the other tries to cure him by impure charms ;
 If he tries to cure him, digging up and cutting,
 for the sake of a sick monk, living bulbs, roots, rind,
 or sprouts. (22)

For sensation is the result of former actions ; all
 sorts of living beings experience sensation.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (23)

FOURTEENTH LECTURE.

One should not be pleased with nor prohibit a
 reciprocal action, which relates to one's self, and
 produces karman.

A mendicant should not be pleased with nor pro-
 hibit it, if (he and the other) wipe or rub each other's
 feet, &c.

In this way the whole Thirteenth Lecture should
 be repeated here.

This is the whole duty, &c.

Thus I say. (1)

End of the Second Part, called the Seven
 Lectures.

THIRD PART.

FIFTEENTH LECTURE,

CALLED

THE CLAUSES¹.

In that period, in that age lived the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvira, the five (most important moments of whose life happened) when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunī²; to wit: In Uttaraphalgunī he descended (from heaven), and having descended (thence), he entered the womb (of Devānandā); in Uttaraphalgunī he was removed from the womb (of Devānandā) to the womb (of Trisalā); in Uttaraphalgunī he was born; in Uttaraphalgunī tearing out his hair, he left the house, and entered the state of houselessness; in Uttaraphalgunī he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and perfect. But in Svāti the Venerable One obtained final liberation³. (1)

When in this Avasarpinī era, the Sushama-sushamā period, the Sushamā period, the Sushamadūṣhamā period, and much time of the Duṣshamasushamā period had elapsed, seventy-five years nine and a half

¹ Bhāvanā. The bhāvanās are subdivisions of the five great vows.

² Hatthottarā in the original.

³ Kalpa Sūtra, § 1.

months of it being left ; in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, in the light fortnight of Āshādha, on its sixth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalgunt, the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra descended from the great Vimāna¹, the all-victorious and all-prosperous Pushpottara, which is like the lotus amongst the best (and highest flowers), and like the Svastika and Vardhamānaka amongst the celestial regions, where he had lived for twenty Sāgaropamas till the termination of his allotted length of life, (divine) nature and existence (among gods). Here, forsooth, in the continent of Gambudvīpa, in Bharatavarsha, in the southern part of it, in the southern brahmanical part of the place Kundapura, he took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devānandā, of the Gālandharāyana gotra, wife of the Brāhmaṇa Rishabhadatta, of the gotra of Koḍāla, taking the form of a lion². (2) The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra (with reference to this transaction) was three-fold : he knew that he was to descend ; he knew that he had descended ; he knew not when he was descending. For that time has been declared to be infinitesimally small. (3)

Then in the third month of the rainy season, the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Āsvina, on its thirteenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalgunt, after the lapse of eighty-two days, on the eighty-third day current, the compassionate god (Indra), reflecting on what was the established custom (with regard to the birth of Tīrthakaras), removed the embryo from the southern

¹ Vimānas are palaces of the gods.

² Cf. Kalpa Sūtra, § 2.

brahmanical part of the place *Kundapura* to the northern Kshatriya part of the same place, rejecting the unclean matter, and retaining the clean matter, lodged the fetus in the womb of *Trisalâ* of the *Vâsishtha* gotra, wife of the Kshatriya *Siddhârtha*, of the *Kâsyapa* gotra, of the clan of the *Gñâtris*, and lodged the fetus of the Kshatriyâni *Trisalâ* in the womb of *Devânandâ* of the *Gâlandharâyana* gotra, wife of the Brâhmana *Rishabhadatta*, of the gotra of *Kodâla*, in the southern brahmanical part of the place *Kundapuri*. (4) The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvtra* (with regard to this transaction) was threefold: he knew that he was to be removed; he knew that he was removed; he also knew when he was being removed. (5)

In that period, in that age, once upon a time, after the lapse of nine complete months and seven and a half days, in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kaitra*, on its thirteenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with *Uttaraphalguni*, the Kshatriyâni *Trisalâ*, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy (boy), the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvtra*. (6)

In that night in which the Kshatriyâni *Trisalâ*, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy (boy), the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvtra*, there was one great divine, godly lustre (originated) by descending and ascending gods and goddesses (of the four orders of) *Bhavanapatis*, *Vyantarâs*, *Gyotishkas*, and *Vimânavâsins*; and in the conflux of gods the bustle of gods amounted to confusion¹. (7)

In that night, &c., the gods and goddesses rained

¹ Cf. *Kalpa Sûtra*, § 97.

down one great shower of nectar, sandal powder, flowers, gold, and pearls¹. (8)

In that night the gods and goddesses (of the above-mentioned four orders) performed the customary ceremonies of auspiciousness and honour, and his anointment as a Tīrthakara. (9)

Upwards from the time when the Venerable Mahāvīra was placed in the womb of the Kshatriyānt Trisalā, that family's (treasure) of gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased². (10) When the parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had become aware of this, after the lapse of the tenth day, and the performance of the purification, they prepared much food, drink, sweetmeats, and spices; and having invited a host of friends, near and remote relatives, they distributed, portioned out, bestowed (the above-mentioned materials) to Sramanas, Brāhmanas, paupers, beggars³, eunuchs, &c., and distributed gifts to those who wanted to make presents; then they gave a dinner to the host of friends, near and remote relatives, and after dinner they announced the name (of the child) to their guests: (11) 'Since the prince was placed in the womb of the Kshatriyānt Trisalā, this family's (treasure) of gold, silver, riches, corn, jewels, pearls, shells, precious stones, and corals increased; therefore the prince shall be called Vardhamāna (i.e. the Increasing).' (12)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was attended by five nurses: a wet-nurse, a nurse to clean him,

¹ Cf. Kalpa Sūtra, § 98.

² Cf. Kalpa Sūtra, § 90.

³ The next word, *bhivvumda*, has been left out in the translation.

one to dress him, one to play with him, one to carry him ; being transferred from the lap of one nurse to that of another, he grew up on that beautiful ground, paved with mosaic of precious stones, like a *Kampaka*¹ tree growing in the glen of a mountain. (13)

Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra, after his intellect had developed and the childhood had passed away, lived in the enjoyment of the allowed, noble, fivefold joys and pleasures : (consisting in) sound, touch, taste, colour, and smell². (14)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra. His three names have thus been recorded by tradition : by his parents he was called Vardhamâna, because he is devoid of love and hate ; (he is called) *Sramana* (i.e. Ascetic), because he sustains dreadful dangers and fears, the noble nakedness, and the miseries of the world ; the name Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra has been given to him by the gods³.

The Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra's father belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra ; he had three names : Siddhârtha, Sreyâmsa, and *Gasamsa*⁴. His mother belonged to the Vâsishtha gotra, and had three names : Trisalâ, Videhadattâ, and Priyakârinî. His paternal uncle Supârsva belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra. His eldest brother, Nandivardhana, and his eldest sister, Sudarsanâ, belonged both to the Kâsyapa gotra. His wife Yasodâ belonged to the Kaundînya gotra. His daughter, who belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra, had two names : *Anoggâ* and

¹ *Michelia Champaka*.

² Cf. *Kalpa Sûtra*, § 10.

³ Cf. *Kalpa Sûtra*, § 108.

⁴ The spaced words are *Prâkrit*, the *Sanskrit* form of which cannot be made out with certainty.

Priyadarsanâ. His granddaughter, who belonged to the Kausika gotra, had two names: Seshavati and Yasovati¹. (15)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra's parents were worshippers of Pârsva and followers of the Sramanas. During many years they were followers of the Sramanas, and for the sake of protecting the six classes of lives they observed, blamed, repented, confessed, and did penance according to their sins. On a bed of Kusa-grass they rejected all food, and their bodies dried up by the last mortification of the flesh, which is to end in death. Thus they died in the proper month, and, leaving their bodies, were born as gods in Adbhuta Kalpa. Thence descending after the termination of their allotted length of life, they will, in Mahâvideha, with their departing breath, reach absolute perfection, wisdom, liberation, final Nirvâna, and the end of all misery. (16)

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra, a *Gñâtri* Kshatriya, *Gñâtriputra*, a Videha, son of Videhadattâ, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha, lived thirty years amongst the householders under the name of 'Videha².'

After his parents had gone to the worlds of the gods and he had fulfilled his promise, he gave up his gold and silver, his troops and chariots, and distributed, portioned out, and gave away his valuable treasures (consisting of) riches, corn, gold, pearls, &c., and distributed among those who wanted to make presents to others. Thus he gave away during a whole year. In the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Mârgasiras,

¹ Cf. Kalpa Sûtra, § 109.

² Cf. Kalpa Sûtra, § 110.

on its tenth day, while the moon was in conjunction with Uttaraphalgunī, he made up his mind to retire from the world. (17)

A year before the best of *Gīnas* will retire from the world, they continue to give away their property, from the rising of the sun. i.

One crore and eight lacks of gold is his gift at the rising of the sun, as if it were his morning meal. ii.

Three hundred and eighty-eight crores and eighty lacks were given in one year. iii.

The *Kundaladharas* of *Vaisramaṇa*, the *Laukāntika* and *Maharddhika* gods in the fifteen *Karmabhūmis*¹ wake the *Tīrthakara*. iv.

In *Brahma Kalpa* and in the line of *Kṛishṇas*, the *Laukāntika* *Vimānas* are eightfold and infinite in number. v.

These orders of gods wake the best of *Gīnas*, the Venerable *Vīra* : 'Arhat! propagate the religion which is a blessing to all creatures in the world!' vi.

When the gods and goddesses (of the four orders of) *Bhavanapatis*, *Vyantaras*, *Gyotishkas*, and *Vimānavāsins* had become aware of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra*'s intention to retire from the world, they assumed their proper form, dress, and ensigns, ascended with their proper pomp and splendour, together with their whole retinue, their own vehicles and chariots, and rejecting all gross matter, retained only the subtle matter. Then they rose and with that excellent, quick, swift, rapid, divine motion of the gods they came down again crossing numberless continents and oceans till they arrived in *Gambū-*

¹ Those parts of the world which are inhabited by men who practise religious duties, are called *Karmabhūmi*. In *Gambūdvīpa* they are *Bharata*, *Airāvata*, and *Videha*.

dvīpa at the northern Kshatriya part of the place *Kundāpura*; in the north-eastern quarter of it they suddenly halted. (18)

Sakra, the leader and king of the gods, quietly and slowly stopped his vehicle and chariot, quietly and slowly descended from it and went apart. There he underwent a great transformation, and produced by magic a great, beautiful, lovely, fine-shaped divine pavilion¹, which was ornamented with many designs in precious stones, gold, and pearls. In the middle part of that divine pavilion he produced one great throne of the same description, with a footstool. (19)

Then he went where the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was, and thrice circumambulating him from left to right, he praised and worshipped him. Leading him to the divine pavilion, he softly placed him with the face towards the east on the throne, anointed him with hundredfold and thousandfold refined oil, with perfumes and decoctions, bathed him with pure water, and rubbed him with beautifying cool sandal², laid on a piece of cloth worth a lack. He clad him in a pair of robes so light that the smallest breath would carry them away; they were manufactured in a famous city, praised by clever artists, soft as the fume of horses, interwoven with gold by skilful masters, and ornamented with designs of flamingos. Then (the god) decked him with necklaces of many and fewer strings, with one hanging down over his breast and one consisting of one row of pearls, with a garland, a golden string, a turban, a diadem, wreaths of precious stones, and decorated him with

¹ *Devakhamdaya* in the original. My translation is but a guess.

² *Gosīrsha* and red sandal.

garlands, ribbons, scarves, and sashes like the Kalpavṛksha. (20)

The god then, for a second time, underwent a great transformation, and produced by magic the great palankin, called *Kandraprabhā*¹, which a thousand men carry. (This palankin) was adorned with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, monkeys, elephants, antelopes, sarabhas², yacks, tigers, lions, creeping plants, and a train of couples of Vidyâdharas; it had a halo of thousands of rays; it was decorated with thousands of brilliant glittering rupees; its lustre was mild and bright; the eyes could not bear its light; it shone with heaps and masses of pearls; it was hung with strings and ribbons, and with golden excellent necklaces, extremely beautiful; it was embellished with designs of lotuses and many other plants; its cupola was adorned with many precious stones of five colours, with bells and flags; it was conspicuous, lovely, beautiful, splendid, magnificent. (21)

This palankin was brought for the best of *Ginas*, who is free from old age and death; it was hung with wreaths and garlands of divine flowers, grown in water or on dry ground. vii.

In the middle of the palankin (was) a costly throne covered with a divine cloth, precious stones and silver, with a footstool, for the best of *Ginas*. viii.

He wore on his head a chaplet and a diadem, his body was shining, and he was adorned with many ornaments; he had put on a robe of muslin worth a lack. ix.

¹ I. e. shining like the moon.

² A fabulous animal with eight legs.

After a fast of three days, with a glorious resolution he ascended the supreme palankin, purifying all by his light. x.

He sat on his throne, and Sakra and Îsâna, on both sides, fanned him with chowries, the handles of which were inlaid with jewels and precious stones. xi.

In front it was uplifted by men, covered with joyful horripilation; behind the gods carried it: the Suras and Asuras, the Garuḍas and the chiefs of Nâgas. xii.

The Suras carried it on the eastern side, and the Asuras on the southern one; on the western side the Garuḍas carried it, and the Nâgas on the northern side. xiii.

As a grove in blossom, or a lotus-covered lake in autumn looks beautiful with a mass of flowers, so did (then) the firmament with hosts of gods. xiv.

As a grove of Siddhârtha¹, of Karnikâra² or of Kâmpaka³ looks beautiful with a mass of flowers, so did (then) the firmament with hosts of gods. xv.

In the skies and on earth the sound of musical instruments produced by hundreds of thousands of excellent drums, kettle-drums, cymbals, and conches was extremely pleasant. xvi.

Then the gods ordered many hundreds of actors to perform a very rich concert of four kinds of instruments: stringed instruments and drums, cymbals and wind-instruments. xvii.

At that period, in that age, in the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Mârgasiras, on its tenth day, called Suvrata⁴, in

¹ White mustard.

² Cassia Fistula.

³ Michelia Champaka.

⁴ Correct *suvratenam* in the printed text.

the Muhūrta called Vigaya, while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunī, when the shadow had turned towards the east, and the first Pauruṣhī¹ was over, after fasting three days without taking water, having put on one garment, the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, in his palankin *Kandraprabhā*, which only a thousand men can carry, with a train of gods, men, and Asuras left the northern Kshatriya part of the place *Kundapura* by the high way for the park *Gñātri Shanda*. There, just at the beginning of night, he caused the palankin *Kandraprabhā* to stop quietly on a slightly raised untouched ground, quietly descended from it, sat quietly down on a throne with the face towards the east, and took off all his ornaments and finery. (22)

The god *Vaisramana*, prostrating himself², caught up the finery and ornaments of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra in a cloth of flamingo-pattern. Mahāvīra then plucked out with his right and left (hands) on the right and left (sides of his head) his hair in five handfuls. But *Sakra*, the leader and king of the gods, falling down before the feet of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, caught up the hair in a cup of diamond, and requesting his permission, brought them to the Milk Ocean. After the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had plucked out his hair in five handfuls (as described above), he paid obeisance to all liberated spirits, and vowing to do no sinful act, he adopted the holy conduct. At that moment the

¹ Wake, Yāma, or time of three hours.

² *Gamtuvāyapaḍīe*, according to the Guzerati Bālbodh this means making obeisance to the Lord of the world by touching his feet. Another MS. has : Then *Sakra* the chief and king of the gods.

whole assembly of men and gods stood motionless, like the figures on a picture.

At the command of Sakra, the clamour of men and gods, and the sound of musical instruments suddenly ceased, when Mahâvîra chose the holy conduct. xviii.

Day and night following that conduct which is a blessing to all animated and living beings, the zealous gods listen to him with joyful horripilation. xix.

When the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra had adopted the holy conduct which produced that state of soul in which the reward of former actions is temporarily counteracted, he reached the knowledge called *Maṇaḥparyâya*¹, by which he knew the thoughts of all sentient beings, with five organs, which are not defective, and possess a developed intellect, (living) in the two and a half continents and the two oceans. Then he formed the following resolution: I shall for twelve years neglect my body and abandon the care of it; I shall with equanimity bear, undergo, and suffer all calamities arising from divine powers, men or animals². (23)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra having formed this resolution, and neglecting his body, arrived in the village Kummâra when only one Muhûrta of the day remained. Neglecting his body, the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra meditated on his Self, in blameless lodgings, in blameless wandering, in restraint, kindness, avoidance of sinful influence (*samvara*), chaste life, in patience, freedom from passion, contentment; control, circumspectness, practising religious postures and acts; walking the path of

¹ Or *Maṇaḥparyaya*.

² Cf. *Kalpa Sûtra*, § 117.

Nirvâna and liberation, which is the fruit of good conduct. Living thus he with equanimity bore, endured, sustained, and suffered all calamities arising from divine powers, men, and animals, with undisturbed and unafflicted mind, careful of body, speech, and mind. (24)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra passed twelve years in this way of life; during the thirteenth year in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisākha, on its tenth day, called Suvrata, in the Muhūrta called Vigaya, while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunī, when the shadow had turned towards the east, and the first wake was over, outside of the town *Grimbhikagrāma*¹, on the northern bank of the river *Āgupālīkā*², in the field of the householder Sāmāga, in a north-eastern direction from an old temple³, not far from a Sāl tree, in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, with the knees high and the head low, in deep meditation, in the midst of abstract meditation, he reached Nirvâna⁴, the complete and full, the unobstructed, unimpeded, infinite and supreme, best knowledge and intuition, called Kevala. (25) When the Venerable One had become an Arhat and *Gina*, he was a Kevalin, omniscient and comprehending all objects, he knew all conditions of the world, of gods, men, and demons; whence

¹ Gambhiyagāma in Prākṛit.

² Uggupāliyā in Prākṛit.

³ Or, a temple called Vigayāvartta.

⁴ Nivvāṇe or nevvāṇe; it may also be an adjective, belonging to nirvāṇa. This is of course not the final nirvāṇa, which is reached at the dissolution of the body, but that state which the orthodox philosophers call *gīvanmukti*.

they come, where they go, whether they are born as men or animals (*kyavana*), or become gods or hell-beings (*upapāda*); their food, drink, doings, desires, open and secret deeds, their conversation and gossip, and the thoughts of their minds; he saw and knew all conditions in the whole world of all living beings. (26)

On the day when the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra reached the Kevala, the gods (of the four orders of) Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Gytishkas, and Vimānavāsins descended from, and ascended to heaven, &c. (as on the moment of his birth, see above, § 7). (27)

Then when the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had reached the highest knowledge and intuition, he reflected on himself and the world: first he taught the law to the gods, afterwards to men. (28)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra endowed with the highest knowledge and intuition taught the five great vows, with their clauses, the six classes of lives to the *Sramanas* and *Nirgranthas*, to Gautama, &c.

The six classes of lives are earth-body, &c. (down to) animals. (29)

i. The first great vow, Sir, runs thus :

I renounce all killing of living beings, whether subtile or gross, whether movable or immovable. Nor shall I myself kill living beings (nor cause others to do it, nor consent to it). As long as I live, I confess and blame, repent and exempt myself of these sins, in the thrice threefold way¹, in mind, speech, and body.

¹ I. e. acting, commanding, consenting, either in the past or the present or the future.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus :

A Nirgrantha is careful in his walk, not careless¹. The Kevalin assigns as the reason, that a Nirgrantha, careless in his walk, might (with his feet) hurt or displace or injure or kill living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha is careful in his walk, not careless in his walk.

This is the first clause. (1)

Now follows the second clause :

A Nirgrantha searches into his mind (i.e. thoughts and intentions). If his mind is sinful, blamable, intent on works, acting on impulses², produces cutting and splitting (or division and dissension), quarrels, faults, and pains, injures living beings, or kills creatures, he should not employ such a mind in action; but if, on the contrary, it is not sinful, &c., then he may put it in action.

This is the second clause. (2)

Now follows the third clause :

A Nirgrantha searches into his speech; if his speech is sinful, blamable, &c. (all down to) kills creatures, he should not utter that speech. But if, on the contrary, it is not sinful, &c., then he may utter it.

This is the third clause. (3)

Now follows the fourth clause :

A Nirgrantha is careful in laying down his utensils of begging, he is not careless in it. The Kevalin says: A Nirgrantha who is careless in laying down his utensils of begging, might hurt or displace or

¹ This could also be translated: he who is careful in his walk is a Nirgrantha, not he who is careless.

² *Añhayakare* explained by *karmâsṛavakâri*.

injure or kill all sorts of living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha is careful in laying down his utensils of begging, he is not careless in it.

This is the fourth clause. (4)

Now follows the fifth clause :

A Nirgrantha eats and drinks after inspecting his food and drink ; he does not eat and drink without inspecting his food and drink. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha would eat and drink without inspecting his food and drink, he might hurt and displace or injure or kill all sorts of living beings. Hence a Nirgrantha eats and drinks after inspecting his food and drink, not without doing so.

This is the fifth clause. (5)

In this way the great vow is correctly practised, followed, executed, explained, established, effected according to the precept.

This is, Sir, the first great vow : Abstinence from killing any living beings. i.

ii. The second great vow runs thus :

I renounce all vices of lying speech (arising) from anger or greed or fear or mirth. I shall neither myself speak lies, nor cause others to speak lies, nor consent to the speaking of lies by others. I confess and blame, repent and exempt myself of these sins in the thrice threefold way, in mind, speech, and body.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus :

A Nirgrantha speaks after deliberation, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says : Without deliberation a Nirgrantha might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha speaks after deliberation, not without deliberation.

This is the first clause. (1)

Now follows the second clause :

A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) anger, he is not angry. The Kevalin says : A Nirgrantha who is moved by anger, and is angry, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the second clause. (2)

Now follows the third clause :

A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) greed, he is not greedy. The Kevalin says : A Nirgrantha who is moved by greed, and is greedy, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the third clause. (3)

Now follows the fourth clause :

A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) fear, he is not afraid. The Kevalin says : A Nirgrantha who is moved by fear, and is afraid, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fourth clause. (4)

Now follows the fifth clause :

A Nirgrantha comprehends (and renounces) mirth, he is not mirthful. The Kevalin says : A Nirgrantha who is moved by mirth, and is mirthful, might utter a falsehood in his speech. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fifth clause. (5)

In this way the great vow is correctly practised, followed, &c.

This is, Sir, the second great vow. ii.

iii. The third great vow runs thus :

I renounce all taking of anything not given, either in a village or a town or a wood, either of little or much, of small or great, of living or lifeless things. I shall neither take myself what is not given, nor

cause others to take it, nor consent to their taking it. As long as I live, I confess and blame, &c. (all down to) body.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus :

A Nirgrantha begs after deliberation, for a limited ground, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha begs without deliberation for a limited ground, he might take what is not given. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the first clause. (1)

Now follows the second clause :

A Nirgrantha consumes his food and drink with permission (of his superior), not without his permission. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha consumes his food and drink without the superior's permission, he might eat what is not given. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the second clause. (2)

Now follows the third clause :

A Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should take possession of an unlimited part of it and for an unfixed time, he might take what is not given. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the third clause. (3)

Now follows the fourth clause :

A Nirgrantha who has taken possession of some ground, should constantly have his grant renewed. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha has not constantly his grant renewed, he might take possession of what is not given. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fourth clause. (4)

Now follows the fifth clause :

A Nirgrantha begs for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation, not without deliberation. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha should beg without deliberation, he might take possession of what is not given. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fifth clause. (5)

In this way the great vow, &c.

This is, Sir, the third great vow. iii.

iv. The fourth great vow runs thus :

I renounce all sexual pleasures, either with gods or men or animals. I shall not give way to sensuality, &c. (all as in the foregoing paragraph down to) exempt myself.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus :

A Nirgrantha does not continually discuss topics relating to women. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha discusses such topics, he might fall from the law declared by the Kevalin, because of the destruction or disturbance of his peace. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the first clause. (1)

Now follows the second clause :

A Nirgrantha does not regard and contemplate the lovely forms of women. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha regards and contemplates the lovely forms of women, he might, &c. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the second clause. (2)

Now follows the third clause :

A Nirgrantha does not recall to his mind the pleasures and amusements he formerly had with women. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha recalls

to his mind the pleasures and amusements he formerly had with women, he might, &c. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the third clause. (3)

Now follows the fourth clause :

A Nirgrantha does not eat and drink too much, nor does he drink liquors or eat highly-seasoned dishes. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha did eat and drink too much, or did drink liquors and eat highly-seasoned dishes, he might, &c. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fourth clause. (4)

Now follows the fifth clause :

A Nirgrantha does not occupy a bed or couch affected¹ by women, animals, or eunuchs. The Kevalin says : If a Nirgrantha did occupy a bed or couch affected by women, animals, or eunuchs, he might, &c. A Nirgrantha, &c.

This is the fifth clause. (5)

In this way the great vow, &c.

This is, Sir, the fourth great vow. iv.

v. The fifth great vow runs thus :

I renounce all attachments², whether little or much, small or great, living or lifeless ; neither shall I myself form such attachments, nor cause others to do so, nor consent to their doing so, &c. (all down to) exempt myself.

There are five clauses.

The first clause runs thus :

If a creature with ears hears agreeable and disagreeable sounds, it should not be attached to, nor delighted with, nor desiring of, nor infatuated by,

¹ This may mean belonging to, or close by.

² This means the pleasure in external objects.

nor covetous of, nor disturbed by the agreeable or disagreeable sounds. The Kevalin says: If a Nirgrantha is thus affected by the pleasant or unpleasant sounds, he might fall, &c. (see above, IV, 1).

If it is impossible not to hear sounds, which reach the ear, the mendicant should avoid love or hate, originated by them.

A creature with ears hears agreeable and disagreeable sounds.

This is the first clause. (1)

Now follows the second clause:

If a creature with eyes sees agreeable and disagreeable forms (or colours), it should not be attached, &c., to them.

The Kevalin says, &c. (the rest as in the last clause. Substitute only see and forms for hear and sounds).

This is the second clause. (2)

Now follows the third clause:

If a creature with an organ of smell smells agreeable or disagreeable smells, it should not be attached to them. (The rest as above. Substitute smell and nose.)

This is the third clause. (3)

Now follows the fourth clause:

If a creature with a tongue tastes agreeable or disagreeable tastes, it should not be attached, &c., to them. (The rest as above. Substitute taste and tongue.)

This is the fourth clause. (4)

Now follows the fifth clause:

If a creature with an organ of feeling feels agreeable or disagreeable touches, it should not be

attached to them. (The rest as above. Substitute feel and touch.)

This is the fifth clause. (5)

In this way the great vow, &c. (see above). v.

He who is well provided with these great vows and their twenty-five clauses is really Houseless, if he, according to the sacred lore, the precepts, and the way correctly practises, follows, executes, explains, establishes, and, according to the precept, effects them.

End of the Fifteenth Lecture, called
the Clauses.

FOURTH PART.

SIXTEENTH LECTURE,

CALLED

THE LIBERATION.

The creatures attain only a temporary residence (in one of the four states of being); hearing this supreme truth (i.e. the doctrine of the Tīrthakara's) one should meditate upon it. The wise man should free himself from the family bonds; fearless should he give up acts and attachments. (1)

A mendicant, living thus¹, self-controlled towards the eternal (world of living beings), the matchless sage, who collects his alms, is insulted with words by the people assailing him, like an elephant in battle with arrows. (2)

Despised by such-like people, the wise man, with undisturbed mind, sustains their words and blows, as a rock is not shaken by the wind. (3)

Disregarding (all calamities) he lives together with clever (monks, insensible) to pain and pleasure, not hurting the movable and immovable (beings), not killing, bearing all: so is described the great sage, a good Sramana. (4)

As the lustre of a burning flame increases, so increase the austerity, wisdom, and glory of a steadfast sage who, with vanquished desires, meditates

¹ Tathāgaya, i. e. tathāgata.

on the supreme place of virtue¹, though suffering pain². (5)

The great vows which are called the place of peace, the great teachers, and the producers of disinterestedness have, in all quarters of the earth, been proclaimed by the infinite Gina, the knowing one³, as light, illumining the three worlds, (repels) darkness. (6)

The unbound one, living amongst the bound (i.e. householders), should lead the life of a mendicant; unattached to women, he should speak with reverence. Not desiring this or the next world, the learned one is not measured by the qualities of love. (7)

The dirt (of sins) formerly committed by a thus liberated mendicant who walks in wisdom (and restraint), who is constant, and bears pain, vanishes as the dirt covering silver (is removed) by fire. (8)

He lives, forsooth, in accordance with wisdom (and restraint), and walks free from desire, and with conquered sensuality. As a snake casts off its old skin, so is the Brâhmaṇa freed from the bed of pain. (9)

As they call the great ocean a boundless flood of water, difficult to traverse with the arms (alone), so should the learned one know (and renounce) it (the *samsâra*): that sage is called 'Maker of the end.' (10)

Here amongst men bondage and deliverance have

¹ Dhammapadam.

² Vidûnate, which I take to be the genitive of the present participle corresponding to vidunvataḥ. The commentators divide the word into vidû nate=vidvân nataḥ, which gives no sense.

³ Nâtinâ in the original. I would prefer to translate it *gñatri*, the name of the clan to which Nâtaputta belonged.

been declared; he who, according to that doctrine (of the church), knows bondage and deliverance: that sage is called 'Maker of the end.' (11)

He for whom there is no bondage whatever in this world, and besides in the two (other continents, or heaven and hell), is indeed a (monk needing) no support and no standing place; he has quitted the path of births. (12)

End of the Sixteenth Lecture, called
the Liberation.

End of the Second Book.

End of the Âkârânga Sûtra.



THE KALPA SÛTRA
OF
BHADRABÂHU.

KALPA SÛTRA.

LIVES OF THE GINAS.

LIFE OF MAHÂVÎRA.

Obeisance to the Arhats!

Obeisance to the Liberated Ones!

Obeisance to the Religious Guides!

Obeisance to the Religious Instructors!

Obeisance to all Saints in the World!

This fivefold obeisance, destroying all sins, is of all benedictions the principal benediction.

In that period, in that age lived the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra, the five (most important moments of whose life happened) when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalgunt; to wit, in Uttaraphalgunt he descended (from heaven), and having descended (thence), he entered the womb (of Devânandâ); in Uttaraphalgunt he was removed from the womb (of Devânandâ) to the womb (of Trisalâ); in Uttaraphalgunt he was born; in Uttaraphalgunt, tearing out his hair, he left the house and entered the state of houselessness; in Uttaraphalgunt he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed,

unimpeded, complete, and perfect. But in Svāti the Venerable One obtained final liberation. (1)¹

End of the First Lecture².

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, having on the sixth day of the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Āshāḍha, descended from the great Vimāna, the all-victorious and all-prosperous Pushpottara, which is like the lotus amongst the best things, where he had lived for twenty Sāgaropamas till the termination of his allotted length of life, of his (divine nature, and of his existence (among gods); here in the continent of Gambūdvīpa, in Bharatavarsha,—when of this Avasarpinī era the Sushamasushamā, the Sushamā, and Sushamadukshamā periods, and the greater part of the Dukshamasushamā period (containing a Kodākoḍī³ of Sāgaropamas, less forty-two thousand years) had elapsed, and only seventy-two years, eight and a half months were left, after twenty-one Tīrthakaras of the race of Ikshvāku and of the Kāsyapa gotra, and two of the race of Hari and of the Gautama gotra, on the whole twenty-three Tīrthakaras had appeared,—the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthakaras, took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devānandā, of the Gālandharāyana gotra, the wife of the Brāhmana Rishabhadatta, of the gotra of Kodāla, in the

¹ Cf. Ātārāṅga Sūtra II, 15, § 1.

² Vātanā. These vātanās are the parts into which the Kalpa Sūtra is generally divided by some commentators. I have adopted the distribution of Samayasundara.

³ A koḍī of koḍīs or 100,000,000,000,000.

brahmanical part of the town *Kundagrâma* in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttaraphalgunî*, after his allotted length of life, of his (divine) nature, and of his existence (amongst gods) had come to their termination. (2)¹

The knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* (about this) was threefold; he knew that he was to descend, he knew that he had descended, he knew not when he was descending.²

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* took the form of an embryo in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī* *Devānandā* of the *Gālandharāyana* gotra, the *Brāhmaṇī* *Devānandā* was on her couch, taking fits of sleep, in a state between sleeping and waking, and having seen the following fourteen illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate great dreams, she woke up. (3) To wit:

An elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing (of the goddess *Srī*), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels, and a flame. (4)

When the *Brāhmaṇī* *Devānandā*, having seen these dreams, woke up, she—glad, pleased, and joyful in her mind, delighted, extremely enraptured, with a heart widening under the influence of happiness, with the hair of her body all erect in their pores like the flowers of the *Kadamba* touched by rain-drops—firmly fixed the dreams (in her mind), and rose from her couch. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even³ gait, like that of the

¹ Cf. *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 2.

² Cf. *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 3.

³ Add in the text *asambhantāe* after *avilambiyāe*.

royal swan, she went to the Brâhmana *Rishabhaddatta*, and gave him the greeting of victory. Then she comfortably sat down in an excellent chair of state; calm and composed, joining the palms of her hands so as to bring the ten nails together, she laid the folded hands on her head, and spoke thus: (5)

‘O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch taking fits of sleep, in a state between sleeping and waking, when I saw the following fourteen illustrious, &c., great dreams; to wit, an elephant, &c. (6)

‘O beloved of the gods, what, to be sure, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious, &c., great dreams?’ (7)

When the Brâhmana *Rishabhaddatta* had heard and perceived this news from the Brâhmanî *Devânandâ*, he, glad, pleased, and joyful (see § 5, down to rain-drops, firmly fixed the dreams (in his mind), and entered upon considering them. He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intellect and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and thus spoke to the Brâhmanî *Devânandâ*: (8)

‘O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams; O beloved of the gods, you have seen beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate dreams, which will bring health, joy, long life, bliss, and fortune! We shall have success, O beloved of the gods, we shall have pleasure; we shall have happiness, O beloved of the gods, we shall have a son! Indeed, O beloved of the gods, after the lapse of nine complete months and seven and a half days you will give birth to a lovely and handsome boy with tender hands and feet, with a body containing the entire

and complete five organs of sense, with the lucky signs, marks, and good qualities; a boy on whose body all limbs will be well formed, and of full volume, weight, and length, of a lovely figure like that of the moon! (9) And this boy, after having passed his childhood¹, and, with just ripened intellect, having reached the state of youth, will repeat, fully understand, and well retain (in his mind) the four Vedas: the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, *Atharva-veda*—to which the *Itihâsa*² is added as a fifth, and the *Nigghantu*³ as a sixth (Veda)—together with their *Ângas* and *Upângas*, and the *Rahasya*⁴; he will know the six *Ângas*, he will be versed in the philosophy of the sixty categories⁵, and well grounded in arithmetic, in phonetics, ceremonial, grammar, metre, etymology, and astronomy⁶, and in many other brahmanical [and monastic] sciences besides. (10) Therefore, O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. (see § 9).'

In this way he repeatedly expressed his extreme satisfaction. (11)

When the Brâhmanî Devânandâ had heard and perceived this news from the Brâhmaṇa *Rishabhadata*, she—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 5)—

¹ That is, having reached his eighth year.

² *Purâṇa*.

³ Dictionary.

⁴ According to the commentators, works which treat of the *aidamparya* of the Vedas.

⁵ The Sâṅkhya philosophy of Kapila, according to the commentary; but see Max Müller, *What can India teach us?* p. 362.

⁶ These are the six *Ângas* which in the same order occur in the well-known versus memorialis. Indeed, that verse is nearly identical with the passage in our text.

joining the palms of her hands, &c. (see § 5, down to) and spoke thus: (12)

‘That is so, O beloved of the gods; that is exactly so, O beloved of the gods; that is true, O beloved of the gods; that is beyond doubt, O beloved of the gods; that is what I desire, O beloved of the gods; that is what I accept, O beloved of the gods; that is what I desire and accept, O beloved of the gods; that matter is really such as you have pronounced it.’

Thus saying, she accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and enjoyed together with *Rishabhadata* the noble permitted pleasures of human nature. (13)

In that period, in that age, *Sakra*,—the chief and king of the gods, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the destroyer of towns, the performer of a hundred sacrifices, the thousand-eyed one, *Maghavan*, the punisher of the *Daitya Pāka*, the lord of the southern half of the earth¹, the lord of the thirty-two thousand celestial abodes, the best rider of the elephant *Airavata*, the chief of the *Suras*, who wears spotless clothes and robes², and puts on garlands and the diadem, whose cheeks were stroked by fine, bright, and trembling earrings of fresh gold [the most prosperous, the most brilliant, the most mighty, the most glorious, the most powerful, and the most happy one], with a splendid body, ornamented with a long down-reaching garland,—this *Sakra* was in the *Saudharma Kalpa*, in the celestial abode *Saudharma Avatamsaka*, in the council-hall *Sudharman*, on his throne *Sakra*; he who exercises and maintains the supreme command, government,

¹ I. e. of that part of it which lies to the south of mount *Meru*.

² According to the commentators, wearing clothes resembling the dustless sky.

management, guidance, direction, and sovereign power and generalship over the thirty-two thousand gods of the celestial abodes, the eighty-four thousand gods of a rank equal with that of himself, the thirty-two chief gods, the four guardians of the world, the eight principal queens with their trains, the three courts, the seven armies, and the seven commanders of these armies. He was then enjoying the permitted pleasures of divine nature under the great din of uninterrupted story-telling, dramatical plays, singing, and music, as beating of time, performance on the *Vitrâ*, the *Tûrya*, the great drum, and the *Paṭupaṭaha*. (14)

And he viewed this whole continent *Gambûdvîpa* with his extensive (knowledge called) *Avadhi*. There he saw in the continent *Gambûdvîpa*, in *Bhârata-varsha*, in the southern half of *Bharata*, in the brahmanical part of the town *Kundagrâma*, the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvîra* taking the form of an embryo in the womb of the *Brâhmanî* *Devânandâ* of the *Gâlandharâyana* gotra, wife of the *Brâhmana* *Rishabhadatta* of the gotra of *Kodâla*; and—glad, pleased, and joyful in his mind, delighted, extremely enraptured, with a heart widening under the influence of happiness, with the hair of his body bristling and erect in their pores like the fragrant flowers of *Nîpa* when touched by rain-drops, with his eyes and mouth open like full-blown lotuses, with his excellent, various¹, trembling bracelets, with diadem and earrings, his breast lighted up by necklaces, wearing long and swinging ornaments with a pearl pendant—the chief of the gods rose

¹ *Kadaga*, *tudîya*, *keûra*. *Katâka* is the well-known *kaṅkana*, *truṅka* is explained by *bâhurakshikâ*, *keyûra* by *aṅgada*. The last two are bracelets worn on the upper arm.

with confusion, hasty and trembling from his throne, descended from the footstool, took off his shoes which were by a clever artist set with Vaidūrya and excellent Rishṭa and Añjana¹, and ornamented with glittering jewels and precious stones, threw his seamless robe over his left shoulder, and, arranging the fingers of his hands in the shape of a bud, he advanced seven or eight steps towards the Tīrthakara. Bending his left knee and reposing on the right one, he three times placed his head on the ground and lifted it a little; then he raised his bracelet-encumbered arms, and joining the palms of his hands so as to bring the ten nails together, laid the hands on his head and spoke thus: (15)

‘Reverence to the Arhats and Bhagavats; to the Ādikaras, the Tīrthakaras, the perfectly-enlightened ones; to the highest of men, the lions among men, the flowers among mankind², the Gandhahastins among men; to the highest in the world, the guides of the world, the benefactors of the world, the lights of the world, the enlighteners of the world; to the givers of safety, to the givers of sight, to the givers of the road, to the givers of shelter, to the givers of life, to the givers of knowledge³; to the givers of the law, the preachers of the law, the lords of the law, the leaders of the law, the universal emperors of the best law; to the light, the help, the shelter, the refuge, the resting-place, the possessors of unchecked know-

¹ Names of precious stones.

² The text has literally, the best lotus among men.

³ These words are variously and always somewhat fancifully interpreted. One explanation is ascribed to the Aupanishadikas, whom I do not remember to have found noticed anywhere else in Gāṇa books.

ledge and intuition who have got rid of unrighteousness; to the conquerors and the granters of conquest, the saved and the saviours, the enlightened and the enlighteners, the liberated and the liberators, to the all-knowing ones, the all-seeing ones, to those who have reached the happy, stable, unstained, infinite, unperishable, undecaying place, called the path of perfection, whence there is no return; reverence to the Ginas who have conquered fear.

‘Reverence to the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, the Âdikara, the last of the Tīrthakaras who was predicted by the former Tīrthakaras, &c.’¹ I here adore the Revered One yonder, may the Revered One yonder see me here!’ With these words he adored, he worshipped the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, and sat down on his excellent throne facing the east. Then the following internal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to the mind of Sakra, the chief of kings and gods: (16)

‘It never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen, that Arhats, Kākṛavartins, Baladevas, or Vasudevas, in the past, present, or future, should be born in low families, mean families, degraded families, poor families, indigent families, beggars’ families, or brahmanical families. (17) For indeed Arhats, Kākṛavartins, Baladevas, and Vasudevas, in the past, present, and future, are born in high families, noble families, royal families, noblemen’s families, in families belonging to the race of Ikshvāku, or of Hari, or in other such-like families of pure descent on both sides. (18)

¹ According to the commentary all the epithets from ‘the enlightened one’ down to ‘who has reached’ are intended by this ‘&c.’

Now this is something which moves the wonder of the world : it happens in the lapse of numberless *Avasarpinīs* and *Utsarpinīs*, because the imperishable, indescribable, and undestroyable *Karman* relating to name and gotra must take effect, that *Arhats*, &c., in the past, present, and future, descend in (i. e. take the form of an embryo in the womb of a woman belonging to) low families, &c. ; but they are never brought forth by birth from such a womb. (19) This Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra*, now, in the continent *Gambūdvīpa*, in *Bhāratavarsha*, in the brahmanical part of the town *Kundagrāma*, has taken the form of an embryo in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī* *Devānandā* of the *Gālandharāyana* gotra, wife of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Rishabhadatta* of the gotra of *Kodāla*. (20) Hence it is the established custom of all past, present, and future *Sakras*, chiefs and kings of the gods, to cause the *Arhats* and *Bhagavats* to be removed from such-like low, mean, &c., families, to such-like high, noble, &c., families. (21) It is, therefore, better that I should cause the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra*, the last of the *Tīrthakaras* who was predicted by the former *Tīrthakaras*, to be removed from the brahmanical part of the town *Kundagrāma*, from the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī* *Devānandā* of the *Gālandharāyana* gotra, wife of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Rishabhadatta* of the gotra of *Kodāla*, to the *Kshatriya* part of the town *Kundagrāma*, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the *Kshatriyāṇī* *Trisalā* of the *Vāsishṭha* gotra, wife of the *Kshatriya* *Siddhārtha* of the *Kāśyapa* gotra, belonging to the clan of the *Gṇātri* *Kshatriyas* ; and to cause the embryo of the *Kshatriyāṇī* *Trisalā* of the *Vāsishṭha* gotra to be placed in the

womb of the Brāhman Devānandā of the Gālandhā-rāyana gotra.'

Thus he reflected and called Harinegamesi¹, the divine commander of the foot troops; having called him, he spoke thus : (22)

'Well, now, beloved of the gods, it never has happened, &c. (§§ 17-20 are verbally repeated). (23-25)

'Therefore, go now and remove the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra from the brahmanical part, &c., and place the embryo of the Kshatriyānt Trisalā, &c. (see § 21). Having done this, return quickly to report on the execution of my orders.' (26)

When Harinegamesi, the divine commander of the foot troops, was thus spoken to by Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, he—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 15)—laid his folded hands on his head and modestly accepted the words of command, saying, 'Just as your Majesty commands.' After this he left the presence of Sakra, the chief and king of the gods, and descended towards the north-eastern quarter; then he transformed himself through his magical power of transformation, and stretched himself out for numerous Yoganas like a staff, (during which he seized) jewels, Vagra, Vaidūrya, Lohitāksha, Masāragalla, Hamsagarbha, Pulaka, Saugandhika, Gytisara, Añjana, Añjanapulaka, Gātarūpa, Subhaga, Sphaṭika, and Rishṭa; (of these precious materials) he rejected the gross particles, and retained the subtle particles. (27) Then

¹ This name is rendered Harinaigamaishin in Sanskrit. He is represented in pictures as a man with the head of an antelope (harina). This is apparently the effect of a wrong etymology, interesting as the fact itself is.

for a second time he transformed himself through his magical power of transformation, and produced the definitive form (which gods adopt on entering the world of men); having done so, he passed with that excellent, hasty, trembling, active, impetuous, victorious, exalted, and quick divine motion of the gods right through numberless continents and oceans, and arrived in *Gambūdvīpa*, in *Bharatavarsha*, in the brahmanical part of the town *Kundagrāma*, at the house of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Rishabhadata*, where the *Brāhmaṇ* *Devānandā* dwelt. Having arrived there, he made his bow in the sight of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra*, and cast the *Brāhmaṇ* *Devānandā*, together with her retinue, into a deep sleep; then he took off all unclean particles, and brought forth the clean particles, and saying, 'May the Venerable One permit me,' he took the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* in the folded palms of his hands without hurting him. Thus he went to the Kshatriya part of the town *Kundagrāma*, to the house of the Kshatriya *Siddhārtha*, where the Kshatriyāṇī *Trisalā* dwelt; he cast her and her attendants into a deep sleep, took off all unclean particles, and brought forth the clean particles, and placed the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* in the womb of the Kshatriyāṇī *Trisalā*, and the embryo of the Kshatriyāṇī *Trisalā* he placed in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇ* *Devānandā* of the *Gālandharāyana* gotra. Having done so, he returned in that direction in which he had come¹. (28) With that excellent, &c. (see § 28), divine motion

¹ The contents of §§ 14-28 are contained in *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 4.

of the gods, he flew upwards right through numberless continents and oceans, taking thousands of *Yoganas* in each motion, and arrived in the *Saudharma Kalpa*, in the divine abode called *Saudharma Avatamsaka*, where *Sakra*, the chief and king of the gods, sat on the throne called *Sakra*, and reported to *Sakra*, the chief and king of the gods, on the execution of his orders.

In that period, in that age the knowledge of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* was threefold; he knew that he was to be removed; he knew that he was removed; he knew not when he was being removed¹. (29)

In that period, in that age, on the thirteenth day of the third month of the rainy season, in the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Āsvina*, after the lapse of eighty-two days, on the eighty-third day current (since his conception), the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* was, on the command of *Sakra*, safely removed by *Harinegamesi* from the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī Devānandā* to that of the *Kshatriyāṇī Trisalā*², in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttaraphalgunī*. (30)

End of the Second Lecture.

In that night in which the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* was removed from the womb of the *Brāhmaṇī Devānandā* of the *Gālandharāyana* gotra to that of the *Kshatriyāṇī Trisalā* of the

¹ In some MSS. the last part of this paragraph is placed at the end of the next one.

² The text repeats the corresponding passage of § 21.

Vâsishtha gotra, the former was on her couch taking fits of sleep in a state between sleeping and waking; and seeing that these fourteen illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, great dreams were taken from her by the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ, she awoke. (31)

In that night in which the embryo of the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra was removed from the womb of the Brâhmanî Devânandâ of the Gândharâyana gotra to that of the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ of the Vâsishtha gotra, the latter was in her dwelling-place, of which the interior was ornamented with pictures, and the outside whitewashed, furbished and cleansed, the brilliant surface of the ceiling was painted, the darkness was dispelled by jewels and precious stones, the floor was perfectly level and adorned with auspicious figures; which, moreover, was furnished with offerings of heaps of delicious, fragrant, strewn flowers of all five colours, was highly delightful through curling, scented fumes of black aloë, the finest Kundurukka and Turushka¹, and burning frankincense; was exquisitely scented with fine perfumes, and turned as it were into a smelling-bottle; on a couch with a mattress of a man's length, with pillows at head and foot, raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, soft as if one walked on the sand of the banks of the Ganges, covered with the cloth of a robe of ornamented linen, containing a well-worked towel, and hung with red mosquito curtains, delightful, soft to the touch like fur, wadding, Pûra², butter, or cotton, with all the comforts of

¹ Different kinds of the resin of Boswellia.

² Name of a tree.

a bed, such as fragrant, excellent flowers and sandal-powder—(in such a room and on such a bed Trisalâ was) taking fits of sleep between sleeping and waking, and having seen the following fourteen, &c. (see § 3), dreams, viz. an elephant, &c. (see § 4), she awoke. (32)

1. Then Trisalâ saw in her first dream a fine, enormous elephant, possessing all lucky marks, with strong thighs and four mighty tusks; who was whiter than an empty great cloud, or a heap of pearls, or the ocean of milk, or the moon-beams, or spray of water, or the silver mountain (*Vaitâdhyâ*); whose temples were perfumed with fragrant musk-fluid, which attracted the bees; equalling in dimension the best elephant of the king of the gods (*Airâvata*); uttering a fine deep sound like the thunder of a big and large rain-cloud. (33)

2. Then she saw a tame, lucky bull, of a whiter hue than that of the mass of petals of the white lotus, illumining all around by the diffusion of a glory of light; (a bull) whose lovely, resplendent, beautiful hump was delightful through the collection of its charms, whose glossy skin (was covered with) thin, fine, soft hairs; whose body was firm, well made, muscular, compact, lovely, well proportioned, and beautiful; whose horns were large, round, excellently beautiful, greased at their tops, and pointed; whose teeth were all equal, shining, and pure. He foreboded innumerable good qualities. (34)

3. Then she saw a handsome, handsomely shaped, playful lion, jumping from the sky towards her face; a delightful and beautiful lion whiter than a heap of pearls, &c. (see § 33), who had strong and lovely fore-arms, and a mouth adorned with round, large,

and well-set teeth; whose lovely lips, splendid through their proportions, and soft like a noble lotus, looked as if they were artificially ornamented; whose palate¹ was soft and tender like the petals of the red lotus, and the top of whose tongue was protruding; whose eyes were like pure lightning, and revolved like red-hot excellent gold just poured out from the crucible; (a lion) with broad and large thighs, and with full and excellent shoulders, who was adorned with a mane of soft, white, thin, long hair of the finest quality; whose erect, well-shaped, and well-grown tail was flapping; the tops of whose nails were deeply set and sharp; whose beautiful tongue came out of his mouth like a shoot of beauty. (35)

4. Then she, with the face of the full moon, saw the goddess of famous beauty, Śrī, on the top of Mount Himavat, reposing on a lotus in the lotus lake, anointed with the water from the strong and large trunks of the guardian elephants. She sat on a lofty throne. Her firmly placed feet resembled golden tortoises, and her dyed, fleshy, convex, thin, red, smooth nails were set in swelling muscles². Her hands and feet were like the leaves of the lotus, and her fingers and toes soft and excellent; her round and well-formed legs were adorned with the Kuru-vindāvarta³, and her knees with dimples. Her fleshy thighs resembled the proboscis of an excellent elephant, and her lovely broad hips were encircled by a golden zone. Her large and beautiful belly was

¹ Another reading noticed in the commentary has *tala*, upper-side of the tongue, instead of *tālu*, palate.

² Literally, elevated and fat.

³ An ornament according to the commentary.

adorned by a circular navel, and contained a lovely row of hairs (black as) collyrium, bees, or clouds, straight, even, continuous, thin, admirable, handsome, soft, and downy. Her waist, which contained the three folds, could be encompassed with one hand. On all parts of her body shone ornaments and trinkets, composed of many jewels and precious stones, yellow and red gold. The pure cup-like pair of her breasts sparkled, encircled by a garland of Kunda flowers, in which glittered a string of pearls. She wore strings of pearls made by diligent and clever artists, shining with wonderful strings, a necklace of jewels with a string of *Dinârâs*¹, and a trembling pair of earrings, touching her shoulders, diffused a brilliancy; but the united beauties and charms of these ornaments were only subservient to the loveliness of her face². Her lovely eyes were large and pure like the water lily. She sprinkled about the sap from two lotus flowers which she held in her splendid hands, and gracefully fanned herself. Her glossy, black, thick, smooth hair hung down in a braid. (36)

5. Then she saw, coming down from the firmament, a garland charmingly interwoven with fresh *Mandâra* flowers. It spread the delicious smell of *Kampaka*³, *Asoka*⁴, *Nâga*⁵ *Punnâga*⁶, *Priyaṅgu*⁷,

¹ This word, corresponding to the Greek *δηνάριον*, proves the late composition of this part of the *Kalpa Sûtra*.

² I cannot accurately construe this passage; my translation is therefore rather free, but, I believe, comes near the meaning of the original.

³ *Michelia Champaka*.

⁴ *Jonesia Asoka*.

⁵ *Mesua Roxburghii*.

⁶ *Rottlera Tinctoria*.

⁷ *Panicum Italicum*.

Sirtsha¹, Mudgara², Mallikâ³, Gâti⁴, Yûthika⁵, An-kolla⁶, Korantakapatra⁷, Damanaka⁸, Navamâlikâ⁹, Bakula¹⁰, Tilaka¹¹, Vâsantika¹², Nuphar, Nymphaea, Pâtala¹³, Kunda¹⁴, Atimukta¹⁵, and Mango; and perfumed the ten divisions of the universe with its incomparably delightful fragrance. It was white through wreaths of fragrant flowers of all seasons, and brilliant through splendid, beautiful embellishments of many colours. Towards it came humming swarms of different kinds of bees¹⁶, and filled with their sweet noise the whole neighbourhood. (37)

6. And the moon: white as cow-milk, foam, spray of water, or a silver cup, glorious, delighting heart and eyes, full, dispelling the compact darkness of the thickest wilderness, whose crescent shines at the end of the two halves of the month, opening the blossoms of the groups of Nymphaeas, adorning the night, resembling the surface of a well-polished mirror. She was of a white hue, like a flamingo, the stars' head-ornament, the quiver of Cupid's arrows, raising the waters of the ocean, burning as it were disconsolate

¹ Acacia Sirisa.

² A species of jasmine.

³ Jasminum Zambac.

⁴ Jasminum Grandiflorum.

⁵ Jasminum Auriculatum.

⁶ Alangium Hexapetalum.

⁷ Not specialised in our dictionaries.

⁸ Artemisia Indica.

⁹ The many-flowered Nykanthes or Jasminum Zambac.

¹⁰ Mimosa Elengi.

¹¹ Clerodendrum Phlomoides or Symplocos Racemosa.

¹² Gaertnera Racemosa.

¹³ Bignonia Suaveolens.

¹⁴ Fragrant Oleander.

¹⁵ Diospyros Glutinos or Dalbergia Ougeinense.

¹⁶ Shaṭpada, madhukarî, bhramara. The shaṭpada are literally six-footed bees, as Stevenson correctly translated, but he strangely reckons them among the preternatural animals, like the four-tusked elephants, dear to the imagination of the Gains!

people when absent from their sweethearts, the large, glorious, wandering headmark of the celestial sphere—beloved in heart and soul by Rohinī¹. Such was the glorious, beautiful, resplendent full moon which the queen saw. (38)

7. Then she saw the large sun, the dispeller of the mass of darkness, him of radiant form, red like the Asoka, the open Kimsuka, the bill of a parrot, or the Guṇḍardha², the adorer of the lotus groups, the marker of the starry host, the lamp of the firmament, throttling as it were the mass of cold, the illustrious leader of the troop of planets, the destroyer of night, who only at his rising and setting may be well viewed, but (at all other times) is difficult to be regarded, who disperses evil-doers that stroll about at night, who stops the influence of cold, who always circles round Mount Meru, whose thousand rays obscure the lustre of other lights³. (39)

8. Then she saw an extremely beautiful and very large flag, a sight for all people, of a form attractive to the beholders. It was fastened to a golden staff with a tuft of many soft and waving peacock's feathers of blue, red, yellow, and white colours, and seemed as if it would pierce the brilliant, celestial sphere, with the brilliant lion on its top, who was white like crystal, pearlmother, Anka-stone, Kunda-flowers, spray of water, or a silver cup. (40)

¹ The commentators understand this passage (Rohinīmanahiyayavallabham) differently by explaining hiyaya by hitada, the lover of Rohinī who did her mind good.

² According to Stevenson: the red side of the retti seed.

³ Or if we adopt a various reading, mentioned in the commentary, payaḍiya, we must translate: whose luminous glory was set forth by his thousand rays.

9. Then she saw a full vase of costly metal¹, splendent with fine gold, filled with pure water, excellent, of brilliant beauty, and shining with a bouquet of water lilies. It united many excellencies and all-auspicious marks, and stood on a lotus-(shaped foot), shining with excellent jewels². It delighted the eyes, glittered and illumined all about; it was the abode of happy Fortune, free from all faults, fine, splendid, exquisitely beautiful, entwined with a wreath of fragrant flowers of all seasons. (41)

10. Then she saw a lake, called Lotus Lake, adorned with water lilies. Its yellow water was perfumed by lotuses opening in the rays of the morning sun; it abounded with swarms of aquatic animals, and fed fishes. It was large, and seemed to burn through the wide-spreading, glorious beauty of all kinds of lotuses³. Its shape and beauty were pleasing. The lotuses in it were licked by whole swarms of gay bees and mad drones. Pairs of swans, cranes, *Kakra-vâkas*, ducks, Indian cranes, and many other lusty birds resorted to its waters, and on the leaves of its lotuses sparkled water-drops like pearls⁴. It was a sight, pleasing to the heart and the eye. (42)

11. Then she whose face was splendid like the

¹ The original has *rayaya*, silver, but as the commentary remarks, this would be in conflict with the epithet which we have put next, but which, in the original, is separated from it by many lines. Unless the author has blundered, which from his vague style seems far from impossible, the word must here have a more indefinite meaning than it usually has.

² This passage may also be translated: standing on a lotus filled with pollen, of excellent workmanship.

³ Specialised in the text as *kamula*, *kuvalaya*, *utpala*, *tâmarasa*, and *pundarîka*.

⁴ According to the commentary; the *textus receptus* is, many water-drops.

moon in autumn, saw the milk-ocean, equalling in beauty the breast of Lakshmi, which is white like the mass of moon-beams. Its waters increased in all four directions, and raged with ever-changing and moving, excessively high waves. It presented a splendid and pleasant spectacle as it rushed to and from the shore with its wind-raised, changeable, and moving billows, its tossing waves, and its rolling, splendid, transparent breakers. From it issued camphor-white foam under the lashing (tails) of great porpoises, fishes, whales, and other monsters of the deep¹. Its agitated waters were in great uproar, occasioned by the vortex Gaṅgāvarta, which the vehemence and force of the great rivers produced; they rose, rushed onwards and backwards, and eddied. (43)

12. Then she saw a celestial abode excelling among the best of its kind, like the lotus (among flowers). It shone like the morning sun's disk, and was of a dazzling beauty. Its thousand and eight excellent columns (inlaid with) the best gold and heaps of jewels diffused a brilliant light like a heavenly lamp, and the pearls fastened to its curtains glittered. It was hung with brilliant divine garlands, and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, Kinnaras, deer, Sarabhas, Yaks, Samsaktas², elephants, shrubs, and plants. There the Gandharvas performed their concerts, and the din of the drums of the gods,

¹ The original has *timīṅgila-niruddha-tilitilika*.

² *Samsakta*, which I do not find mentioned elsewhere, is explained, 'a kind of beast of prey;' I think that *samsakta* may be an adjective specifying the following word, and mean 'fighting' elephants.

imitating the sound of big and large rain-clouds, penetrated the whole inhabited world. It was highly delightful through curling, scented fumes of black aloe, the finest Kundurukka and Turushka, burning frankincense and other perfumes. It (shed) continuous light, was white, of excellent lustre, delighting the best of gods, and affording joy and pleasure. (44)

13. Then she saw an enormous heap of jewels containing Pulaka, Vagra, Indrantla, Sasyaka, Karaketana, Lohitāksha, Marakata, Prabāla, Saugandhika, Sphaṭika, Hamsagarbha, Aṅgana, and Kandrakānta. Its base was on the level of the earth, and it illumined with its jewels even the sphere of the sky. It was high and resembled Mount Meru. (45)

14. And a fire. She saw a fire in vehement motion, fed with much-shining and honey-coloured ghee, smokeless, crackling, and extremely beautiful with its burning flames. The mass of its flames, which rose one above the other, seemed to interpenetrate each other, and the blaze of its flames appeared to bake the firmament in some places. (46)

After having seen these fine, beautiful, lovely, handsome dreams, the lotus-eyed queen awoke on her bed while the hair of her body bristled for joy.

Every mother of a Tīrthakara sees these fourteen dreams in that night in which the famous Arhat enters her womb. (46 b)

End of the Third Lecture.

When the Kshatriyāṃ Trisalā, having seen these fourteen illustrious, great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 5, down to) rose from her couch, and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even

gait like that of the royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet, and soft words. (47)

Then the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ, with the permission of king Siddhârtha, sat down on a chair of state inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques; calm and composed, sitting on an excellent, comfortable chair, she addressed him with kind, pleasing, &c. (see last paragraph), words, and spoke thus: (48)

‘O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch (as described in § 32), &c. (see § 5), and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams; to wit, an elephant, &c. What, to be sure, O my lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious, great dreams?’ (49)

When the Kshatriya Siddhârtha had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ, he glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 5, down to) firmly fixed the dreams in his mind, and entered upon considering them; he grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ with kind, pleasing, &c., words, spoke thus: (50)

‘O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. (see § 9, down to) you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown¹ of our family, the frontal ornament

¹ *Vadimsaya* (avatamsaka) is here rendered by *sekhara*.

of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family; (a boy) with tender hands and feet, &c. (see § 9, down to the end). (51) And this boy, after having passed childhood, and, with just ripened intellect, having reached the state of youth, will become a brave, gallant, and valorous king, the lord of the realm, with a large and extensive army and train of waggons. (52) Therefore, O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious, &c., dreams, &c. (see § 9).'

In this way he repeatedly expressed his extreme satisfaction.

When the Kshatriyâni Trisalâ had heard and perceived this news from king Siddhârtha, she glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 12, down to) and spoke thus: (53)

'That is so, O beloved of the gods, &c. (see § 13, down to) as you have pronounced it.'

Thus saying she accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and with the permission of king Siddhârtha she rose from her chair of state, inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques. She then returned to her own bed, neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of the royal swan, and spoke thus: (54)

'These my excellent and pre-eminent dreams shall not be counteracted by other bad dreams.'

Accordingly she remained awake to save her dreams by means of (hearing) good, auspicious, pious, agreeable stories about gods and religious men. (55)

At the time of daybreak the Kshatriya Siddhârtha called his family servants and spoke thus: (56)

‘Now, beloved of the gods, quickly make ready, or have made ready, the exterior hall of audience; see that it be sprinkled with scented water, cleaned, swept, and newly smeared, furnished with offerings of fragrant, excellent flowers of all five colours, made highly delightful through curling scented fumes, &c. (see § 32, down to) and turned, as it were, into a smelling box; also erect my throne, and having done this quickly return, and report on the execution of my orders.’ (57)

When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhârtha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 12, down to) on their heads, and modestly accepted the words of command, saying, ‘Yes, master!’ Then they left the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, and went to the exterior hall of audience, made it ready, and erected the throne (as described in the last paragraph). Having done this, they returned to the Kshatriya Siddhârtha; joining the palms of their hands so as to bring the ten nails together, laid the folded hands on their heads, and reported on the execution of their orders. (58)

Early at the wane of the night, when the bright morning disclosed the soft flowers of the full-blown lotuses and Nymphaeas, rose the sun: he was red like the Asoka, the open *Kimsuka*, the bill of a parrot or the *Guñgârdha*; of an intense redness like that of the *Bandhugîvaka*¹, the feet and eyes of the turtle dove, the scarlet eyes of the Indian cuckoo, a mass of China roses, or vermilion. He, the thousand-rayed maker of the day, shining in his radiance, awakened

¹ *Pentapetes Phoenixea*.

the groups of lotuses. When in due time the god of the day had risen and by the blows of his hands (or rays) the darkness was driven away, while the inhabited world was, as it were, dipped in saffron by the morning sun, the Kshatriya Siddhârtha rose from his bed, (59) descended from the footstool, went to the hall for gymnastic exercises, and entered it. There he applied himself to many wholesome exercises, jumped, wrestled, fenced, and fought till he got thoroughly tired: then he was anointed with hundredfold and thousandfold refined different kinds of oil, which nourished, beautified, invigorated, exhilarated, strengthened, and increased all senses and limbs. On an oiled hide he was shampooed by clever men with soft and tender palms of the hands and soles of the feet, who were well acquainted with the best qualities of the practices of anointing, kneading, and stretching; well trained, skilful, excellent, expert, intelligent, and never tiring. When by this fourfold agreeable treatment of the body the king's bones, flesh, skin, and hair had been benefited, and his fatigues banished, he left the hall for gymnastic exercises, (60) and entered the bathing-house. The pleasant bathing-room was very agreeable, and contained many windows¹, ornamented with pearls; its floor was decorated with mosaic of various jewels and precious stones. On the bathing-stool, inlaid with various jewels and precious stones in the form of arabesques, he comfortably sat down and bathed himself with water scented with flowers and perfumes, with tepid water and pure water, according to an excellent method of

¹ *Gâla*, windows formed by flat stones which are perforated so as to produce a network of more or less intricate design.

bathing, combined with healthy exercises. When this healthy excellent bathing under many hundred-fold pleasures was over, he dried his body with a long-haired, soft, scented, and coloured towel, put on a new and costly excellent robe, rubbed himself with fresh and fragrant Gosirsha¹ and sandal, and ornamented himself with fine wreaths and sandal-ointment. He put on (ornaments) of jewels and pearls, hung round his neck fitting necklaces of eighteen, nine, and three strings of pearls, and one with a pearl pendant, and adorned himself with a zone. He put on a collar, rings, and charming ornaments of the hair, and encumbered his arms with excellent bracelets: he was of excessive beauty. His face was lighted up by earrings, and his head by a diadem; his breast was adorned and decked with necklaces, and his fingers were, as it were, gilded by his rings. His upper garment of fine cloth contained swinging pearl pendants. He put on, as an emblem of his undefeated knighthood, glittering, well-made, strong, excellent, beautiful armlets, made by clever artists of spotless and costly jewels, gold, and precious stones of many kinds. In short, the king was like the tree granting all desires, decorated and ornamented; an umbrella, hung with wreaths and garlands of *Korinta* flowers, was held above him. He was fanned with white excellent chowries, while his appearance was greeted with auspicious shouts of victory. Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes, knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of cara-

¹ Gosirsha is a superior kind of sandal.

vans, messengers, and frontier-guards, he—the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms—left the bathing-house, (61) entered the exterior hall of audience and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east. (62)

On the north-eastern side he ordered eight state chairs, covered with cloth and auspiciously decorated with white mustard, to be set down. Not too far from and not too near to himself, towards the interior of the palace, he had a curtain drawn. It was adorned with different jewels and precious stones, extremely worth seeing, very costly, and manufactured in a famous town; its soft cloth was all over covered with hundreds of patterns and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, Kinnaras, deer, Sarabhas, Yaks, Samsaktas, elephants, shrubs, and plants. Behind it he ordered to be placed, for the Kshatriyânî Trisalâ, an excellent chair of state, decorated with arabesques of different jewels and precious stones, outfitted with a coverlet and a soft pillow, covered with a white cloth, very soft and agreeable to the touch. Then he called the family servants and spoke thus: (63)

‘Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well versed in many sciences besides!’

When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhârtha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—laid the folded hands on their heads and

modestly accepted the words of command, saying, 'Yes, master!' (64)

Then they left the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha, went right through the town Kundapura to the houses of the interpreters of dreams, and called the interpreters of dreams. (65)

Then the interpreters of dreams, being called by the Kshatriya Siddhârtha's family servants, glad, pleased, and joyful, &c., bathed, made the offering (to the house-gods)¹, performed auspicious rites and expiatory² acts, put on excellent, lucky, pure court-dress, adorned their persons with small but costly ornaments, and put, for the sake of auspiciousness, white mustard and Dûrvâ grass on their heads. Thus they issued from their own houses and went right through the Kshatriya part of the town Kundapura to the front gate of king Siddhârtha's excellent palace, a jewel of its kind. (66)

There they assembled and went to the exterior hall of audience in the presence of the Kshatriya Siddhârtha. Joining the palms of their hands so as to bring the ten nails together, they laid the folded hands on their heads and gave him the greeting of victory. (67)

The king Siddhârtha saluted and honoured the interpreters of dreams, made them presents, and received them with respect. They sat down, one after the other, on the chairs of state which had been placed there before. (68) Then the Kshatriya Siddhârtha placed his wife Trisalâ behind the curtain, and taking flowers and fruits in his hands,

¹ Balikarman.

² Pâyakkhitta = prâyasâkitta. The commentators explain it by pâdaḥḥupta, touching their feet in order to avoid the wicked eye.■

addressed with utmost courtesy the interpreters of dreams : (69)

‘O beloved of the gods, the Kshatriyānt Trisalā was just on her couch, &c. (see § 32, down to the end). (70 and 71) What to be sure, O beloved of the gods, will be the result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?’ (72)

When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhārtha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—fixed the dreams in their minds, entered upon considering them, and conversed together. (73)

Having found, grasped, discussed, decided upon, and clearly understood the meaning of these dreams, they recited before king Siddhārtha the dream-books and spoke thus :

‘O beloved of the gods, in our dream-books are enumerated forty-two (common) dreams and thirty great dreams. Now, O beloved of the gods, the mothers of universal monarchs or of Arhats wake up after seeing these fourteen great dreams out of the thirty great dreams, when the embryo of a universal monarch or an Arhat enters their womb ; (74) viz. an elephant, a bull, &c. (75) The mothers of Vāsudevas wake up after seeing any seven great dreams out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Vāsudeva enters their womb. (76) The mothers of Baladevas wake up after seeing any four great dreams out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Baladeva enters their womb. (77) The mother of Māṇḍalikas wake up after seeing a single great dream out of these fourteen great dreams, when the embryo of a Māṇḍalika enters their womb. (78) Now, O beloved

of the gods, the Kshatriyānt Trisalâ has seen these fourteen great dreams, &c. (see § 51, down to the end). (79) And this boy, &c. (see § 52, down to) the lord of a realm with a large and extensive army and train of waggons, a universal emperor or a Gina, the lord of the three worlds, the universal emperor of the law. (80). Therefore, O beloved of the gods, the Kshatriyānt Trisalâ has seen illustrious dreams,' &c. (see § 9). (81)

When king Siddhârtha had heard and perceived this news from the interpreter of dreams, he—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—spoke to them thus: (82)

‘That is so, O beloved of the gods, &c. (see § 11, down to) as you have pronounced it.’

Thus saying he accepted the true meaning of the dreams, and honoured the interpreters of dreams with praise and plenty of food, flowers, perfumes, garlands, and ornaments. He made them a present in keeping with their station in life¹ and dismissed them. (83)

After this the Kshatriya Siddhârtha rose from his throne, went to the Kshatriyānt Trisalâ behind the curtain, and addressed her thus: (84)

‘Now, O beloved of the gods, you have seen these fourteen great dreams, &c. (see §§ 79, 80, down to) emperor of the law.’ (85, 86)

When the Kshatriyānt Trisalâ had heard and perceived this news, she—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—accepted the true meaning of the dreams. (87) With the permission of king Siddhârtha she rose from her chair of state which was decorated with arabesques of various jewels and precious stones,

¹ Or a life annuity.

and returned to her own apartments, neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of the royal swan. (88)

From that moment in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra was brought into the family of the *Gñâtris*, many demons¹ in Vaisramana's service, belonging to the animal world, brought, on Sakra's command, to the palace of king Siddhârtha, old and ancient treasures, of which the owners, deponers, and families to whom they originally belonged were dead and extinct, and which were hidden in villages, or mines, or scot-free towns, or towns with earth walls, or towns with low walls, or isolated towns, or towns accessible by land and water, or towns accessible either by land or by water only, or in natural strongholds, or in halting-places for processions or for caravans, in triangular places, or in places where three or four roads meet, or in courtyards, or squares, or high roads, or on the site of villages or towns, or in drains of villages or towns, or in bazaars, or temples, or assembling halls, or wells, or parks, or gardens, or woods, or groves, or burying-places, or empty houses, or mountain caves, or hermits' cells, or secret places between walls, or in houses on an elevation, or houses for audience, or palaces. (89)

In the night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra was brought into the family of the *Gñâtris* their silver increased, their gold increased; their riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom increased; their army, train, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, subjects, and glory increased; their real valuable property, as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels,

¹ *Gambhaya*=*Grimbhaka*; what they are is not said in the commentaries.

pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c., the intensity of their popularity and liberality highly increased. At that time the following personal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra: (90)

‘From the moment that this our boy has been begotten, our silver increased, our gold increased, &c. (see § 90, down to) the intensity of our liberality and popularity highly increased. Therefore when this our boy will be born, we shall give him the fit name, attributive and conformable to his quality—Vardhamāna¹.’ (91)

Now the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, out of compassion for his mother, did not move nor stir nor quiver, but remained quiet, stiff, and motionless. Then the following, &c. (see § 90, down to) idea occurred to the mind of the Kshatriyānī Trisalā: ‘The fruit of my womb has been taken from me, it has died, it is fallen, it is lost. Formerly it moved, now it does not move.’ Thus with anxious thoughts and ideas, plunged in a sea of sorrow and misery, reposing her head on her hand, overcome by painful reflections, and casting her eyes on the ground she meditated. And in the palace of king Siddhārtha the music of drums and stringed instruments, the clapping of hands, the dramatical performances, and the amusements of the people ceased, and mournful dejection reigned there. (92)

Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, knowing that such an internal, &c. (see § 90, down to) idea had occurred to the mind of his mother, he quivered a little. (93)

¹ I.e. ‘the increasing one’ not as we should expect, and Stevenson translated, the Increaser.

Feeling her child quivering, trembling, moving, and stirring, the Kshatriyā¹ Trisalā—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—spoke thus : ‘ No, forsooth, the fruit of my womb has not been taken from me, it has not died, it is not fallen, it is not lost. Formerly it did not move, but now it does move.’ Thus she was glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.

Then the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvtra, while in her womb, formed the following resolution : ‘ It will not behove me, during the life of my parents, to tear out my hair, and leaving the house to enter the state of houselessness.’ (94)

Bathing, making offerings to the house-gods, performing auspicious rites and expiatory acts, and adorning herself with all ornaments, the Kshatriyā¹ Trisalā kept off sickness, sorrow, fainting, fear, and fatigue by food and clothing, perfumes and garlands, which were not too cold nor too hot, not too bitter nor too pungent, not too astringent nor too sour nor too sweet, not too smooth nor too rough, not too wet nor too dry, but all just suiting the season. In the proper place and time she ate only such food which was good, sufficient, and healthy for the nourishment of her child. She took her walks in places which were empty and agreeable as well as delightful to the mind ; her desires were laudable, fulfilled, honoured, not disregarded, but complied with and executed ; she most comfortably dozed, reposed, remained, sat, and laid on unobjectionable and soft beds and seats, and thus most comfortably carried her unborn child. (95)

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvtra¹—after the lapse of nine months and

¹ The whole passage is in some disorder ; for the subject is she (Trisalā) and the object is ‘ boy,’ yet ‘ the Venerable Ascetic Mahā-

seven and a half days, in the first month of summer, in the second fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kaitra*, on its fourteenth day, [while all planets were in their exaltations, the moon in her principal conjunction, and the sky in all its directions clear, bright, and pure ; while a favourable and agreeable low wind swept the earth ; at the time when the fields were green and all people glad and amusing themselves]¹ in the middle of the night while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttara-phalgunī*—(*Trisalā*), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy. (96)²

End of the Fourth Lecture.

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise. (97)³

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* was born, many demons in *Vaisramana's*

vīra ' is also put in the nominative. It seems that the author or the copyists added the three words *Samāne Bhagavam Mahāvīre* because they usually followed the beginning : *tenam kâlenam tenam samaenam*. The same disorder occurs in all corresponding passages which we shall meet with later on.

¹ The passage in brackets seems to be a later addition ; for it is wanting in my oldest MS., and the commentator says that it was not seen in many books. The occurrence of the astrological term exaltation (*uktā* = *ὑψωμα*) in this passage proves it to be inserted after 300 A.D. For about that time Greek astrology had been introduced in India, as I have shown in my dissertation : *De Astrologiae Indicae 'Hora' appellatae originibus*, Bonn, 1872.

² Cf. *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 6.

³ Cf. *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 7.

service belonging to the animal world, rained down on the palace of king Siddhârtha one great shower of silver, gold, diamonds, clothes, ornaments, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, garlands, perfumes, sandal, powder, and riches. (98)¹

After the Bhavanapati, Vyantara, Gyotishka, and Vaimânika gods had celebrated the feast of the inauguration of the Tîrthakara's birthday, the Kshatriya Siddhârtha called, at the break of the morning, together the town policemen and addressed them thus : (99)

'O beloved of the gods, quickly set free all prisoners in the town of Kundâpura, increase measures and weights, give order that the whole town of Kundâpura with its suburbs be sprinkled with water, swept, and smeared (with cowdung, &c.) that in triangular places, in places where three or four roads meet, in courtyards, in squares, and in thoroughfares, the middle of the road and the path along the shops be sprinkled, cleaned, and swept ; that platforms be erected one above the other ; that the town be decorated with variously coloured flags and banners, and adorned with painted pavilions² ; that the walls bear impressions in Goshrsha, fresh red sandal, and Dardara³ of the hand with outstretched fingers ; that luck-foreboding vases be put on the floor, and pots of the same kind be disposed round every door and arch ; that big, round, and long garlands, wreaths, and festoons be hung low

¹ Cf. Âkârânga Sûtra II, 15, § 8.

² According to the commentary this may also be translated : smeared (with cowdung) and whitewashed.

³ Dardara is sandal brought from Dardara. All who have travelled in India will have noticed on walls the impressions of the hand mentioned in the text.

and high ; that the town be furnished with offerings, &c. (see § 32, down to) smelling box ; that players, dancers, rope-dancers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, story-tellers, ballad-singers, actors¹, messengers², pole-dancers, fruit-mongers, bag-pipers, lute-players, and many Tâlâkaras³ be present. Erect and order to erect thousands of pillars and poles, and report on the execution of my orders.' (100)

When the family servants were thus spoken to by king Siddhârtha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. (see § 58)—accepted the words of command, saying, 'Yes, master!'

Then they set free all prisoners, &c. (see § 100, down to) pillars and poles. Having done this, they returned to king Siddhârtha, and laying their hands on their heads, reported on the execution of his orders. (101)

The king Siddhârtha then went to the hall for gymnastic exercises, &c. (see §§ 60 and 61⁴). (After having bathed) the king accompanied by his whole seraglio⁴, and adorned with flowers, scented robes, garlands, and ornaments, held during ten days the festival in celebration of the birth of a heir to his kingdom ; (it was held) under the continuous din and sound of trumpets, with great state and splendour, with a great train of soldiers, vehicles, and guests, under the sound, din, and noise of conches,

¹ Lasakâ bhânda.

² Ârakshakâs talârâ, âkhyâyakâ vâ. The translation is conjectural.

³ Tâlâkaras are those who by clapping the hands beat the time during a performance of music.

⁴ The text has down to 'with his whole seraglio.' But as no such words occur in the passage in question, they seem to point to the description in § 115, which contains the latter part of this passage.

cymbals, drums, castanets, horns, small drums, kettle drums, Muragas, *Mṛidaṅgas*, and Dundubhis¹, which were accompanied at the same time by trumpets². The customs, taxes, and confiscations were released, buying and selling prohibited, no policemen were allowed to enter houses, great and small fines were remitted, and debts cancelled. Numberless excellent actors performed³ and many *Tālākaras* were present, drums sounded harmoniously, fresh garlands and wreaths were seen everywhere, and the whole population in the town and in the country rejoiced and was in full glee. (102)

When the ten days of this festival were over, the king Siddhārtha gave and ordered to be given hundreds and thousands and hundred-thousands of offerings to the gods, gifts, and portions (of goods); he received and ordered to be received hundreds, thousands, and hundred-thousands of presents. (103)⁴

The parents of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra celebrated the birth of their heir on the first day, on the third day they showed him the sun and the moon, on the sixth day they observed the religious vigil; after the eleventh day, when the impure operations and ceremonies connected with the birth of a child had been performed, and the twelfth day had come, they prepared plenty of food, drink, spices, and sweetmeats, invited their friends, relations, kinsmen, agnates, cognates, and followers, together with the *Gñātrika* Kshatriyas. Then they bathed, made

¹ Muragas, *Mṛidaṅgas*, Dundubhis are different kinds of drums.

² Samaga-gamaga-turiya.

³ This is the translation of a *varia lectio*. The adopted text has: while courtezans and excellent actors performed.

⁴ Cf. *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 11.

offerings (to the house-gods), and performed auspicious rites and expiatory acts, put on excellent, lucky, pure court-dress, and adorned their persons with small but costly ornaments. At dinner-time they sat down on excellent, comfortable chairs in the dining-hall, and together with their friends, relations, kinsmen, agnates, cognates and followers, and with the *Gñâtrika* Kshatriyas they partook, ate, tasted, and interchanged (bits) of a large collation of food, drink, spices, and sweetmeats. (104)

After dinner they went (to the meeting hall¹) after having cleansed their mouths and washed; when perfectly clean, they regaled and honoured their friends, &c. (see § 104, down to) *Gñâtrika* Kshatriyas with many flowers, clothes, perfumes, garlands, and ornaments. Then they spoke thus to their friends, &c.: (105)

‘Formerly, O beloved of the gods, when we had begotten this our boy, the following personal, reflectional, desirable idea occurred to our mind: “From the moment that this our boy has been begotten, our silver increased, our gold increased, &c. (see § 91, down to) Vardhamâna. Now our wishes have been fulfilled, therefore shall the name of our boy be Vardhamâna.”’ (106, 107)²

The Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra belonged to the Kâsyapa gotra. His three names have thus been recorded: by his parents he was called Vardhamâna; because he is devoid of love and hate, he is called *Sramana* (i. e. Ascetic); because he stands fast in midst of dangers and fears, patiently bears hardships and calamities, adheres to the chosen rules of

¹ This is an addition of the commentator.

² Cf. *Âkârânga Sûtra* II, 15, § 12.

penance, is wise, indifferent to pleasure and pain, rich in control, and gifted with fortitude, the name Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra has been given him by the gods. (108)¹

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's father belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra ; he had three names : Siddhārtha, Sreyāmsa, and Gasāmsa, &c. (see *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 15, down to) Seshavattī and Yaso-vattī. (109)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra—clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling (his senses), lucky, and modest ; a *Gñātri* Kshatriya, the son of a *Gñātri* Kshatriya ; the moon of the clan of the *Gñātris* ; a Videha, the son of Videhadattā, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha—had lived thirty years in Videha when his parents went to the world of the gods (i. e. died), and he with the permission of his elder brother and the authorities of the kingdom² fulfilled his promise. At that moment the Laukāntika gods, following the established custom, praised and hymned him with these kind, pleasing, &c. (see § 47, down to) sweet, and soft words : (110)

‘Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world ! Victory, victory to thee, lucky one ! Luck to thee, bull of the best Kshatriyas ! Awake, reverend lord of the world ! Establish the religion of the law which benefits all living beings in the whole universe ! It will bring supreme benefit to all living beings in all the world !’

Thus they raised the shout of victory. (111)

¹ See *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 15.

² Guru-mahattara is the original of the last words, which I have translated according to the explanation of the commentary.

Before the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had adopted the life of a householder (i.e. before his marriage) he possessed supreme, unlimited¹, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation² had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom; his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c.; he distributed presents through proper persons, he distributed presents among indigent persons. (112)³

In that period, in that age, in the first month of winter, in the first fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Mārgasīras, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the (first) Pauruṣī⁴ was full and over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhūrta called Vigaya, in the palankin Kāndraprabhā, (Mahāvīra) was followed on his way⁵ by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, (and surrounded) by a swarm of shell-blowers, proclaimers, pattivallas,

¹ Ābhogika. It is inferior to the Avadhi knowledge. In a quotation it is said that (the knowledge) of the Nairayikas, Devas, and Tīrthakaras does not reach the Avadhi; it is total with them, but with others only partial.

² Nishkramana = pravragyā.

³ Cf. Ātārāṅga Sūtra II, 15, § 17.

⁴ Yāma or time of three hours.

⁵ Samanugammamāna-magge. The commentator divides samanugammamānam age, and explains the passage thus: him who was followed by, &c., and surrounded by, &c. (agre parivṛitam) they praised and hymned, and the authorities spoke thus to him.

courtiers, men carrying others on the back, heralds, and bell bearers. They praised and hymned him with these kind, pleasing, &c. (see § 47, down to) sweet and soft words: (113)

‘Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world! Victory to thee, lucky one! Luck to thee! with undisturbed knowledge, intuition, and good conduct conquer the unconquered Senses; defend the conquered Law of the *Sramanas*; Majesty, conquering all obstacles, live in Perfection; put down with thy devotion Love and Hate, the (dangerous) wrestlers; vigorously gird thy loins with constancy and overcome the eight Karmans, our foes, with supreme, pure meditation; heedful raise the banner of content, O Hero! in the arena of the three worlds gain the supreme, best knowledge, called Kevala, which is free from obscurity; obtain the pre-eminent highest rank (i. e. final liberation) on that straight road which the best *Ginas* have taught; beat the army of obstacles! Victory, victory to thee, bull of the best *Kshatriyas*! Many days, many fortnights, many months, many seasons, many half-years, many years be not afraid of hardships and calamities, patiently bear dangers and fears; be free from obstacles in the practice of the law!’

Thus they raised the shout of victory. (114)

Then the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra*—gazed on by a circle of thousands of eyes¹, praised by a circle of thousands of mouths, extolled by a circle of thousands of hearts, being the object of many thousands of wishes, desired because of his splendour, beauty, and virtues, pointed out by a circle of thousands of

¹ Literally, by thousands of circles of eyes, &c. &c.

forefingers, answering with (a salam) of his right hand a circle of thousands of joined hands of thousands of men and women, passing along a row of thousands of palaces, greeted by sweet and delightful music, as beating of time, performance on the *Vīṇā*, *Tūrya*, and the great drum, in which joined shouts of victory, and the low and pleasing murmur of the people; accompanied by all his pomp, all his splendour, all his army, all his train, by all his retinue, by all his magnificence, by all his grandeur, by all his ornaments, by all the tumult, by all the throng, by all subjects, by all actors, by all time-beaters, by the whole seraglio; adorned with flowers, scented robes, garlands, and ornaments, &c. (see § 102, down to) which were accompanied at the same time by trumpets—went right through *Kundapura* to a park called the *Shandavana* of the *Gñātris* and proceeded to the excellent tree *Asoka*. (115) There under the excellent tree *Asoka* he caused his palankin to stop, descended from his palankin, took off his ornaments, garlands, and finery with his own hands, and with his own hands plucked out his hair in five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttaraphalgunī*, he, after fasting two and a half days¹ without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and quite alone, nobody else being present, he tore out his hair and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness. (116)²

The Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* for a year and

¹ I. e. taking only one meal in three days. He fasted therefore two continuous days and the first part of the third.

² Cf. *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 22.

a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvtra neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men, or animals. (117)¹

Henceforth the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvtra was houseless, circumspect² in his walking, circumspect in his speaking, circumspect in his begging, circumspect in his accepting (anything), in the carrying of his outfit and drinking vessel; circumspect in evacuating excrements, urine, saliva, mucus, and uncleanness of the body; circumspect in his thoughts, circumspect in his words, circumspect in his acts³; guarding his thoughts, guarding his words, guarding his acts, guarding his senses, guarding his chastity; without wrath, without pride, without deceit, without greed; calm, tranquil, composed, liberated, free from temptations⁴, without egoism, without property; he had cut off all earthly ties, and was not stained by any worldliness: as water does not adhere to a copper vessel, or collyrium to mother of pearl (so sins found no place in him); his course was unobstructed like that of Life; like the firmament he wanted no support; like the wind he knew no obstacles; his heart was pure like the water (of rivers or tanks) in autumn; nothing could soil him like the leaf of

¹ Cf. Âtârânga Sûtra II, 15, § 23.

² Circumspect is samita, guarding gupta; the former relates to execution of good acts, the latter to the abstinence from bad ones.

³ This is the triad manas mind, vâk speech, kâya body.

⁴ Âsrava.

a lotus; his senses were well protected like those of a tortoise; he was single and alone like the horn of a rhinoceros; he was free like a bird; he was always waking like the fabulous bird *Bhârunda*¹, valorous like an elephant, strong like a bull, difficult to attack like a lion, steady and firm like Mount Mandara, deep like the ocean, mild like the moon, refulgent like the sun, pure like excellent gold²; like the earth he patiently bore everything; like a well-kindled fire he shone in his splendour.

These words have been summarised in two verses:

A vessel, mother of pearl, life, firmament, wind, water in autumn, leaf of lotus, a tortoise, a bird, a rhinoceros, and *Bhârunda*; I

An elephant, a bull, a lion, the king of the mountains, and the ocean unshaken—the moon, the sun, gold, the earth, well-kindled fire. II

There were no obstacles anywhere for the Venerable One. The obstacles have been declared to be of four kinds, viz. with regard to matter, space, time, affects. With regard to matter: in

¹ Each of these birds has one body, two necks, and three legs.

² The last three similes cannot be translated accurately, as they contain puns which must be lost in the translation. The moon is somalese, of soft light, but Mahāvīra has pure thoughts (*lesyā*, *manaso bahirvikāra*); the sun is *dittateo* of splendid light, Mahāvīra of splendid vigour; gold is *gāyarūva*, a synonym of *kanaga* gold, Mahāvīra always retains his own nature. It is worthy of remark that only two regular puns (for the second is but a common metaphor) occur in a passage in which a later writer would have strained his genius to the utmost to turn every simile into a pun. The difference of style is best seen on comparing this passage with e. g. the description of the nun *Sarasvatī* and of autumn in the *Kālakātārya Kathānaka*; see my edition, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XXXIV, pp. 260, 263.

things animate, inanimate, and of a mixed state; with regard to space: in a village or a town or in a wood or in a field or a threshing-floor or a house¹ or a court-yard; with regard to time: in a Samaya² or an Âvalikâ or in the time of a respiration or in a Stoka or in a Kshana or in a Lava or in a Muhūrta or in a day or in a fortnight or in a month or in a season or in a half year or in a year or in a long space of time; with regard to affects: in wrath or in pride or in deceit or in greed or in fear or in mirth or in love or in hate or in quarrelling or in calumny or in tale-bearing or in scandal or in pleasure or pain or in deceitful falsehood, &c. (all down to)³ or in the evil of wrong belief. There was nothing of this kind in the Venerable One. (118)

The Venerable One lived, except in the rainy season, all the eight months of summer and winter, in villages only a single night, in towns only five nights; he was indifferent alike to the smell of ordure and of sandal, to straw and jewels, dirt and gold, pleasure and pain, attached neither to this world nor to that beyond, desiring neither life nor death, arrived at the other shore of the *samsâra*, and he exerted himself for the suppression of the defilement of Karman. (119)

¹ Ghare vâ, omitted in my edition.

² Different names of divisions of time; a Stoka contains seven respirations, a Kshana many (bahutara) respirations (according to another commentary a Kshana contains six Nâdikâs, it is the sixth part of a Ghaṭī), a Lava contains seven Stokas, and a Muhūrta seventy Lavas. This system of dividing time differs from all other known; compare Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II², pp. 540, 541. Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, I², p. 47, note 2.—Expunge pakkhe vâ in my edition.

³ The same passage occurs in the Aupapâtika Sûtra (ed. Leumann, § 87), but without an indication that it is not complete.

With supreme knowledge, with supreme intuition, with supreme conduct, in blameless lodgings, in blameless wandering, with supreme valour, with supreme uprightness, with supreme mildness, with supreme dexterity, with supreme patience, with supreme freedom from passions, with supreme control, with supreme contentment, with supreme understanding, on the supreme path to final liberation, which is the fruit of veracity, control, penance, and good conduct, the Venerable One meditated on himself for twelve years.

During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisākha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhūrta called Vigaya, outside of the town *Grimbhikagrāma* on the bank of the river *Rigupālīka*, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder *Sāmāga*¹, under a Sal tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttaraphalgunī*, (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels, exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called *Kevala*, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full. (120)²

When the Venerable Ascetic *Mahāvīra* had become a *Gina* and *Arhat*, he was a *Kevalin*, omniscient and comprehending all objects; he knew and saw all conditions of the world, of gods,

¹ Or *Sāmāka*.

² Cf. *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 25.

men, and demons : whence they come, whither they go, whether they are born as men or animals (*kyavana*) or become gods or hell-beings (*upapāda*), the ideas, the thoughts of their minds, the food, doings, desires, the open and secret deeds of all the living beings in the whole world; he the Arhat, for whom there is no secret, knew and saw all conditions of all living beings in the world, what they thought, spoke, or did at any moment. (121)¹

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvra stayed the first rainy season in Asthika-grāma², three rainy seasons in *Kampā* and *Prishṭi-kampā*, twelve in *Vaisālī* and *Vānigagrāma*, fourteen in *Rāgagriha* and the suburb³ of *Nālandā*, six in *Mithilā*, two in *Bhadrikā*, one in *Ālabhikā*, one in *Paṇṭi*, one in *Srāvastī*, one in the town of *Pāpā*⁴ in king Hastipāla's office of the writers : that was his very last rainy season. (122)

In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of *Kārttika*, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of *Pāpā*, in king Hastipāla's office of the writers, the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvra died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death; became a Siddha, a Buddha,

¹ Cf. *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, § 26.

² According to the commentary it was formerly called *Vardhamāna*, but it has since been called *Asthikagrāma*, because a *Yaksha Sūlapāṇi* had there collected an enormous heap of bones of the people whom he had killed. On that heap of bones the inhabitants had built a temple.

³ *Bāhirikā*?

⁴ A place in *Vagrabhūmi* according to the commentaries.

⁵ *Magghimā Pāpā*, the middle town *Pāpā*.

a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains. (123)

This occurred in the year called *Kandra*, the second (of the lustrum)¹; in the month called *Prtivardhana*; in the fortnight *Nandivardhana*; on the day *Suvratâgni*², surnamed *Upasama*; in the night called *Devânandâ*, surnamed *Nirriti*; in the *Lava* called *Arkya*; in the respiration called *Mukta*³; in the *Stoka* called *Siddha*; in the *Karana* called *Nâga*; in the *Muhûrta* called *Sarvârthasiddha*; while the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Svâti* he died, &c. (see above, all down to) freed from all pains. (124)

That night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvîra* died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, was lighted up by many descending and ascending gods. (125)

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvîra* died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, a great confusion and noise was originated by many descending and ascending gods. (126)

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic *Mahâvîra* died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, his oldest disciple, the monk *Indrabhûti* of the *Gautama* gotra, cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for his master⁴, and obtained the

¹ The yuga or lustrum contains five years; the third and fifth years are leap years, called *abhivardhita*, the rest are common years of 354 days and are called *kandra*. The day has 1262 *bhâgas*.

² Some MSS. and the commentary have *aggivesa*.

³ Or *Supta*.

⁴ *Indrabhûti* was on a mission to convert somebody when *Mahâvîra* died. Being aware that love had no place in one who is free from passion, he suppressed his friendship for his teacher and

highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, &c., complete, and full. (127)

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Liṅṅhavis¹, on the day of new moon, instituted an illumination² on the Poshadha, which was a fasting day; for they said: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter!' (128)

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, the great Graha³ called Kshudrātma, resembling a heap of ashes, which remains for two thousand years in one asterism, entered the natal

became a Kevalin; he died twelve years after, having lived fifty years as a monk, and altogether ninety-two years.

¹ They were tributary to *Keṭaka*, king of Vaisālī and maternal uncle of Mahāvīra. Instead of *Liṅṅhavi*, which form is used by the Buddhists, the *Gainas* have *Leṅṅhaki* as the Sanskrit form of the Prakrit *Leṅṅhaṭ*, which may be either.

² *Pārābhoyam* or *vārābhoyam*. The meaning of this word is not clear, and the commentator also did not know anything certain about it. He therefore tries three different etymological explanations, which are all equally fanciful. I have adopted one which makes *vārābhoya* to stand for Sanskrit *dvārābhoga*, which is explained *prādīpa*, lamp; for this best suits the meaning of the whole passage. The *Gainas* celebrate the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra with an illumination on the night of new moon in the month *Kārtika*.

³ It is not clear what is intended by this Graha, the thirtieth in the list of *Grahas*. Stevenson supposes it to have been a comet appearing at that time. There was a comet at the time of the battle of Salamis, as Pliny tells us, *Hist. Nat. II, 25*, which would answer pretty well as regards chronology. But it had the form of a horn and not that of a heap of ashes. We must therefore dismiss the idea of identifying it with the Graha in question, and confess that we are at a loss to clear up the mystery of this Graha.

asterism of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra. (129) From the moment in which the great Graha, &c., entered the natal asterism of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, there will not be paid much respect and honour to the Sramanas, the Nirgrantha monks and nuns. (130) But when the great Graha, &c., leaves that natal asterism, there will be paid much respect and honour to the Sramanas, the Nirgrantha monks and nuns. (131)

In that night in which the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, the animalcule called Anuddharti was originated: which when at rest and not moving, is not easily seen by Nirgrantha monks and nuns who have not yet reached the state of perfection, but which when moving and not at rest, is easily seen by Nirgrantha monks and nuns who have not yet reached the state of perfection. (132) On seeing this (animalcule) many Nirgrantha monks and nuns must refuse to accept the offered alms.

‘Master, why has this been said?’ ‘After this time the observance of control will be difficult.’ (133)

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had an excellent community¹ of fourteen thousand Sramanas with Indrabhūti at their head; (134) thirty-six thousand nuns with Kandanā at their head; (135) one hundred and fifty-nine thousand lay votaries with Saṅkhasataka at their head; (136) three hundred and eighteen

¹ The original has : ukkosiya samanasaṃpayā; ukkosiya is translated utkrishṭa; in the sequel I abridge the similar passages which are all constructed on the same model as § 134. It is to be noticed that these numbers though exaggerated are nevertheless rather moderate. Compare the note to the List of the Sthaviras, § 1.

thousand female lay votaries with Sulasâ and Revatî at their head; (137) three hundred sages who knew the fourteen Pûrvas, who though no *Ginas* came very near them, who knew the combination of all letters, and like *Gina* preached according to the truth; (138) thirteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi-knowledge and superior qualities; (139) seven hundred Kevalins who possessed the combined¹ best knowledge and intuition; (140) seven hundred who could transform themselves, and, though no gods, had obtained the powers (*riddhi*) of gods; (141) five hundred sages of mighty intellect² who know the mental conditions of all developed beings possessed of intellect and five senses in the two and a half continents and two oceans; (142) four hundred professors who were never vanquished in the disputes occurring in the assemblies of gods, men, and Asuras; (143) seven hundred male and fourteen hundred female disciples who reached perfection, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains; (144) eight hundred sages in their last birth who were happy as regards their station, happy as regards their existence³, lucky as regards their future. (145)

¹ *Sambhinna*. According to the commentary this word has been explained in two opposite ways. *Siddhasena Divākara* makes it out to denote that knowledge and intuition functionate at the same time, while *Ginabhadragami* in the *Siddhântahrîdaya* says that in our case knowledge and intuition do functionate alternately.

² This is that knowledge which is called *manâparyâya* or the knowledge which divines the thoughts of all people.

³ Station (*gati*) is explained *devagati*, state of the gods, existence (*sthiti*), *devasthiti*, *devâyûrûpa*, existence of the gods, having the length of life of the gods.

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations, and the epoch relating to psychical condition; in the third generation ended the former epoch, and in the fourth year of his Kevaliship the latter. (146)¹

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra lived thirty years as a householder, more than full twelve years in a state inferior to perfection, something less than thirty years as a Kevalin, forty-two years as a monk, and seventy-two years on the whole. When his Karman which produces Vedanīya (or what one has to experience in this world), Āyus (length of life), name, and family, had been exhausted, when in this Avasarpinī era the greater part of the Duḥshamasushamā period had elapsed and only three years and eight and a half months were left, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Svāti, at the time of early morning, in the town of Pāpā, and in king Hastipāla's office of the writers, (Mahāvīra) single and alone, sitting in the Samparyāṅka posture, reciting the fifty-five lectures which detail the results of Karman, and the thirty-six² unasked questions, when he just explained the chief lecture (that of Marudeva) he died, &c. (see § 124, all down to) freed from all pains. (147)

¹ The meaning of this rather dark passage is according to the commentary that after three generations of disciples (Vīra, Sudharman, Gambūsvāmin) nobody reached Nirvāṇa; and after the fourth year of Mahāvīra's Kevaliship nobody entered the path which ends in final liberation, so that all persons who before that moment had not advanced in the way to final liberation, will not reach that state though they may obtain the Kevalam by their austerities and exemplary conduct.

² This is the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.

Since the time that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, nine centuries have elapsed, and of the tenth century this is the eightieth year. Another redaction has ninety-third year (instead of eightieth)¹. (148)

End of the Fifth Lecture.

End of the Life of Mahāvīra.

¹ To what facts the two dates in this paragraph relate, is not certain. The commentators confess that there was no fixed tradition, and bring forward the following four facts, which are applied at will to either date :

1. The council of Valabhi under the presidency of Devarddhi, who caused the Siddhānta to be written in books.
2. The council of Mathurā under the presidency of Skandila, who seems to have revised the Siddhānta.
3. The public reading of the Kalpa Sūtra before king Dhruvasena of Ānandapura, to console him on the death of his son. Ānandapura is identified with Mahāsthāna by Ginaprabhamuni, and with Baḍanagara by Samayasundara. Some scholars have assumed, but not proved, that this Dhruvasena is identical with one of the Valabhi kings of the same name.
4. The removal of the Paggusan by Kālakātārya from the fifth to the fourth Bhādrapada.

LIFE OF PÂRSVA.

In that period, in that age lived the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite¹, the five most important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visâkhâ : in Visâkhâ he descended (from heaven), and having descended thence, entered the womb (of his mother); in Visâkhâ he was born ; in Visâkhâ, tearing out his hair, he left the house and entered the state of houselessness ; in Visâkhâ he obtained the highest knowledge and intuition, called Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full ; in Visâkhâ he obtained final liberation. (149)

In that period, in that age, in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kaitra*, on its fourth day, the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, descended from the *Prâzata Kalpa*², where he had lived for twenty *Sâgaropamas*, here on the continent *Gambûdvîpa*, in *Bharatavarsha*, in the town of Benares ; and in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visâkhâ, after the termination of his allotted length of life, divine nature, and existence (among the gods), he took the form of an embryo in the womb of the queen *Vâmâ*, wife of *Asvasena*, king (of Benares). (150)

The knowledge of the Arhat Pârsva, the people's

¹ *Purisâdâñya*, explained : who is to be chosen among men because of his preferable *karman*.

² This is the tenth world of the gods.

favourite, (about this) was threefold, &c. (repeat §§ 3-95 after making the necessary substitutions, and omitting what exclusively applies to Mahāvīra, all down to) comfortably carried her unborn child. (151)

In that period, in that age the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite¹—after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the second month of winter, in the third fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Paushya, on its tenth day, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visâkhâ—(Vâmâ), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy. (152)

In that night in which the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, was born, &c. (repeat §§ 97-107 with the necessary alterations, all down to) therefore shall the name of our boy be Pârsva². (153, 154)

The Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling his senses, lucky, and modest, lived thirty years as a householder. Then the Laukântika gods, following the established custom, addressed him with these kind, pleasing, &c., sweet, and soft words: (155)

'Victory, victory to thee, gladdener of the world!' (see § 111, down to) Thus they raised the shout of victory. (156) Before the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, had adopted the life of a householder, &c. (see § 112, down to) indigent persons.

¹ As regards the construction of this passage compare § 96, note 1.

² This name was given him because before his birth his mother, lying on her couch, saw in the dark a black serpent crawling about. This is the account given by the commentator, who forgets to tell us how it comes to bear on the name Pârsva.

In the second month of winter, in the third fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Paushya, on its eleventh day, in the middle of the night, riding in his palankin called Visâlâ, followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, &c. (Pârsva) went right through the town of Benares to the park called Âsramapada, and proceeded to the excellent tree Asoka. There, &c. (see § 116, down to) five handfuls.

When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visâkhâ, he, after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and together with three hundred men he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness. (157)

The Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, for eighty-three days neglected his body, &c. (see § 117, down to) animals. (158)

Thereafter the Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, was houseless, circumspect, &c. (see §§ 118-120, down to) meditated upon himself for eighty-three days.

During the eighty-fourth day—it was in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Kaitra, on its fourth day, in the early part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visâkhâ—Pârsva, under a Dhâtaki tree, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the infinite, &c. (see § 120, down to) highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala, &c. (see § 121, down to) moment. (159)

The Arhat Pârsva, the people's favourite, had eight *Ganas* and eight *Ganadharas* (enumerated in a Sloka):

Subha and Āryaghosha, Vasishṭha¹ and Brahma-kārin, Saumya and Śrīdhara, Vīrabhadra and Yaśas. (160)

The Arhat Pārśva, the people's favourite, had an excellent community of sixteen thousand Sramanas with Āryadatta² at their head; (161) thirty-eight thousand nuns with Pushpakūlā at their head; (162) one hundred and sixty-four thousand lay votaries with Suvrata at their head; (163) three hundred and twenty-seven thousand female lay votaries with Sunandā at their head; (164) three hundred and fifty sages who knew the fourteen Pūrvas, &c. (see § 138); (165) fourteen hundred sages who were possessed of the Avadhi knowledge; one thousand Kevalins; eleven hundred sages who could transform themselves, six hundred sages of correct knowledge, one thousand male and two thousand female disciples who had reached perfection, seven hundred and fifty sages of vast intellect, six hundred professors, and twelve hundred sages in their last birth. (166)

The Arhat Pārśva, the people's favourite, instituted two epochs in his capacity of a Maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations and the epoch relating to psychical condition; the former ended in the fourth generation, the latter in the third year of his Kevaliship. (167)

In that period, in that age the Arhat Pārśva, the people's favourite, lived thirty years as a householder, eighty-three days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seventy years as a Kevalin, full seventy years as a Sramana, and a hundred years on the whole.

¹ C. has Visiṭṭha, i. e. Viśiṣṭha.

² Āriyadinna in the original.

When his fourfold Karman¹ was exhausted and in this Avasarpinī era the greater part of the Duḥshamasushamā period had elapsed, in the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Srāvaṇa, on its eighth day, in the early part of the day when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Visākhā, (Pārsva), after fasting a month without drinking water, on the summit of mount Sammeta, in the company of eighty-three persons, stretching out his hands, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains. (168)

• Since the time that the Arhat Pārsva, the people's favourite, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, twelve centuries have elapsed, and of the thirteenth century this is the thirtieth year. (169)

End of the Life of Pārsva.

¹ See § 147.

LIFE OF ARISHṬANEMI.

In that period, in that age lived the Arhat Arishṭanemi, the five most important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Kitrâ*. In *Kitrâ* he descended from heaven, &c. (see § 149, down to) obtained final liberation. (170)

In that period, in that age, in the fourth month of the rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kârttika*, on its twelfth day, the Arhat Arishṭanemi descended from the great *Vimâna*, called *Aparâgita*, where he had lived for thirty-six *Sâgaropamas*, here on the continent *Gambûdvîpa*, in *Bharatavarsha*, in the town of *Sauripura*¹, and in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Kitrâ*, he took the form of an embryo in the womb of the queen *Sivâ*, wife of the king *Samudravigaya*, &c. (the seeing of the dreams, the accumulation of riches, &c., should be repeated here). (171)

In that period, in that age the Arhat Arishṭanemi—after the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of *Srâvana*, on its fifth day, &c.—(*Sivâ*), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy. (Repeat the account of the birth, substituting the name *Samudra-*

¹ The *Prâkrit* form is *Soriyapura*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Saurikapura*. It is, of course, *Krishna's* town.

vigaya, all down to) therefore shall the name of our boy be Arish/anemi¹.

The Arhat Arish/anemi, clever, &c. (see §§ 155–157, all down to) indigent persons. (172) In the first month of the rainy season, in the second fortnight, the light (fortnight) of *Srāvana*, on its sixth day riding in his palankin called *Uttarakurā*, and followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and Asuras, &c. (Arish/anemi) went right through the town of *Dvârāvati* to the park called *Revatika*, and proceeded to the excellent *Asoka* tree. There, &c. (see § 116, down to) five handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Kitrā*, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, he put on a divine robe, and together with a thousand persons he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness. (173)

The Arhat Arish/anemi for fifty-four days neglected his body, &c. (see §§ 117–120). During the fifty-fifth day—it was in the third month of the rainy season, in the fifth fortnight, the dark fortnight of *Āsvina*, on its fifteenth day, in the last part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Kitrā*—(Arish/anemi) under a *Vetasa*² tree on the summit of mount *Girnār*³, after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, &c., obtained infinite, &c., highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*, &c. (see § 121, down to) moment. (174)

¹ His mother saw in a dream a nemi, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of rish/a stones flying up to the sky. Hence the name Arish/anemi.

² *Va/a* in some MSS.; it is the Banyan tree.

³ *Ugginta* in the original.

The Arhat Arishṭanemi had eighteen *Gaṇas* and eighteen *Gaṇadharas*. (175)

The Arhat Arishṭanemi had an excellent community of eighteen thousand *Sramanas* with Varadatta at their head; (176) forty thousand nuns with Ārya Yakshinī at their head; (177) one hundred and sixty-nine thousand lay votaries with Nanda at their head; (178) three hundred and thirty-six thousand¹ female lay votaries with Mahāsuvratā at their head; (179) four hundred sages who knew the fourteen *Pūrvas*, &c.; (180) fifteen hundred sages who were possessed of the *Avadhi* knowledge; fifteen hundred *Kevalins*; fifteen hundred sages who could transform themselves; one thousand sages of vast intellect; eight hundred professors; sixteen hundred sages in their last birth; fifteen hundred male and three thousand female disciples who had reached perfection.

The Arhat Arishṭanemi instituted, &c. (see § 146, down to) the former ended in the eighth generation, the latter in the twelfth year of his *Kevaliship*. (181)

In that period, in that age the Arhat Arishṭanemi lived three centuries as a prince, fifty-four days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seven centuries as a *Kevalin*, full seven centuries as a *Sramana*, a thousand years on the whole. When his fourfold *Karman* was exhausted and in this *Avasarpinī* era a great part of the *Duḥshamasushamā* period had elapsed, in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of *Āshāḍha*, on its eighth day, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Kṛtrā*, (*Arishṭanemi*), after fasting a month

¹ Read *khattisām* in the printed text.

without drinking water, on the summit of mount Girnâr, in the company of five hundred and thirty-six monks, in a squatting position, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains. (182)

Since the time that the Arhat Arishʽanemi died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, eighty-four thousand years have elapsed, of the eighty-fifth millennium nine centuries have elapsed, of the tenth century this is the eightieth year. (183)

End of the Life of Arishʽanemi.

EPOCHS OF THE INTERMEDIATE TĪRTHAKARAS.

Since the time that the Arhat Nami died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, 584,979 years have elapsed, this is the eightieth year¹. (184) Since the death of Munisuvrata this is the year 1,184,980. Since Malli² this is the year 6,584,980. Ara died 10,000,000 years before Malli; Kunthu a quarter of a Palyopama before Malli; Sānti three-quarters of a Palyopama; Dharma three Sâgaropamas before Malli; Ananta seven Sâgaropamas before Malli; Vimala sixteen Sâgaropamas before Malli; Vâsupûgya forty Sâgaropamas before Malli; Sreyâmsa a hundred Sâgaropamas before Malli. Sîtala died a krore of Sâgaropamas, less 42,003 years and eight and a half months, before the death of Vîra. Suvidhi, surnamed Pushpadanta, died ten krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Kandra-prabha a hundred krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Supârsva a thousand krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Padmaprabha ten thousand krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Sumati one hundred thousand krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Abhinandana one million krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Sambhava two million krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala; Agrita five million krores of Sâgaropamas before Sîtala. (185-203)

¹ The numbers are given in the same way as in § 183. I have abridged these tedious accounts. All Tîrthakaras except Mahāvîra have the title Arhat, which I have dropped in the sequel.

² Read Malli (for Mali) in the printed edition of the text.

LIFE OF RISHABHA.

In that period, in that age lived the Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian¹, four important moments of whose life happened when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Uttarâshâdhâ*; the fifth, when in conjunction with *Abhigit*: (204) in *Uttarâshâdhâ* he descended from heaven, &c. (all down to) in *Abhigit* he obtained final liberation. (205)

In that period, in that age, in the fourth month of summer, in the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Âshâdha*, on its fourth day, the Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, descended from the great *Vimâna* called *Sarvârthasiddha*, where he had lived for thirty-three *Sâgaropamas*, here on the continent *Gambûdvîpa*, in *Bharatavarsha*, in *Ikshvâkubhûmi*, and in the middle of the night, &c., he took the form of an embryo in the womb of *Marudevî*, wife of the patriarch² *Nâbhi*. (206)

The knowledge of the Arhat *Rishabha* about this, &c. (all as in the case of *Mahâvîra*, but note the following differences: the first dream is a bull 'coming forward with his face,' the other (mothers of *Tirthakaras* see first) an elephant. She (*Marudevî*) relates them to *Nâbhi*, the patriarch; there

¹ *Kosaliya*=*Kausalika*. He is thus called because he was born in *Kosâlâ* or *Ayodhyâ*.

² *Kulakara*; these *Kulakaras* were the first kings and founders of families at the time when the rest of mankind were 'Yugalins.' The first *Kulakara* was *Vimalavâhana*; the seventh and last of the line *Nâbhi*.

are no interpreters of dreams ; Nābhi, the patriarch, himself interprets them). (207)

In that period, in that age the Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian,—in the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kaitra*, on its eighth day, &c.,—(Marudevi), perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy. (208)

(The circumstances connected with the birth of *Rishabha* are the same as in the case of that of *Mahāvīra*, only that the contents of §§ 100 and 101 do not apply to the present case.) (209)

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, belonged to the *Kāsyapa* gotra, and he had five names : *Rishabha*, First King, First Mendicant, First *Gina*, and First *Tīrthakara*. (210)

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling (his senses), lucky, and modest, lived two millions of former years¹ as a prince, and six millions three hundred thousand former years as a king. During his reign he taught, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences, of which writing is the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts, and the three occupations of men². At last he anointed his

¹ See *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* I, 6, 3, § 2, note 1.

² The arts, as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver, and barber, each of which five principal arts is subdivided into twenty branches, are inventions and must be taught ; while the occupations, agriculture, trade, &c. have everywhere developed, as it were, of themselves. The accomplishments of women are dancing, singing, &c. The commentator adds to these a detailed list of those questionable accomplishments which *Vātsyāyana* has so curiously described, and refers the reader to the *Gayamaṅgala* for further details. The latter work, a still extant commentary on the

hundred sons as kings, and gave each a kingdom. Then the Laukântika god, following the established custom, &c. (see §§ 110-112, down to) indigent persons. In the first month of summer, in the first fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Kaitra*, on its eighth day, in the latter part of the day, riding in his palan-kin called *Sudarsanâ*, followed on his way by a train of gods, men, and *Asuras*, &c. (*Rishabha*) went right through the town *Vintâ* to the park called *Siddhârtha Vana*, and proceeded to the excellent tree *Asoka*. There, &c. (see § 116, down to) four handfuls. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Ashâdhâ*, he, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, put on a divine robe, and together with four thousand of high, noble, royal persons, and *Kshatriyas*, he tore out his hair, and leaving the house entered the state of houselessness. (211)

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, for one thousand years neglected his body, &c. (see §§ 117-120, down to) meditated upon himself for one thousand years. Thereupon—it was in the fourth month of winter, the seventh fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of *Phâlguna*, on its eleventh day, in the early part of the day, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Ashâdhâ*, outside of the town *Purimatâla*, in the park called *Sakatamukha*, under the excellent tree *Nyagrodha*—(*Rishabha*) after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the infinite, &c. (see § 120, down to) highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*, &c. (see § 121, down to) moment. (212)

Kâma Sûtra, must therefore be older than 1307, the date of *Ginaprabhamuni's* commentary on the *Kalpa Sûtra*.

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, had eighty-four *Ganas* and eighty-four *Ganadharas*. (213)

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, had an excellent community of eighty-four thousand *Sramanas* with *Rishabhasena* at their head; (214) three hundred thousand nuns with *Brahmtsundari* at their head; (215) three hundred and five thousand lay votaries with *Sreyāmsa* at their head; (216) five hundred and fifty-four thousand female lay votaries with *Subhadrā* at their head; (217) four thousand seven hundred and fifty sages who knew the fourteen *Pūrvas*, &c.; (218) nine thousand sages who were possessed of the *Avadhi* knowledge; (219) twenty thousand *Kevalins*; (220) twenty thousand six hundred sages who could transform themselves; (221) twelve thousand six hundred and fifty sages of vast intellect, &c.; (222) twelve thousand six hundred and fifty professors; (223) twenty thousand male and forty thousand female disciples who had reached perfection; (224) twenty-two thousand nine hundred sages in their last birth, &c. (225)

The Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, instituted, &c. (see § 146, down to) the former ended after numberless generations, the latter from the next *Muhūrta* after his *Kevaliship*. (226) •

In that period, in that age the Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, lived two millions of former years as a prince, six millions three hundred thousand former years as a king, together eight millions three hundred thousand former years as a householder; a thousand (former) years in a state inferior to perfection, nine-and-ninety thousand former years as a *Kevalin*, together a hundred thousand former years as a *Sramana*, and eight

millions four hundred thousand years on the whole. When his fourfold Karman was exhausted, and in this Avasarpinī era the Sushamaduṣṣhamā period had nearly elapsed, only three years and eight and a half months being left, in the third month of winter, in the fifth fortnight, the dark (fortnight) of Māgha, on its thirteenth day, in the early part of the day when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Abhigīt, (*Rishabha*), after fasting six and a half days without drinking water, on the summit of mount Ashṭāpada, in the company of ten thousand monks in the Samparyāṅka position, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains. (227)

Since the time that the Arhat *Rishabha*, the Kosalian, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains, three years and eight and a half months elapsed; thereupon one koṭī of koṭīs of Sāgaropamas, less forty-two thousand and three years and eight and a half months, elapsed. At that time the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died; after his Nirvāṇa nine centuries elapsed, of the tenth century this is the eightieth year.

End of the Life of *Rishabha*.

End of the Lives of the Ginas.

•

LIST OF THE STHAVIRAS.

At that period, at that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had nine *Gaṇas* and eleven *Gaṇadharas*.

‘Why, now, has it been said, that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had nine *Gaṇas*, but eleven *Gaṇadharas*?’

‘The oldest monk of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was Indrabhūti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred *Sramanas*; the middle-aged monk was Agnibhūti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred *Sramanas*; the youngest was Vâyubhūti of the Gautama gotra, who instructed five hundred *Sramanas*. The Sthavira Ārya-Vyakta of the Bhâradvâga gotra instructed five hundred *Sramanas*; the Sthavira Ārya-Sudharman of the Agni-veyâyana gotra instructed five hundred *Sramanas*; the Sthavira Mandikaputra¹ of the Vâsishtâ gotra instructed two hundred and fifty *Sramanas*; the Sthavira Mauryaputra of the Kâsyapa gotra instructed two hundred and fifty *Sramanas*; the Sthavira Akampita of the Gautama gotra and Sthavira Akalabhrâtri of the Hâritâyana gotra, both Sthaviras instructed together three hundred *Sramanas* each; the Sthaviras Metârya and Prabhâsa, both of the Kaundînya gotra, instructed together

¹ Some spell this name *Mandîtaputra*; he and Mauryaputra were sons of the same mother, Vigayadevî, but different fathers; the former of Dhanadeva, the other of Maurya. I do not know any legend which connects this Maurya with a king of the Maurya dynasty, which besides would be impossible from a chronological point of view.

three hundred *Sramanas* each ¹. Therefore, Sir, has it been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra had nine *Gaṇas*, but eleven *Gaṇadharas*.' (1)

All these eleven *Gaṇadharas* of the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, who knew the twelve *Aṅgas*, the fourteen *Pūrvas*, and the whole *Siddhānta* of the *Gaṇins*, died, &c. (all down to) freed from all pains in *Rāgagrīha* after fasting a month without drinking water. The *Sthaviras* *Indrabhūti* and *Ārya Sudharman* both died after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. The *Nirgrantha Sramanas* of the present time are all (spiritual) descendants of the monk *Ārya Sudharman*, the rest of the *Gaṇadharas* left no descendants. (2)

The Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra was of the *Kāsyapa* gotra. His disciple was ²:

1. *Ārya Sudharman* of the *Agnivesyāyana* gotra ;
2. *Ārya Gambūnāman* of the *Kāsyapa* gotra ;
3. *Ārya Prabhava* of the *Kātyāyana* gotra ;
4. *Ārya Sayyambha*, father of *Manaka*, was of the *Vatsa* gotra ;
5. *Ārya Yasobhadra* of the *Tuṅgikāyana* gotra. (3)

In the short redaction the list of *Sthaviras* after *Ārya Yasobhadra* is the following :

6. *Ārya Sambhūtavigaya* of the *Mātara* gotra and *Ārya Bhadrabāhu* of the *Prākīna* gotra ;
7. *Ārya Sthūlabhadra* of the *Gautama* gotra ;
8. i. *Ārya Mahāgiri* of the *Ailāpatya* gotra and

¹ The sum total of *Sramanas* is therefore 4711, while in § 134 it is stated to have been 14,000.

² I only give the facts. The names of those *Sthaviras* who continue the line are spaced. The names are given in their Sanskrit form which in many cases is well known, in others can easily be made out. In doubtful cases I have put the *Prākṛit* form in brackets.

- ii. Ārya Suhastin of the Vâsishṭha gotra ;
 9. Susthita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kōṭika and Kâkandaka, of the Vyâghrâpatya gotra ;
 10. Ārya Indradatta (Indadinna) of the Kausika gotra ;
 11. Ārya Datta (Dinna) of the Gautama gotra ;
 12. Ārya Simhagiri Gâtismara of the Kausika gotra ;
 13. Ārya Vagra of the Gautama gotra ;
 14. Ārya Vagrasena of the Utkrîṣṭa gotra ¹.

He had four disciples : Ārya Nâgila, Ārya Padmîla, Ārya Gayanta, and Ārya Tâpasa, each of whom founded a Sâkhâ called after his name, viz. the Āryanâgilâ Sâkhâ, the Āryapadmîlâ Sâkhâ, the Āryagayantî Sâkhâ, and the Āryatâpast Sâkhâ. (4)

In the detailed redaction the list of Sthaviras after Ārya Yasobhadra is the following :

6. i. Ārya Bhadrabâhu of the Prâkîta gotra, who had four disciples of the Kâsyapa gotra :
 a. Godâsa, founder of the Godâsa Gana ², which was divided into four Sâkhâs :
 α. The Tâmrâliptikâ Sâkhâ,
 β. The Kōṭivarshṭyâ Sâkhâ,
 γ. The Pundravardhantîyâ Sâkhâ, and

¹ He is left out in some MSS.

² It is not quite clear what is meant by Gana, Kula, and Sâkhâ. Gana designates the school which is derived from one teacher ; Kula the succession of teachers in one line ; Sâkhâ the lines which branch off from each teacher. These terms seem to be disused in modern times, for the four principal divisions called after Nâgendra, Kandra, Nivrîtti, and Vidyâdhara are generally called Kulas, but also occasionally Sâkhâs. They go back to Vagra according to some, to Vagrasena according to others. The modern Gakkha appears equivalent with the ancient Gana.

-
४. The Dāsīkharbaṭīkā Sākhā.
 b. Agnidatta,
 c. Ganadatta,
 d. Somadatta.
 ii. Ārya Sambhutavigaya of the Māthara
 gotra, who had twelve disciples :
 7. a. Nandanabhadra,
 b. Upananda,
 c. Tishyabhadra ¹,
 d. Yasobhadra,
 e. Sumanobhadra ²,
 f. Mañibhadra,
 g. Puṇyabhadra ³,
 h. Sthūlabhadra of the Gautama gotra,
 i. Rīgumati,
 k. Gambū,
 l. Dīrghabhadra, and
 m. Pāṇḍubhadra ;
 and seven female disciples :
 a. Yakshā,
 b. Yakshadattā (Yakshadinnā),
 c. Bhūtā,
 d. Bhūtadattā (Bhūtadinnā),
 e. Senā (also Enā),
 f. Venā,
 g. Renā.
 8. i. Ārya Mahāgiri of the Ailāpatya gotra, who
 had eight disciples :
 a. Uttara,
 b. Balissaha, who both together founded the
 Uttarabalissaha Gaṇa, which was di-
 vided into four Sākhās :
-

¹ Tisabhadra, translated Tridarabhadra.

² Or Sumanabhadra.

³ Or Pūṇibhadra.

-
- α. Kausambikā,
 - β. Sautaptikā (Pr. Soittiyā),
 - γ. Kauṭumbinī (or Kundadhari),
 - δ. Kandanāgarī.
 - c. Dhanarddhi (Pr. Dhanaddha),
 - d. Sīrarddhi (Pr. Siriddha),
 - e. Kodīnya,
 - f. Nāga,
 - g. Nāgaputra,
 - h. Kḥaluka Rohagupta of the Kausika gotra,
founder of the Trairāsika Sākhā.
 - ii. Ārya Suhastin¹ of the Vāsishṭha gotra, who
had twelve disciples :
 - 9. a. Ārya Rohana of the Kāśyapa gotra,
founder of the Uddeha Gana, which
was divided into four Sākhās :
 - α. Udumbarikā (Pr. Udumbariggiyā),
 - β. Māsapūrikā,
 - γ. Matipatrikā,
 - δ. Pūrnāpatrikā (Pr. Punnapattiyā, Panna°,
Sunna°, or Suvanna°);
 - and into six Kulas:
 - α'. Nāgabhūta,
 - β'. Somabhūta,
 - γ'. Ullagakkha (or Ādrakakkha ?),
 - δ'. Hastilipta (Pr. Hatthiligga),
 - ε'. Nāndika (Pr. Nandigga),
 - ζ'. Parihāsaka.
-

¹ Suhastin is said to have converted Samprati, grandson and successor of Asoka. The correctness of this statement is open to doubt; but at any rate Suhastin must have been one of the most important patriarchs, for under and immediately after him the spread of Gainism must have been uncommonly vigorous, as is proved by the great number of Kulas and Sākhās at that time.

- b. Bhādrayāsa of the Bhāradvāja gotra, who founded the Uḍuvātika Gana, which was divided into four Sākhās :
- α. Kamptiyā (Pr. Kampiggiyā),
 - β. Bhadrīyā (Pr. Bhaddiggiyā),
 - γ. Kākandikā,
 - δ. Mekhalīyā (Pr. Mehaliggiyā);
- and into three Kulas :
- α'. Bhādrayāsa (Pr. Bhaddagasiya),
 - β'. Bhādragūptika,
 - γ'. Yāsobhadra (Pr. Gasabhadra).
- c. Megha.
- d. Kāmarddhi (Pr. Kāmiddhi) of the Kundala gotra, who founded the Vesavātika Gana, which was divided into four Sākhās :
- α. Srāvastikā,
 - β. Rāgyapālikā (Pr. Raggapāliyā),
 - γ. Antarañjikā (Pr. Antariggiyā),
 - δ. Kshemalīptikā (Pr. Khemaliggiyā);
- and into four Kulas :
- α'. Gaṇika,
 - β'. Maighika,
 - γ'. Kāmarddhika,
 - δ'. Indrapuraka.
- e. Śrīgūpta of the Hārita gotra, founder of the Kārana Gana, which was divided into four Sākhās :
- α. Hāritamālākārī,
 - β. Saṃkāsikā,
 - γ. Gavedhukā,
 - δ. Vagranāgarī;
- and into seven Kulas :
- α'. Vātsālīya (Pr. Vakkhaligga),

- β'. Prītidharmika,
 γ'. Hāridraka (Pr. Hāligga),
 δ'. Pushyamitrika (Pr. Pūsamittigga),
 ε'. Mālyaka (Pr. Māligga),
 ζ'. Āryaketaka,
 η'. Kṛishṇasakha (Pr. Kanhasaha).
 f. Rishigupta Kākandaka of the Vāsishṭha
 gotra, founder of the Mānava Gana,
 which was divided into four Sākhās:
 α. Kāsyapiyā (Pr. Kāsaviggiyā),
 β. Gautamīyā (Pr. Goyameggiyā),
 γ. Vāsishṭhiyā (Pr. Vāsittḥiyā),
 δ. Saurāshṭrikā;
 and into three Kulas:
 α'. Rishiguptika,
 β'. Rishidattika,
 γ'. Abhiyasa.
 g. and h. Susthita and Supratibuddha,
 surnamed Kauṭika and Kākandaka, of
 the Vyāghrāpatya gotra, founders of
 the Kauṭika Gana, which was divided
 into four Sākhās:
 α. Uḷkanāgarī,
 β. Vidyādharī,
 γ. Vagrī,
 δ. Madhyamikā (Pr. Magghimilla);
 and into four Kulas:
 α'. Brahmaliptaka (Pr. Bambhaligga),
 β'. Vātsalya (Pr. Vakkhaligga, cf. e. α'),
 γ'. Vāntya (Pr. Vānigga),
 δ'. Prasnavāhanaka.
 Both Sthaviras had together five disciples:
 10. a. Ārya Indradatta (Pr. Indadinna) of the
 Kāsyapa gotra,

- b. Priyagantha, founder of the Madhyamā Sākhā,
- c. Vidyādhara-gopāla of the Kāsyapa gotra, founder of the Vidyādhari Sākhā,
- d. Rishidatta,
- e. Arhaddatta (Pr. Arihadatta).
- 11. Ārya Datta (Pr. Dinna) of the Gautama gotra, who had two disciples :
- 12. i. Ārya Sāntisenika of the Māthara gotra, founder of the Uḷkanāgarī Sākhā, who had four disciples :
 - a. Ārya Senika, founder of the Āryasenikā Sākhā,
 - b. Ārya Tāpasa, founder of the Āryatāpasti Sākhā,
 - c. Ārya Kubera, founder of the Āryakuberā Sākhā, and
 - d. Ārya Rishipālita, founder of the Āryarishipālita Sākhā.
- ii. Ārya Simhagiri Gâtismara of the Gautama gotra, who had four disciples :
- 13. a. Dhanagiri,
- b. Ārya Samita of the Gautama gotra, founder of the Brahmadvīpikā Sākhā,
- c. Ārya Vagra of the Gautama gotra, founder of the Āryavagrā Sākhā,
- d. Arhaddatta (Pr. Arihadinna).
- 14. i. Ārya Vagrasena, founder of the Āryanāgilā Sākhā,
- ii. Ārya Padma, founder of the Āryapadmā Sākhā,
- iii. Ārya Ratha of the Vatsa gotra, founder of the Āryagayanti Sākhā.
- 15. Ārya Pushyagiri of the Kausika gotra.

16. Ārya Phalgumitra of the Gautama gotra.
17. Ārya Dhanagiri of the Vāsishṭha gotra.
18. Ārya Sivabhūti of the Kautsa gotra.
19. Ārya Bhadra of the Kāśyapa gotra.
20. Ārya Nakshatra of the Kāśyapa gotra.
21. Ārya Raksha of the Kāśyapa gotra.
22. Ārya Nāga of the Gautama gotra.
23. Ārya Gehila¹ of the Vāsishṭha gotra.
24. Ārya Vishṇu of the Mātara gotra.
25. Ārya Kālaka of the Gautama gotra.
26. Ārya Sampalita and Bhadra, both of the Gautama gotra.
27. Ārya Vṛiddha of the Gautama gotra.
28. Ārya Saṅghapālita of the Gautama gotra.
29. Ārya Hastin of the Kāśyapa gotra.
30. Ārya Dharma of the Suvrata gotra.
31. Ārya Simha of the Kāśyapa gotra.
32. Ārya Dharma of the Kāśyapa gotra.
33. Ārya Sāṇḍilya².

¹ A various reading has *Geṭhila* = *Gyeshṭha*.

² This list in prose from 17 down to 33 is wanting in some MSS. I think that *Sāṇḍilya* is the same as *Skandila*, who was president of the council of Mathurā, which seems to have been the rival of that in Valabhī; see notes to my edition of the Kalpa Sūtra, p. 117.

It deserves to be noticed that the gotra of *Sāṇḍilya* is not given, while that of the remaining Sthaviras is specialised. This seems to prove that his name is a later addition to the list.

After the prose list all MSS. have eight gāthās, in which the names 16–32, given above, are repeated. Instead of translating these verses, which contain little more than a string of names, I only note down the differences from the above list. After 18 is added *Durgaya Kṛishna*, a *Kauśika*; *Nakshatra* is shortened, metri causa, to *Nakkha*; the gotra of *Saṅghapālita* is *Kāśyapa* instead of *Gautama*; after 30 are inserted *Hasta* of the *Kāśyapa* gotra and *Dharma*.

After these gāthās follow five more, which are wanting in some MSS., and are not commented upon. The last (14th) gāthā is

Bowing down my head, I pay my reverence to the Sthavira Gambû of the Gautama gotra, who possessed steady virtue, good conduct, and knowledge. ix.

I prostrate myself before the Sthavira Nandita of Kâsyapa gotra, who is possessed of great clemency and of knowledge, intuition, and good conduct. x.

Then I adore the Kshamâsramana Desiganin of the Kâsyapa gotra, who, steady in his conduct, possesses the highest righteousness and virtue. xi.

Then I prostrate myself before the Kshamâsramana Sthiragupta of the Vâtsya gotra, the preserver of the sacred lore, the wise one, the ocean of wisdom, him of great virtue. xii.

Then I adore the Sthavira prince, Dharma, the virtuous Ganin, who stands well in knowledge, intuition, good conduct, and penance, and is rich in virtues¹. xiii.

I revere the Kshamâsramana Devarddhi of the Kâsyapa gotra, who wears, as it were, the jewel of the right understanding of the Sûtras, and possesses the virtues of patience, self-restraint, and clemency. xiv.

End of the List of the Sthaviras.

found in all MSS. It brings the list down to the president of the council of Valabhî. (The translation of the gâthâs ix-xiv is given in full in the text.)

¹ The Sthaviras named in verses ix-xiii are probably not to be regarded as following each other in a continuous line, but rather as famous Sthaviras praised here for some reason or other (pûgârtham). At least the first, Gambû, seems to be the same with Gambû, the second of the list, who was also a Kâsyapa.

RULES FOR YATIS¹.

1. In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed.

‘Why has it been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed?’ (1)

‘Because at that time the lay people have usually matted their houses, whitewashed them, strewn them (with straw), smeared them (with cowdung), levelled, smoothed, or perfumed them (or the floor of them), have dug gutters and drains, have furnished their houses, have rendered them comfortable, and have cleaned them. Hence it has been said that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed.’ (2)

As the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed, so the Ganadharas commenced the Paggusan when a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed. (3) As the Ganadharas have done, so the disciples of the Ganadharas have done. (4) As they have done,

¹ Sāmākhāri.

so the Sthaviras have done. (5) As they have done, so do the Nirgrantha Sramanas of the present time. (6)

As they do, so our masters, teachers, &c. do. (7) As they do, so do we commence the Paggusan after a month and twenty nights of the rainy season have elapsed. It is allowed to commence the Paggusan earlier, but not after that time. (8)

2. Monks or nuns during the Paggusan are allowed to regard their residence as extending a Yogana and a Krosa all around, and to live there for a moderate time. (9)

3. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are allowed to go and return, for the sake of collecting alms, not farther than a Yogana and a Krosa (from their lodgings). (10) If there is (in their way) an always flowing river which always contains water, they are not allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa. (11) But if the river is like the Erâvatt near Kunâlâ, such that it can be crossed by putting one foot in the water and keeping the other in the air, there it is allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa. (12) But where that is impossible, it is not allowed to travel for a Yogana and a Krosa. (13)

4. During the Paggusan the Âkârya will say, 'Give, Sir!' Then he is allowed to give (food to a sick brother), but not to accept himself. (14) If the Âkârya says, 'Accept, Sir!' then he is allowed to accept (food), but not to give. (15) If the Âkârya says, 'Give, Sir! accept, Sir!' then the patient is allowed to give and to accept (food). (16)

5. Monks or nuns who are hale and healthy, and of a strong body, are not allowed during the Paggusan frequently to take the following nine drinks: milk,

thick sour milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, oil, sugar, honey, liquor, and meat. (17)

6. During the Paggusan a collector of alms might ask (the Âkârya), 'Sir, is (anything of the just-mentioned articles) required for the sick man?' he (the Âkârya) says, 'Yes, it is.' Then (the sick man) should be asked, 'How much do you require?' The Âkârya says, 'So much is required for the sick man : you must take so much as he told you.' And he (the collector of alms) should beg, and begging he should accept (the required food). Having obtained the quantity ordered, he should say, 'No more!' Perchance (the giver of food) might ask, 'Why do you say so, Sir?' (Then he should answer), 'Thus much is required for the sick man.' Perchance, after that answer the other may say, 'Take it, Sir! You may after (the sick man has got his share) eat it or drink it.' Thus he is allowed to accept it, but he is not allowed to accept it by pretending that it is for the sick man. (18)

7. In householders' families which are converted, devoted, staunch adherers (to the law), and honour, praise, and permit (the visits of monks), Sthaviras, during the Paggusan, are not allowed to ask, 'Sir, have you got such or such a thing?' if they do not see it.

'Why, Sir, has this been said?' 'Because a devout householder might buy it or steal it.' (19)

8. During the Paggusan a monk eats only one meal a day, and should at one fixed¹ time frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting

¹ I.e. after the sūtra and artha paurushis or the religious instruction in the morning.

alms, except when he does services for the Âtârya, the teacher, an ascetic, or a sick man, likewise if he or she be a novice who has not yet the marks of ripe age¹. (20) To a monk who during the Paggusan eats only one meal on every second day, the following special rule applies. Having gone out in the morning, he should eat and drink² his pure dinner, then he should clean and rub his alms-bowl. If his dinner was sufficient, he should rest content with it for that day; if not, he is allowed for a second time to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. (21) A monk who during the Paggusan eats on every third day, is allowed twice to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. (22) A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every fourth day, is allowed three times to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. (23) A monk who keeps still more protracted fasts, is allowed at all (four) times to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. (24)

9. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal every day, is allowed to accept all (permitted) drinks. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every second day, is allowed to accept three kinds of drinks: water used for watering flour, sesamum, or rice³. A monk who eats one meal

¹ I. e. on whose belly, armpits, lips, &c. hair has not yet grown. The last part is also explained: except an Âtârya, teacher, ascetic, sick monk, and novice.

² *Pikkâ* is the reading of the commentaries.

³ Cf. Âtârânga Sûtra II, 1, 7, § 7. The definitions given in our commentary are the following: the first is water mixed with flour, or water used for washing the hands after kneading flour; the

on every third day, is allowed to accept three kinds of drinks : water used for washing sesamum, chaff, or barley¹. A monk who during the Paggusan eats one meal on every fourth day, is allowed to accept three kinds of water : rain-water, or sour gruel, or pure (i. e. hot) water. A monk who during the Paggusan keeps still more protracted fasts, is allowed to accept only one kind of drink : hot pure water. It must contain no boiled rice². A monk who abstains from food altogether, is allowed to accept only one kind of drink : pure hot water. It must contain no boiled rice ; it must be filtered, not unfiltered ; it must be a limited quantity, not an unlimited one ; it must be sufficient, not insufficient. (25)

10. A monk who during the Paggusan restricts himself to a certain number of donations³, is allowed to accept (e. g.) five donations of food, and five of drink ; or four of food, and five of drink ; or five of food, and four of drink. He may accept one donation of salt for seasoning his meat⁴. He should

second, water with which squeezed leaves, &c. are sprinkled ; the third, water used for washing threshed and winnowed rice (*tandula*).

¹ *Ākārāṅga Sūtra* II, 1, 7, § 8. The first is water used for washing sesamum, or, in *Mahārāshtra*, husked sesamum ; the second, water used for washing rice, &c. (*vrīhyādi*) ; the third, water used for washing barley.

² The commentator says that the body of monks who fast longer than four days is usually inhabited by a deity ; this seems to denote, in our language, mental derangement as a consequence of starving oneself.

³ *Datti*. The commentator does not explain this word. It seems to denote the quantity of food or drink which is given by one man.

⁴ The one donation of salt is meant to make up the five donations to which the monk confines himself. But he should not reckon

rest content for that day with the dinner he has brought together, and is not allowed a second time to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. (26) During the Paggusan monks or nuns who restrict their visits to certain houses may go to a place where rice is cooked¹, if it is the seventh house from that where they are lodged. According to some, the lodging is included in the seven houses which such a mendicant must pass before he may participate in the festive entertainment; but according to others, it is not included in those seven houses. (27)

11. During the Paggusan a monk who collects alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to frequent the abodes of householders, &c., if rain², even in the form of a fine spray, falls down. (28) During the Paggusan a monk who collects alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to stay anywhere except in a house after having accepted alms, for it might begin to rain. But he should eat a part, and put back the rest (if it then begins to rain), covering his hand with the other hand, and laying it on his bosom or hiding it under his armpit³; then he should go to well-covered (places), to a cave or the foot of a tree, where no water or drops of water or spray of water falls in his hand. (29)

12. During the Paggusan a monk who collects

the donations of food above the fixed number as donations of drink if the latter have not yet reached the fixed number.

¹ *Samkhaḍi*, the word which, in the *Âtârânga Sûtra* II, 1, 2, &c., we have translated 'festive entertainment.'

² Rain is here and in the sequel called rain-body, i. e. rain-drops considered as containing life, *ap kâya*.

³ To render *kaksha*.

alms in the hollow of his hand, is not allowed to collect alms if rain, even in the form of a fine spray, falls down. (30)

13. During the Paggusan a monk who uses an alms-bowl is not allowed to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms if it rains fast, but he is allowed to do so if it rains but little; but they must wear then an under and upper garment. (31) During the Paggusan, a monk who has entered the abode of a householder while there are single showers of rain, is allowed (when the rain ceases for a moment) to stand under a grove, or in his residence, or in the assembling-hall of the village¹, or at the foot of a tree. (32) If before his arrival a dish of rice was being cooked, and after it a dish of pulse was begun to be cooked, he is allowed to accept of the dish of rice, but not of the dish of pulse. (33) But if before his arrival a dish of pulse was being cooked, and after it a dish of rice was begun to be cooked, he is allowed to accept of the dish of pulse, but not of the dish of rice. (34) If both dishes were begun to be cooked before his arrival, he is allowed to accept of both. If both dishes were begun to be cooked after his arrival, he is not allowed to accept of either. He is allowed to accept of what was prepared before his arrival; he is not allowed to accept of what was prepared after his arrival. (35) During the Paggusan, &c. (see § 32, down to) tree; he is not allowed to pass there his time with the food he had collected before. But he should first eat and drink his pure (food and drink), then rub and clean his alms-bowl,

¹ Vikaṭagṛīha.

and, putting his things together, he should, while the sun has not yet set, go to the place where he is lodged; but he is not allowed to pass the night in the former place. (36) During the Paggusan, &c. (see § 32, down to) tree. (37) It is not allowed that there at the same place should stand together one monk and one nun, nor one monk and two nuns, nor two monks and one nun, nor two monks and two nuns. But if there is a fifth person, a male or female novice, or if that place can be seen (by those who pass) or doors open on it, then they are allowed to stand there together. (38) During the Paggusan, &c. (see § 32, down to) tree. It is not allowed that there at the same place should stand together a monk and a lay woman, &c. (through the four cases as in § 28). But if there is a fifth person, a Sthavira or a Sthavirâ, or if that place can be seen (by those who pass) or doors open on it, then they are allowed to stand there together. The same rule applies to a nun and a layman. (39)

14. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to accept food, drink, dainties, and spices for one who has not asked them, and whom they have not promised to do so. (40)

‘Why has this been said, Sir?’ ‘Because one who collects alms for another without being asked for it, might eat them or not, just as he lists.’ (41)

15. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to take their meals as long as their body is wet or moist. (42)

‘How has this been said, Sir?’ ‘Seven places which retain the moisture have been declared: the hands, the lines in the hand, the nails, the top of the nails, the brows, the under lip, the upper lip.’

But when they perceive that the water on their body has dried up and the moisture is gone, then they are allowed to take their meals. (43)

16. There are these eight classes of small things which a mendicant ought diligently to perceive, observe, and inspect, viz. living beings, mildew, seeds, sprouts, flowers, eggs, layers, and moisture.

What is understood by the small living beings? The small living beings are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, red, yellow, and white ones. There is an animalcule called Anuddhart, which when at rest and not moving is not easily seen by monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection, which when not at rest but moving is easily seen by monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection. Monks and nuns who have not yet reached perfection must diligently perceive, observe, and inspect this. Those are the small living beings. (44)

What is understood by small mildew? Small mildew has been declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, &c. There is a kind of small mildew which has the same colour as the substance on which it grows. Monks, nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. That is small mildew.

What is understood by small seeds? Small seeds are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, &c. There is a kind of small seeds of the same colour as grain¹. Monks and nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. Those are the small seeds.

What is understood by small sprouts? Small sprouts are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, &c. There is a kind of small sprouts of

¹ Kanikā.

the same colour as earth. Monks and nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small sprouts.

What is understood by small flowers? Small flowers are declared to be of five kinds: black, blue, &c. There is a kind of small flowers of the same colour as the tree (on which they grow). Monks and nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small flowers.

What is understood by small eggs? Small eggs are declared to be of five kinds: eggs of biting insects¹, of spiders, of ants, of lizards (or wasps)², and of chameleons³. Monks and nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small eggs.

What is understood by small caves or lairs? Small caves or lairs are declared to be of five kinds: lairs of animals of the asinine kind, chasms, holes, cavities widening below like the stem of a palm tree, and wasps' nests. Monks and nuns, &c. (see § 44, down to) inspect them. Those are the small caves or lairs.

What is understood by small moisture? Small moisture is declared to be of five kinds: dew, hoar-frost⁴, fog, hailstones, and damps. Monks and nuns,

¹ Uddamsa, mosquitoes, gadflies, bugs.

² Halikā, explained by *gr̥hākokila*, which I take to mean the same as *gr̥hāgolikā*, a kind of lizard; and *vr̥hmanī*, a kind of wasps, ditto, of lizards.

³ Hallohaliyā, which is declared by the commentator to be synonymous with *ahilodī*, *saradī*, and *kakkindī*. Of these words only *saradī* is known; for it seems to be the same with Sanskrit *sara/a* or *sara/u*, 'chameleon, lizard,' and Marāthī *sara/a*, 'hedge-lizard.'

⁴ Hima^h styānodaka^h.

&c. (see § 44, down to) inspect this. That is small moisture. (45)

17. During the Paggusan¹ a monk might wish to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms. He is not allowed to go without asking leave of the teacher, or sub-teacher, or religious guide, or Sthavira, or head of the Gana, or Ganadhara, or founder of the Gana, or whom else he regards as his superior; he is allowed to go after having asked leave of one of these persons (in this way): 'I want with your permission to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms.' If he (the superior) grants permission, one is allowed to go; if not, one is not allowed to go.

'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'The teacher knows how to make good what has been done wrong.' (46) The same rule applies concerning the visits to temples and leaving the house for easing nature², or any other business, also the wandering from village to village. (47)

18. During the Paggusan a monk might wish to take some medicine; he is not allowed to take it without asking leave of the teacher, &c. (see § 47, down to) founder of the Gana; but he is allowed to take it after having asked leave of one of these persons (in this way): 'I want, Sir, with your permission to take some medicine,' viz. so much or so often. If he, &c. (see § 46, down to) wrong. (48)

¹ The whole of the seventeenth rule holds good not only for the rainy season, but also for the rest of the year (*r̥itubaddhakāla*).

² *Vihārabhūmi* and *viārabhūmi*, which in the *Ātārāṅga Sūtra* I have, according to the explanation of the commentary, translated 'places for study and religious practices.'

The same rule applies if a monk wants to undergo some medical cure. (49) Also if he wants to do some exalted penance. (50) Also if he intends, after the last mortification of the flesh which is to end in death, to wait for his last hour without desiring it, in total abstinence from food and drink or in remaining motionless; also if he wants to go out or to enter, to eat food, &c., to ease nature, to learn his daily lesson, to keep religious vigils—he is not allowed to do it without asking leave. (51)

19. If during the Paggusan a monk wants to dry or warm (in the sun) his robe, alms-bowl, blanket, broom, or any other utensil, he is not allowed without asking one or many persons to frequent the abodes of householders for the sake of collecting alms, to eat food, &c., to visit temples or leave the house for easing nature, to learn his daily lesson, to lie down with outstretched limbs or stand in some posture. If there is somebody near, one or many persons, then he should say: 'Sir, please mind this (robe, &c.) while I frequent the abodes of householders, &c. (see above, down to) posture.' If that person promises to do it, then he (the monk) is allowed to go; if he does not promise it, then he is not allowed to go. (52)

20.. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to be without their proper bed or bench¹. This is the reason: A mendicant whose bed and bench are not reserved for his own use, are low and rickety, not sufficiently fastened, without a fixed place, and never exposed to the sun, and

¹ The commentator translates *pīṭha*, 'stool,' and *phalaka*, 'bench;' they are of course not the property of the mendicant, but only temporally reserved for his use.

who is not circumspect in what he does, nor accustomed to inspect and clean the things of his use, will find it difficult to exercise control; (53) but on the contrary, control will be easy to him. (54)

21. During the Paggusan monks or nuns must always inspect three spots where to ease nature; not so in the summer and winter, as in the rainy season. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'For in the rainy season living beings, grass, seeds, mildew, and sprouts frequently come forth.' (55)

22. During the Paggusan monks or nuns must have three pots, one for ordure, one for urine, and a spitting-box. (56) Monks and nuns, who wear after the Paggusan their hair as short as that of a cow, are not allowed to do so during the Paggusan after that night (of the fifth Bhādrapada); but a monk should shave his head or pluck out his hair¹. Shaving with a razor every month, cutting with scissors every half-month, plucking out every six months. (57) This is the conduct chiefly of Sthaviras during the rainy season².

¹ After these words the text has *pakkhiyā ārovanā*, which is explained in two ways: 1. every half-month the tied strings on the bed should be untied and inspected; the same should be done with wicker-work (? *davaraka*; cf. *Hindī daurā*, 'basket'); 2. every half-month *prāyaskitta* should be made. The commentator *Samayasundara* says that these words are not connected with the preceding and following ones; their import (*paramārtha*) should be learned from a well-instructed brother (*gītārtha*). I think that *pakkhiyā* is not connected with *paksha*, 'half-month,' but with *kerapaksha*, 'braid of hair, tresses;' the two words, or rather the compound, would in that case denote arrangement of (or in) tresses or braids, and relate to nuns who do not, as far as I know, shave their head. A precept for nuns is just what would be expected at this place, after one for monks (*ārya*) has been given.

² The last words are variously interpreted by the commentators.

23. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should not use harsh words after the commencement of the Paggusan; if they do, they should be warned: 'Reverend brother (or sister), you speak unmannerly.' One who (nevertheless) uses harsh words after the commencement of the Paggusan, should be excluded from the community. (58)

24. If, during the Paggusan, among monks or nuns occurs a quarrel or dispute or dissension, the young monk should ask forgiveness of the superior, and the superior of the young monk. They should forgive and ask forgiveness, appease and be appeased, and converse without restraint¹. For him who is appeased, there will be success (in control); for him who is not appeased, there will be no success; therefore one should appease one's self. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'Peace is the essence of monachism.' (59)

25. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should have three lodging-places; (two) for occasional use,

Therakappa is said to mean 'old monks,' for young and strong ones must pluck out their hair every four months. It usually denotes the conduct of ordinary monks, in opposition to the *Ginakappa*; if taken in this sense, the whole passage is made out to mean that even one who, because of sickness of his scalp, is dispensed from tearing out his hair, must do it in the rainy season, for then the precept is binding both for *Ginakalpikas* and *Sthavirakalpikas*. According to the interpretation I have followed the words *samvakkharie vâ therakappe* are a sort of colophon to the rules 17-22, and indicate that these rules apply to *Sthavirakalpikas*, but not exclusively (*vâ*), as some apply to *Ginakalpikas* also. The phrase *samvakkhariya therakappa* occurs also at the beginning of § 62, and has there a similar meaning.

¹ According to the commentary, they should ask each other the meaning of the *Sûtras*.

which must be inspected ; one for constant use, which must be swept¹. (60)

26. During the Paggusan monks or nuns should give notice of the direction or intermediate direction in which they intend to go forth for the sake of begging alms. 'Why has this been said, Sir?' 'During the Paggusan the reverend monks frequently undertake austerities ; an ascetic becoming weak and exhausted might swoon or fall down. (In case of such an accident the remaining) reverend monks will undertake their search in that direction or intermediate direction (which the ascetic had named them). (61)

27. During the Paggusan monks or nuns are not allowed to travel farther than four or five Yoganas², and then to return. They are allowed to stay in some intermediate place, but not to pass there (at the end of their journey) the night. (62)

Of those Nirgrantha monks who follow, &c. (see *Āṭārāṅga Sūtra* II, 15, v end, down to) . . . these (rules regulating) the conduct of Sthaviras in the rainy season, some will reach perfection, &c. (see § 124, down to) be freed from all pains in that same life, some in the next life, some in the third birth ;

¹ I deviate from the interpretation of the commentators, who give *veuvviyâ* (or *veu//iyâ* v.l.), which I have rendered 'for occasional use,' the sense of 'repeatedly.' But as they give *sâiggiya* the meaning 'used,' and as the practice justifies my translation, I am rather confident about the correctness of my conjecture. The practice, as related by the commentator, is this: The *Upâsraya* where the monks live must be swept in the morning, when the monks go out begging, at noon, and in the afternoon at the end of the third *prahara* ; the other two *Upâsrayas* must be daily inspected, lest somebody else occupy them, and be swept every third day.

² And this only in case of need, to fetch medicine, &c. In ordinary cases the third rule applies.

none will have to undergo more than seven or eight births. (63)

In that period, in that age the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, in the town of Rāgagrīha, in the *Kaitya* *Guṇasilaka*, surrounded by many monks and nuns, by many men and women of the laity, by many gods and goddesses, said thus, spoke thus, declared thus, explained thus; he proclaimed again and again the Lecture called *Paryuṣaṇākālpa* with its application, with its argumentation, with its information, with its text, with its meaning, with both text and meaning, with the examination of the meaning.

Thus I say. (64)

End of the Rules for Yatis.

End of the Kalpa Sūtra.

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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zeml.	Fehlert.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
Gutturales.											
1 Tenuis	k				क	क	ق	ک	ك	כ	k
2 " aspirata	kh				ख	ख	ق	خ	خ	כ	kh
3 Media	g				ग	ग	ق	گ	گ	ג	
4 " aspirata	gh				घ	घ	ق	غ	غ	ג	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q				ङ	ङ				ך	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)				ङ	{ ३ (ng) ५ (N) ७ (ghr)					
7 Spiritus asper	h				ह	ह	ه	ه	ه	ה	h, hs
8 " lenis	,				ह	ह					
9 " asper faucalis	'h				ह	ह					
10 " lenis faucalis	'h				ह	ह					
11 " asper fricatus		'h			ह	ह					
12 " lenis fricatus		'h			ह	ह					
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis		k			क	क	ق	ک	ك	כ	k
14 " aspirata		kh			ख	ख	ق	خ	خ	כ	kh
15 Media		g			ग	ग	ق	گ	گ	ג	
16 " aspirata		gh			घ	घ	ق	غ	غ	ג	
17 " Nasalis		ñ			ङ	ङ					

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	...	...	य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)		...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
20 " lenis		(y)		...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
21 " asper assibilatus		s		श	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ש	z
22 " lenis assibilatus		z		...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	...	...	त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	...	...	थ	𐬨	𐬨	تھ	تھ	ת	th
25 " assibilata	d	...	TH	द	𐬨	𐬨	د	د	ד	...
26 Media	dh	...	...	ध	𐬨	𐬨	دھ	دھ	ד	...
27 " aspirata . . . . .		...	DH	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
28 " assibilata	n	...	...	न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
29 Nasalis	l	...	...	ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	ל	l
30 Semivocalis		l	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
31 " mollis 1			L	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .			...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	...	...	स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2		s	...	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	...
35 " lenis	z	...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .		...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .		...	z (z)	...	𐬨	𐬨	...	...	...	z

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
1 Neutralis	o								𐤌	𐬵
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ɛ								𐤍	𐬶
3 " labialis	ɔ					fin.			𐤎	𐬷
4 Gutturalis brevis	a			अ	𐬀	𐬁			𐤏	𐬸
5 " longa	ā	(a)		आ	𐬂	𐬃			𐤐	𐬹
6 Palatalis brevis	i			इ	𐬄	𐬅			𐤑	𐬺
7 " longa	ī	(i)		ई	𐬆	𐬇			𐤒	𐬻
8 Dentalis brevis	ɪ			ऋ					𐤓	𐬼
9 " longa	ī			ॠ					𐤔	𐬽
10 Lingualis brevis	ɪ			ऌ					𐤕	𐬾
11 " longa	ī			ॡ					𐤖	𐬿
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ					𐤗	𐬰
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ					𐤘	𐬱
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬲				𐤙	𐬲
15 " longa	ē (ai)			ऐ	𐬳				𐤚	𐬳
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		ॢ	𐬴				𐤛	𐬴
17 " " " "	ei (ēi)			ॣ	𐬵				𐤜	𐬵
18 " " " "	oi (ōu)			।	𐬶				𐤝	𐬶
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬷				𐤞	𐬷
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		॥	𐬸				𐤟	𐬸
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		०	𐬹				𐤠	𐬹
22 " " " "	eu (ēu)			१	𐬺				𐤡	𐬺
23 " " " "	ou (ōu)			२	𐬻				𐤢	𐬻
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ					𐤣	𐬼
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ					𐤤	𐬽
26 Labialis fracta	ū			उ					𐤥	𐬰
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ओ					𐤦	𐬷

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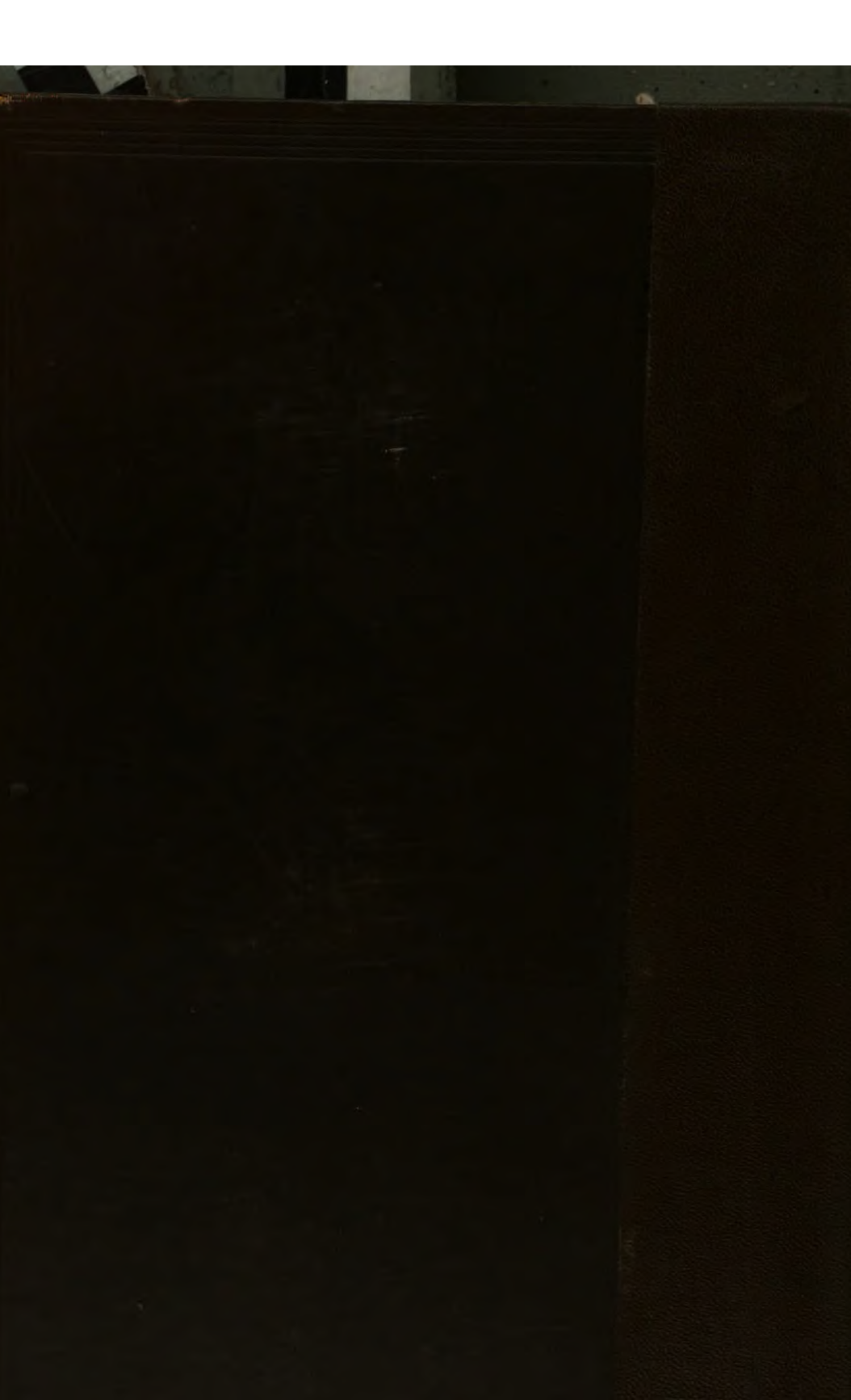
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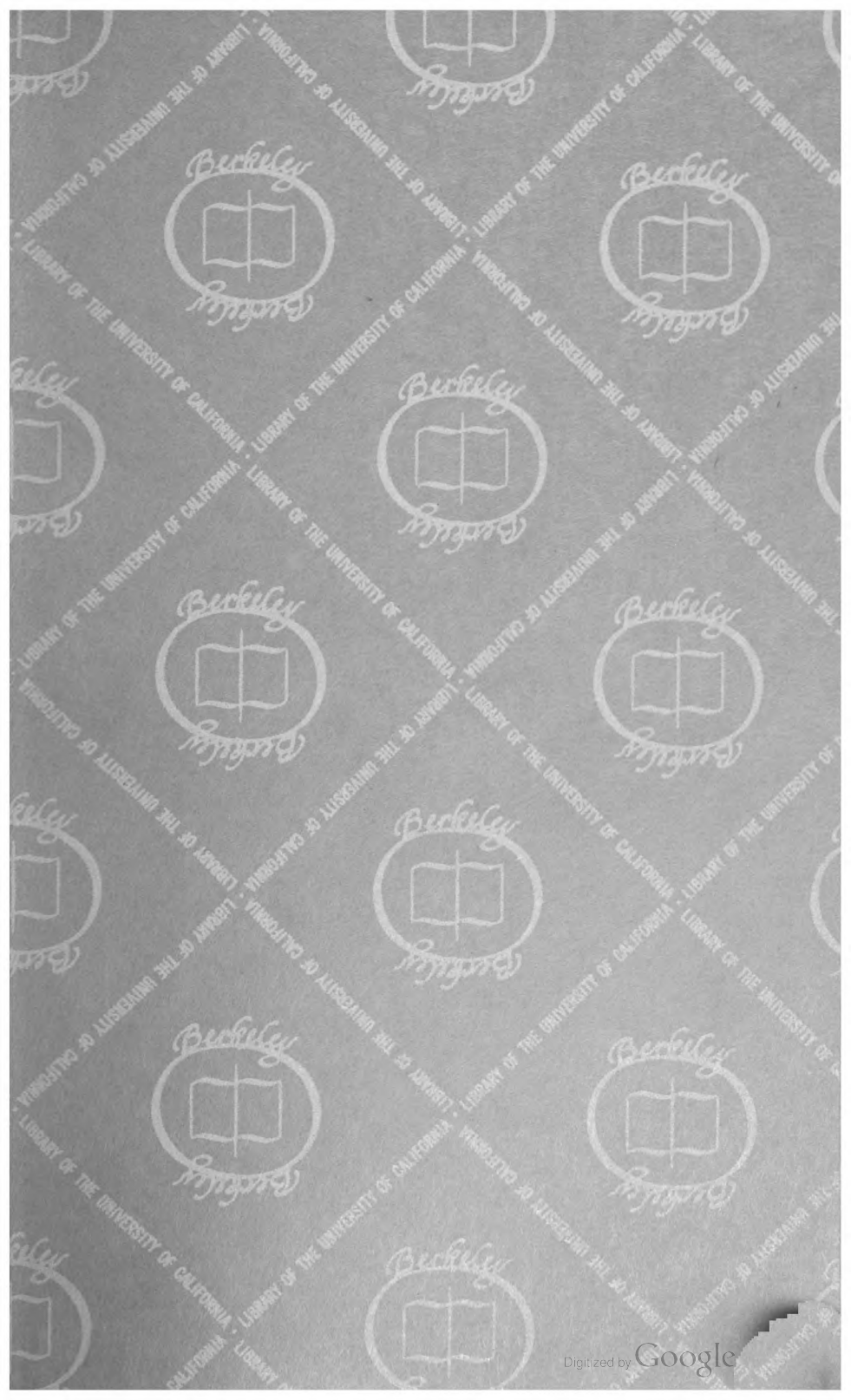
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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains a translation of the *Sîrôzahs* and *Yasts*, and of the *Nyâyis*. This part of the *Avesta* treats chiefly of the mythical and legendary lore of Zoroastrianism.

For a satisfactory translation of these texts, the etymological and comparative method is generally considered as the best or as the only possible one, on account of the entire absence of any traditional interpretation. I have tried, however, to reduce the sphere of etymological guesswork to its narrowest limits, with the help of different Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit translations, which are as yet unpublished, and have been neglected by former translators. I found such translations for the *Sîrôzahs*, for *Yasts* I, VI, VII, XI, XXIII, XXIV, and for the *Nyâyis*¹ (besides the already published translations of *Yasts* XXI and XXII).

Of the remaining *Yasts*, which are mostly of an epical character, there is no direct translation available; but a close comparison of the legends in Firdausi's *Shâh Nâmah* seems to throw some light, even as regards philological points, on not a few obscure and important passages. This has enabled me, I believe, to restore a few myths to their original form, and to frame a more correct idea of others².

In this volume, as in the preceding one, I have to thank Mr. West for his kind assistance in making my translation more readable, as well as for valuable hints in the interpretation of several passages.

JAMES DARMESTETER.

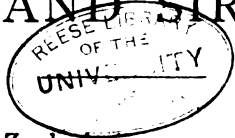
PARIS,
13 December, 1882.

¹ These translations have been edited in our *Études Iraniennes*, II, 253 seq. (Paris, Vieweg, 1883).

² See *ibidem*, II, 206 seq.

YASTS AND SÎRÔZAHS.

YASTS AND SÎRÔZAHs.



THE word *yast*, in Zend *yēsti*, means properly 'the act of worshipping,' the performance of the *yasna*; and it is often used in Parsi tradition as synonymous with *yasna*. But it has also been particularly applied to a certain number of writings in which the several Izedes are praised and magnified. These writings are generally of a higher poetical and epical character than the rest of the Avesta, and are most valuable records of the old mythology and historical legends of Iran.

The Parsis believe that formerly every Amshaspand and every Ized had his particular *Yast*, but we now possess only twenty *Yasts* and fragments of another¹. The writings known as *Yast* fragments, the *Âfrîn Zartust*, and *Vîstâsp Yast* (printed as *Yasts* XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV in Westergaard's edition), are not proper *Yasts*, and have no liturgical character; they are not devoted to the praise of any Ized.

The order in which the *Yasts* have been arranged by the Parsis follows exactly the order of the *Sîrôzah*, which is the proper introduction to the *Yasts*.

SÎRÔZAH.

Sîrôzah means 'thirty days:' it is the name of a prayer composed of thirty invocations addressed to the several Izedes who preside over the thirty days of the month.

There are two *Sîrôzahs*, but the only difference between them is that the formulas in the former are shorter², and there is also, occasionally, some difference in the epithets, which are fuller in the latter.

¹ The Bahman *Yast* (see *Yt.* I, §§ 24 and following).

² In the greater *Sîrôzah* the names of the gods invoked are introduced with the word *yazamaidê*, 'we sacrifice to;,' in the lesser *Sîrôzah* there is no introductory word, the word *khshnao-thra*, 'propitiation,' being understood, as can be seen from the introductory formulas to the several *Yasts*.

In India the Sîrôzah is recited in honour of the dead, on the thirtieth day after the death, on the thirtieth day of the sixth month, on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month, and then every year on the thirtieth day from the anniversary day (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 315).

The correspondence between the formulas of the Sîrôzah and the Yasts is as follows :

1. Ormazd.	Ormazd Yast (I, 1-23).
2. Bahman.	Bahman Yast (I, 24-33).
3. Ardibehest.	Ardibehest Yast (III).
4. Shahrêvar.	
5. Sapendârmad.	
6. Khordâd.	Khordâd Yast (IV).
7. Murdâd.	
8. Dai pa Âdar.	
9. Âdar.	
10. Âbân.	Âbân Yast (V).
11. Khorshêd.	Khorshêd Yast (VI).
12. Mâh.	Mâh Yast (VII).
13. Tîr.	Tîr Yast (VIII).
14. Gôš.	Gôš Yast (IX).
15. Dai pa Mihir.	
16. Mihir.	Mihir Yast (X).
17. Srôsh.	Srôsh Yast (XI).
18. Rashn.	Rashn Yast (XII).
19. Farvardîn.	Farvardîn Yast (XIII).
20. Bahrâm.	Bahrâm Yast (XIV).
21. Râm.	Râm Yast (XV).
22. Bâd.	
23. Dai pa Dîn.	
24. Dîn.	Dîn Yast (XVI).
25. Ard.	Ashi Yast (XVII).
26. Âstâd.	Âstâd Yast (XVIII).
27. Âsmân.	
28. Zemyâd.	Zemyâd Yast (XIX).
29. Mahraspand.	
30. Anêrân.	

The Yasts that have been lost are, therefore, those of Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-Ârmaiti, Ameretât, Âtar, Vâta, Asman, Mâthra-Spenta, and Anaghra raokau. The second Yast, or Yast of the seven Amshaspands, appears to have been no independent Yast : it was common to all the seven Yasts devoted to the several

Amshaspands, and, accordingly, it is recited on the first seven days of the month. One might suppose that it was originally a part of the Ormazd Yast, as the Amesha-Spentas are invoked in company with Ahura Mazda (Sîrôzah I, 8, 15, 23). There may, indeed, have been several Yasts for one and the same formula of the Sîrôzah, as in all of these formulas more than one Ized are invoked: this would apply not only to the Yast of the seven Amshaspands, but also to the *Vanant* Yast (Yast XX), which, in that case, ought to follow the Tîr Yast (see Sîrôzah 13).

Not every Yast, however, is devoted to the Ized whose name it bears: thus the Ardibehest Yast is mostly devoted to Airyaman; the Râm-Yast and the Zemyâd-Yast are devoted to Vayu and to the *Hvarenô*: but Airyaman, Vayu, and the *Hvarenô* are invoked in the same Sîrôzah formulas as Ardibehest, Râm, and Zemyâd, and a Yast is named from the opening name in the correspondent Sîrôzah formula.

The systematic order so apparent in the Sîrôzah pervades the rest of the liturgy to a great extent: the enumeration of Izeds in Yasna XVII, 12-42 (XVI, 3-6) follows exactly the order of the Sîrôzah, except that it gives only the first name of each formula; and the question may be raised whether this passage in the Yasna is taken from the Sîrôzah, or whether the Sîrôzah is developed from the Yasna.

The very idea of the Sîrôzah, that is to say the attribution of each of the thirty days of the month to certain gods, seems to have been borrowed from the Semites: the tablets found in the library of Assurbanipal contain an Assyrian Sîrôzah, that is, a complete list of the Assyrian gods that preside over the thirty days of the month¹.

SÎRÔZAH I.

I. Ormazd.

To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious², and to the Amesha-Speñtas³.

¹ J. Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1881, October, p. 188.

² See Yt. I, 1-23.

³ See Yt. II.

2. Bahman.

To Vohu-Manô¹; to Peace², whose breath is friendly³, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures⁴; to the heavenly Wisdom⁵, made by Mazda; and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear⁶, made by Mazda.

3. Ardibehest.

To Asha-Vahista, the fairest⁶; to the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda⁷; to the instrument made by Mazda⁸; and to the good Saoka⁹, with eyes of love¹⁰, made by Mazda and holy.

¹ See Yt. I, 24-33.

² Âkhsti does not so much mean Peace as the power that secures peace; see note 4.

³ Hām-vaiṇti, from hām-vâ (Yt. X, 141); possibly from van, to strike: 'Peace that smites.'

⁴ Taradhâtem anyâis dāmān, interpreted: tarvînitârtûm min zakî ân dāmân pun anâstîh akâr kartan (Phl. Comm.), 'more destroying than other creatures, to make Non-peace (Anâ-khsti) powerless.'

⁵ Âsnya khratu, the inborn intellect, intuition, contrasted with gaoshô-srûta khratu, the knowledge acquired by hearing and learning. There is between the two nearly the same relation as between the parâvidyâ and aparâvidyâ in Brahmanism, the former reaching Brahma in se (parabrahma), the latter sabda-brahma, the word-Brahma (Brahma as taught and revealed). The Mobeds of later times interpreted their name Magûs, مغوش, as meaning, 'men without ears,' ماگوش, 'pour insinuer que leur Docteur avait puisé toute sa science dans le ciel et qu'il ne l'avait pas apprise par l'ouïe comme les autres hommes' (Chardin, III, 130; ed. Amsterdam).

⁶ See Yt. III.

⁷ See Vend. XXII.

⁸ The 'golden instrument' mentioned in Nyâis I, 8.

⁹ A personification of the Ormazdean weal; cf. Vend. XXII, 3 [8], and Yt. XIII, 42.

¹⁰ Vouru-dôithra, kâmak dôisr; she is 'the genius of the good

4. Shahrêvar.

To Khshathra-vairya; to the metals¹; to Mercy and Charity.

5. Sapendârmad.

To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti², and to the good Râta³, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

6. Khordâd.

To Haurvatât⁴, the master; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness.

7. Murdâd.

To Ameretât⁵, the master; to fatness and flocks; to the plenty of corn; and to the powerful Gaoke-rena⁶, made by Mazda.

(At the gâh⁷ Hâvan): to Mithra⁸, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra⁹.

(At the gâh Rapithwin): to Asha-Vahista and to Âtar¹⁰, the son of Ahura Mazda¹¹.

eye, mînôî hušasmîh' (Vend. XIX, 36 [123]), the reverse of the evil eye (Yasna LXVII, 62 [LXVIII, 22]; cf. Études Iraniennes, II, 182).

¹ Vend. Introd. IV, 33; Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 202-206.

² Ibid.

³ Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁴ See Yt. IV.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 34.

⁶ The white Hôrn, or plant of immortality; see Vend. Introd. IV, 28.

⁷ See Gâhs.

⁸ See Yt. X.

⁹ See Yt. XV. Cf. Yasna I, 3 (7-9), where Mithra and Râma are invoked in company with the genius of the Hâvani period of the day.

¹⁰ The Genius of Fire.

¹¹ Cf. Yasna I, 4 (10-12), where Asha-Vahista and Âtar are invoked in company with the genius of the Rapithwin period of the day.

(At the gâh Uzîren): to Apâm Napât¹, the tall lord, and to the water made by Mazda².

(At the gâh Aiwiŕrûthrem): to the Fravashis³ of the faithful, and to the females that bring forth flocks of males⁴; to the prosperity of the seasons; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength, to Verethraghna⁵, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant⁶.

(At the gâh Ushahin): to the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha⁷, who makes the world grow; to Rashnu Razista⁸, and to Arstât⁹, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase¹⁰.

8. Dai pa Âdar¹¹.

To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spêntas.

¹ Literally 'the Son of the Waters;' he was originally the Fire of lightning, as born in the clouds (like the Vedic Apâm napât); he still appears in that character, Yt. VIII, 34; he is for that reason 'the lord of the females' because the waters were considered as females. (cf. Yasna XXXVIII, 1 [2]). But, as napât means also 'navel' (the same words having often the two meanings of 'navel' and 'offspring;' cf. nâbhi in the Vedas and the Zend nâfyô, 'offspring,' from nâfa 'navel'), Apâm Napât was interpreted as 'the spring of the waters, the navel of the waters,' which was supposed to be at the source of the Arvand (the Tigris; Neriosengh ad Yasna I, 5 [15]); cf. Yt. V, 72.

² Cf. Yasna I, 5 [13-15].

³ See Yt. XIII.

⁴ Perhaps better: 'to the flocks of Fravashis of the faithful, men and women.'

⁵ The Genius of Victory; see Yt. XIV.

⁶ Cf. Yasna I, 6 [16-19].

⁷ See Yt. XI and Vend. Introd. IV, 31; Farg. XVIII, 14 seq.

⁸ The Genius of Truth; see Yt. XII.

⁹ Truth; see Yt. XVIII.

¹⁰ Cf. Yasna I, 7 [20-23].

¹¹ The day before Âdar (Dai is the Persian دی, 'yesterday,' which is the same word as the Sanskrit hyas, Latin heri). The eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of the month are under the

9. Âdar.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; to the Glory and to the Weal, made by Mazda ; to the Glory of the Aryas¹, made by Mazda ; to the awful Glory of the Kavis², made by Mazda.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; to king Husravah³ ; to the lake of Husravah⁴ ; to Mount Âsnavan⁵, made by Mazda ; to Lake Kaêkasta⁶, made by Mazda ; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda⁷.

rule of Ahura and the Amesha-Spentas, like the first day ; they have therefore no name of their own and are named from the day that follows. The month was divided into four weeks, the first two numbering seven days, the last two numbering eight.

¹ Or better 'the Glories of the Aryas' (Eramdesarîzâm): the Glory or *Hvarenô* (Vend. Introd. IV, 11, p. lxiii, note 1) is threefold, according as it illuminates the priest, the warrior, or the husbandman. Yast XIX is devoted to the praise of the *Hvarenô*.

² Or 'the awful kingly glory:' Kavi means a king, but it is particularly used of the kings belonging to the second and most celebrated of the two mythical dynasties of Iran. The Kavis succeeded the Paradhâta or Pêshdâdians, and Darius Codomanes was supposed to be the last of them. For an enumeration of the principal Kavis, see Yt. XIII, 132 seq. The *Hvarenô* alluded to in this clause is the *Hvarenô* of the priest ; 'it is the fire known as Âdaraprâ [Âdar Frobâ] ; or better Âdar Farnbag : see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 84 ; its object is the science of the priests ; by its help priests become learned and clever' (Sanskrit transl. to the Âtash Nyâyish).

³ See Yt. V, 41, note.

⁴ See Yt. XIX, 56.

⁵ A mountain in Adarbaigân (Bundahis XII, 26), where king Husravah settled the fire Gushasp.

⁶ See Yt. V, 49.

⁷ The glory of the warriors, the fire known as Âdar Gushasp or Gushnasp ; with its help king Husravah destroyed the idol-temples near Lake Kêkasta, and he settled it on Mount Âsnavan (Bund. XVII, 7).

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda; to Mount Raêvant¹, made by Mazda; to the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda².

To Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing.

To Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars³; to the God Nairyô-Sangha⁴, who dwells in the navel of kings⁵.

10. Âbân.

To the good Waters, made by Mazda; to the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita⁶; to all waters made by Mazda; to all plants made by Mazda.

11. Khorshêd.

To the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun⁷.

12. Mâh.

To the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull⁸; to the only-created Bull⁹; to the Bull of many species¹⁰.

¹ A mountain in Khorâsân on which the Burzîn fire is settled (Bund. XII, 18).

² 'The fire known as Âdaraburagâmihira [Âdar Burzîn Mîhir]; its object is the science of husbandry.' King Gustâsp established it on Mount Raêvant (Bund. XVII, 8).

³ All sorts of fires. See another classification, Yasna XVII, 11 [63-67] and Bundahis XVII, 1.

⁴ See Vend. XXII, 7.

⁵ The fire Nairyô-sangha, as the messenger of Ahura, burns hereditarily in the bosom of his earthly representative, the king.

⁶ See Yt. V.

⁷ See Yt. VI.

⁸ See Yt. VII and Vend. XXI, 1, text and note.

⁹ Aêvô-dâta gâus; see Vend. I.1. and Bundahis IV.

¹⁰ Pouru-saredha gâus: the couple born of the seed of the

13. Tîr.

To Tistrya¹, the bright and glorious star; to the powerful Satavaêsa², made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward; to the stars, made by Mazda, that have in them the seed of the waters, the seed of the earth, the seed of the plants³; to the star Vanant⁴, made by Mazda; to those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas⁴, made by Mazda, glorious and healing.

14. Gôs.

To the body of the Cow, to the soul of the Cow, to the powerful Drvâspa⁵, made by Mazda and holy.

15. Dai pa Mihir.

To the Maker Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Speñtas.

16. Mihir.

To Mithra⁶, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, a God invoked by his own name; to Râma Hvâstra⁷.

17. Srôsh.

To the holy, strong Sraosha⁸, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly God.

18. Rashn.

To Rashnu Razista⁹; to Arstât¹⁰, who makes the

only-created Bull, and from which arose two hundred and eighty species (Bund. XI, 3).

¹ See Yt. VIII.

² See Yt. VIII, 9.

³ See Yt. XII, 29-31.

⁴ See Yt. VIII, 12.

⁵ See Yt. IX.

⁶ See Yt. X.

⁷ See Yt. XV.

⁸ See Yt. XI.

⁹ See Yt. XII.

¹⁰ See Yt. XVIII.

world grow, who makes the world increase; to the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow.

19. Farvardîn.

To the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the holy ones¹.

20. Bahrâm.

To the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; to Verethraghna², made by Ahura; to the crushing Ascendant.

21. Râm.

To Râma *Hvâstra*³; to Vayu³, who works highly⁴ and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures: to that part of thee, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu⁵; to the sovereign Sky, to the Boundless Time⁶, to the sovereign Time of the long Period⁶.

22. Bâd.

To the bounteous Wind, that blows below, above, before, and behind; to the manly Courage.

23. Dai pa Dîn.

To the Maker, Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious; to the Amesha-Spentas.

24. Dîn.

To the most right *Kîsta*⁷, made by Mazda and holy; to the good Law⁷ of the worshippers of Mazda.

¹ See Yt. XIII.

² See Yt. XIV.

³ See Yt. XV.

⁴ Powerfully.

⁵ See Yt. XV, 1.

⁶ See Vend. Introd. IV, 39 and lxxxii, 1.

⁷ See Yt. XVI.

25. Ard.

To Ashi Vanguhi¹; to the good *Kîsti*²; to the good Erethe³; to the good *Rasâstât*⁴; to the Weal and Glory, made by Mazda; to *Pârendi*⁵, of the light chariot; to the Glory of the Aryas made by Mazda; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda; to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized⁶, made by Mazda; to the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26. Âstâd.

To *Arstât*⁷, who makes the world grow; to Mount Ushi-darena⁸, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness.

27. Âsmân.

To the high, powerful Heavens; to the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28. Zemyâd⁹.

To the bounteous Earth; to these places, to these fields; to Mount Ushi-darena⁸, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; to all the mountains made by Mazda, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness; to the kingly Glory made by Mazda;

¹ See Yt. XVII.

² Religious knowledge, wisdom (*fargânak*; *nirvânagnânam*).

³ Thought (*kittam*).

⁴ Thoughtfulness (*kittasthiti*).

⁵ The keeper of treasures; cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁶ *Ahvaretem hvarenô*: 'the *hvarenô* of the priests: that it cannot be forcibly seized means that one must take possession of it through virtue and righteous exertion' (Neriosengh and Pahl. Comm. to Yasna I and IV, 14 [42]).

⁷ See Yt. XVIII.

⁸ See Yt. I, 31, text and note.

⁹ See Yt. XIX.

to that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized¹, made by Mazda.

29. Mahraspand.

To the holy, righteousness-performing Mâthra Spenta²; to the Law opposed to the Daêvas, the Law of Zarathustra; to the long-traditional teaching³; to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta; to the understanding that keeps⁴ the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; to the knowledge of the Mâthra Spenta; to the heavenly Wisdom made by Mazda; to the Wisdom acquired through the ear⁵ and made by Mazda.

30. Anêrân.

To the eternal⁶ and sovereign luminous space⁷; to the bright Garô-nmâna⁸; to the sovereign place of eternal Weal⁹; to the *K'invat*-bridge¹⁰, made by Mazda; to the tall lord Apâm Napât¹¹ and to the water made by Mazda; to Haoma¹², of holy birth; to the pious and good Blessing; to the awful cursing thought of the wise³; to all the holy Gods of the

¹ See p. 11, note 6.

² The Holy Word.

³ Daregha upayana: the Genius of Teaching (*sixâm adriya-rûpizîm*; Yasna I, 12 [40]).

⁴ In memory.

⁵ See above, § 2.

⁶ Or boundless (*anaghra*; the Parsi *anêrân*).

⁷ Or Infinite Light; see Vend. Introd. p. lxxxii and Bund. I, 2.

⁸ The abode of Ahura Mazda; see Vend. XIX, 32.

⁹ See Vend. XIX, 36, note 1.

¹⁰ See Vend. XIX, 29, note 3.

¹¹ See Sîrôzah II, 7, note.

¹² See Vend. Introd. IV, 28.

¹³ 'The blessing (*âfriti*) is twofold: one by thought, one by words; the blessing by words is the more powerful; the curse

heavenly world and of the material one; to the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful, to the Fravashis of the first men of the law, to the Fravashis of the next-of-kin¹; to every God invoked by his own name².

SÎRÔZAH II.

1. Ormazd.

We sacrifice unto the bright and glorious Ahura Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

2. Bahman.

We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. We sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

3. Ardibehest.

We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

(upamana) in thought is the more powerful' (Neriosengh ad Yasna I, 15 [44]). Upamana is the same as the Vedic manyu.

¹ See Yt. XIII, o.

² In contradistinction to general invocations.

4. Shahrêvar.

We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the metals; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

5. Sapendârmad.

We sacrifice unto the good Spenta Ârmaiti; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

6. Khordâd.

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons. We sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

7. Murdâd.

We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

(At the gâh Hâvan): We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; we sacrifice unto Râma Hvâstra.

(At the gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females; we sacrifice unto the water made by Mazda and holy.

(At the gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones; we sacrifice unto the females that bring forth flocks of males; we sacrifice unto the thrift of the

seasons ; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

(At the gâh Ushahin) : We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness ; we sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista ; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

8. Dai pa Âdar.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

9. Âdar.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Weal, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto king Husravah ; we sacrifice unto the lake of Husravah ; we sacrifice unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior.

We sacrifice unto that God, who is a full source of glory. We sacrifice unto that God, who is a full source of healing.

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; we sacrifice unto all Fires ; we sacrifice unto the God, Nairyô-Sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings.

10. Âbân.

We sacrifice unto the good Waters, made by Mazda and holy ; we sacrifice unto the holy water-spring Ardvi Anâhita ; we sacrifice unto all waters, made by Mazda and holy ; we sacrifice unto all plants, made by Mazda and holy.

11. Khorshêd.

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

12. Mâh.

We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull. We sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the only-created Bull ; we sacrifice unto the Soul and Fravashi of the Bull of many species.

13. Tîr.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star ; we sacrifice unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the waters ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seed of the earth ; we sacrifice unto all the Stars that have in them the seeds of the plants ; we sacrifice unto the Star Vanant, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto those stars that are seven in number, the Haptôiringas, made by Mazda, glorious and healing ; in order to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas.

14. Gôs.

We sacrifice unto the soul of the bounteous Cow ;
we sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by
Mazda and holy.

15. Dai pa Mihir.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the
bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-
Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

16. Mihir.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pas-
tures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand
eyes, a God invoked by his own name ; we sacrifice
unto Râma *Hvâstra*.

17. Srôsh.

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-
smiting, world-increasing Sraosha, holy and master
of holiness.

18. Rashn.

We sacrifice unto Rashnu Razista ; we sacrifice
unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes
the world increase ; we sacrifice unto the true-spoken
speech that makes the world grow.

19. Farvardîn.

We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent
Fravashis of the holy ones.

20. Bahrâm.

We sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed
Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by
Ahura ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

21. Râm.

We sacrifice unto Râma *Hvâstra*; we sacrifice unto the holy Vayu; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. Unto that part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta-Mainyu. We sacrifice unto the sovereign Sky; we sacrifice unto the Boundless Time; we sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

22. Bâd.

We sacrifice unto the beneficent, bounteous Wind; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows below; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows above; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows before; we sacrifice unto the wind that blows behind. We sacrifice unto the manly Courage.

23. Dai pa Dîn.

We sacrifice unto the Maker Ahura Mazda, the bright and glorious; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas.

24. Dîn.

We sacrifice unto the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

25. Ard.

We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi, the bright, high, strong, tall-formed, and merciful; we sacrifice unto the Glory made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Weal made by Mazda. We sacrifice unto Pârendi, of the light chariot; we sacrifice unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda; we sacrifice

unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto that awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Glory of Zarathustra, made by Mazda.

26. Âstâd.

We sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow ; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness.

27. Âsmân.

We sacrifice unto the shining Heavens ; we sacrifice unto the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy ones.

28. Zemyâd.

We sacrifice unto the Earth, a beneficent God ; we sacrifice unto these places, unto these fields ; we sacrifice unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, a God of holy happiness ; we sacrifice unto all the mountains, that are seats of holy happiness, of full happiness, made by Mazda, the holy and masters of holiness ; we sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda.

29. Mahraspand.

We sacrifice unto the Mâthra Spenta, of high glory ; we sacrifice unto the Law opposed to the Daêvas ; we sacrifice unto the Law of Zarathustra ; we sacrifice unto the long-traditional teaching ; we sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the Devotion to the Mâthra Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the understanding that keeps the Law of the worshippers of Mazda ; we sacrifice unto

the knowledge of the *Māthra Spenta*; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto the Wisdom acquired through the ear and made by Mazda.

30. *Anêrân.*

We sacrifice unto the eternal and sovereign luminous space; we sacrifice unto the bright *Garô-nmâna*; we sacrifice unto the sovereign place of eternal Weal; we sacrifice unto the *Kinvat*-bridge, made by Mazda; we sacrifice unto *Apām Napât*, the swift-horsed, the high and shining lord, who has many wives; and we sacrifice unto the water, made by Mazda and holy; we sacrifice unto the golden and tall *Haoma*; we sacrifice unto the enlivening *Haoma*, who makes the world grow; we sacrifice unto *Haoma*, who keeps death far away; we sacrifice unto the pious and good Blessing; we sacrifice unto the awful, powerful, cursing thought of the wise, a God; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the heavenly world; we sacrifice unto all the holy Gods of the material world.

I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent *Fravashis* of the holy ones¹.

¹ Cf. *Yasna XXVI, 1.*

I. ORMAZD YAST.

The Ormazd Yast, properly so called, ends with § 23. The rest of the Yast, from § 24 to the end, is wanting in several manuscripts, and is supposed by the Parsis to be a fragment of the Bahman Yast.

The Ormazd Yast is exclusively devoted to an enumeration of the names of Ahura and to a laudation of their virtues and efficacy: the recitation of these names is the best defence against all dangers.

§§ 1-6. The names of Ahura Mazda are the most powerful part of the Holy Word.

§§ 7-8. The twenty names of Ahura Mazda are enumerated.

§§ 9-11. Efficacy of these names.

§§ 12-15. Another list of names.

§§ 16-19. Efficacy of Ahura's names.

§§ 20-23. Sundry formulas of invocation.

As may be seen from this summary, the subject has been treated twice over, first in §§ 1-11, and then in §§ 12-19; yet it does not appear that this Yast was formed out of two independent treatises, and it is more likely that the vague and indefinite enumeration in §§ 12-15, which interrupts so clumsily the train of ideas, is due either to an interpolation or simply to the literary deficiency of the writer himself.

The Ormazd Yast is recited every day at the Hâvan Gâh, after the morning prayer (Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 143): it is well also to recite it when going to sleep and when changing one's residence (§ 17).

Speculations on the mystical powers of God's names have always been common among Orientals. The number of these names went on increasing: Dastûr Nôshîrvân wrote on the 101 names of God; Dastûr Marzbân on his 125 names. With the Musulmans, Allah had 1001 names. On the names of God among the Jews, see *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV, pp. 162, 532.

We have three native translations of this Yast; one in Pahlavi (East India Office, XII, 39, and St. Petersburg, XCIX, 39; edited by Carl Salemann), one in Persian (East India Office, XXII, 43), and one in Sanskrit (Paris, fonds Burnouf, V, 66); the last two edited in our *Études Iraniennes*, II, 255).

The second part of the Yast, the so-called Bahman Yast fragment, is in a state of the utmost corruption. It is difficult to trace any connection in the ideas, yet §§ 28, 29, 30 seem to point rather clearly to the final struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman and to the annihilation of the Daêvas, and, thereby, some connection is established between this fragment and the Pahlavi Bahman Yast¹, which deals with the same subject. If that correspondence be real, § 26 might refer to the beginning of the Pahlavi Bahman Yast, in which Zarathustra is shown by Ahura the times to come and the end of the world.

Of this fragment we have only a bad Pahlavi translation in the St. Petersburg manuscript mentioned above.

o². May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God³).

I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.

I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life⁴.

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness⁵':

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!'

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura⁶;

¹ Translated by West (Pahlavi Texts, I).

² The formulas of this section serve as an introduction to all Yasts.

³ The last clause of this sentence is imitated from Yasna XLVI [XLV], 19: 'he who does truly in holiness what was the foremost wish of Zarathustra' (that is, what he ordered most earnestly; Pahl. Comm.).

⁴ 'If I must give up my life for the sake of my soul, I give it up' (Pahl. Comm.). The two sentences, 'I praise . . .', 'I give unto you . . .', are taken from Yasna XI, 17, 18 [XII].

⁵ The Ashem Vohû, one of the holiest and most frequently recited prayers.

⁶ The Fravarânê or profession of faith of the Zoroastrian (Yasna I, 23 [65-68]).

For sacrifice¹, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani]², the holy and master of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Sâvan-ghi and Vîsya]³, the holy and masters of holiness;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto the Masters of the days, of the periods of the day, of the months, of the seasons, and of the years⁴;

Unto AHURA MAZDA, bright and glorious, be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness : the riches of Vohû-Manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave him to relieve the poor.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'What of the Holy Word is the strongest ? What is the most victorious ? What is the most glorious ? What is the most effective ?

2. 'What is the most fiend-smiting ? What is the best-healing ? What destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men ? What maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes⁵ ? What freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart⁶ ?'

¹ He shows himself a Zoroastrian by offering sacrifice

² The actual Gâh during which the Yast is being recited must be mentioned here. Hâvani is the first Gâh (see Gâhs).

³ The Genii who co-operate with Hâvani, his hamkârs; for each Gâh the names of its proper hamkârs should be mentioned (see Gâhs).

⁴ See Vendîdâd VIII, 19, text and notes.

⁵ Pun minishn ît barâ matârtûm, mandûm frârûn (Phl. tr.); manasas asti prâpakatarâ (Sansk. tr.); مراد رساننده (Pers. tr.).

⁶ Pun akhû ît barâ mûshîrtûm : pîm(i) u mandûm î apârûn

3. Ahura Mazda answered : 'Our Name, O Spitama Zarathustra! who are the Amesha-Spentas, that is the strongest part of the Holy Word; that is the most victorious; that is the most glorious; that is the most effective;

4. 'That is the most fiend-smiting; that is the best-healing; that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men; that maketh the material world best come to the fulfilment of its wishes; that freeth the material world best from the anxieties of the heart.'

5. Then Zarathustra said : 'Reveal unto me that name of thine, O Ahura Mazda! that is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most effective, the most fiend-smiting, the best-healing, that destroyeth best the malice of Daêvas and Men;

6. 'That I may afflict all Daêvas and Men; that I may afflict all Yâtus and Pairikas¹; that neither Daêvas nor Men may be able to afflict me; neither Yâtus nor Pairikas.'

7. Ahura Mazda replied unto him : 'My name is the One of whom questions are asked², O holy Zarathustra!

'My second name is the Herd-giver³.

'My third name is the Strong One⁴.

(Phl. tr.); vitarkânâm asti mûshakatarâ (Sansk. tr.); خیا لات
دفع کننده بیم چیزی اوارون (Pers. tr.).

¹ See Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 20-21.

² As the revealer of the law, which is generally expounded by a process of questions from Zarathustra and answers from Ahura. The revelation itself is called spentô frasna, 'the holy questions' (Vendîdâd XXII, 19).

³ 'That is, I give herds of men and cattle' (Phl. tr.).

⁴ 'Strong, that is, I have strength for the works of the law' (Phl. tr.); the Sanskrit translation has, 'powerful, that is, I have power to create.'

‘My fourth name is Perfect Holiness¹.

‘My fifth name is All good things created by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle.

‘My sixth name is Understanding²;

‘My seventh name is the One with understanding.

‘My eighth name is Knowledge;

‘My ninth name is the One with Knowledge.

8. ‘My tenth name is Weal;

‘My eleventh name is He who produces weal.

‘My twelfth name is AHURA (the Lord)³.

‘My thirteenth name is the most Beneficent.

‘My fourteenth name is He in whom there is no harm⁴.

‘My fifteenth name is the unconquerable One.

‘My sixteenth name is He who makes the true account⁵.

‘My seventeenth name is the All-seeing One.

‘My eighteenth name is the healing One.

‘My nineteenth name is the Creator.

‘My twentieth name is MAZDA (the All-knowing One).

9. ‘Worship me, O Zarathustra, by day and by

¹ Asha-Vahista, which is the name of the second Amesha-Spenta too. The commentary has: ‘That is, my own being is all holiness.’

² Literally: ‘My sixth name is that I am Understanding.’ The same construction is used with regard to the eighth, the tenth, and the nineteenth names.

³ ‘It follows from this passage that a man is not fit to be a king, unless he possesses twelve virtues’ (Phl. tr.).

⁴ ‘Some say: I keep harm from man’ (Phl. tr.).

⁵ ‘That is, I make the account of good works and sins’ (Phl. tr.); *prakaṣam gaṇanâkaras kila puṇyapâpayos saṅkhyâm aham karomi* (Sansk. tr.). Cf. Yasna XXXII, 6, b.

night, with offerings of libations well accepted¹. I will come unto thee for help and joy, I, Ahura Mazda; the good, holy Sraosha will come unto thee for help and joy; the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the holy ones will come unto thee for help and joy.

10. 'If thou wantest, O Zarathustra, to destroy the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf², of the two-legged ruffians³, of the two-legged Ashemaoghas⁴, of the four-legged wolves;

11. 'And of the hordes with the wide front, with the many spears⁵, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spear of havock; then, recite thou these my names every day and every night.

¹ Yasô-bereta: prâptena dâna; یافتن دهشتن زور.

² The Kavis and the Karapans, the blind and the deaf, are those 'who cannot see nor hear anything of God.' Those terms were current in the theological language of the Sassanian times to designate the unbelievers. An edict, promulgated by king Yazd-gard III (fifth century A. C.) to make Zoroastrism the state religion in Armenia, had the following words: 'You must know that any man who does not follow the religion of Mazda is deaf, blind, and deceived by Ahriman's devs' (Elisaeus, The War of Vartan).

³ Or murderers (mairya); according to the Parsis highway-men (ايرانيان).

⁴ The heretics. Casuists distinguish three kinds of Ashemaogha: the deceiver (frîftâr), the self-willed (khôt dôshak), and the deceived (frîftak). The first and worst is one who knowingly leads people astray, making forbidden what is lawful, and lawful what is forbidden; the second is one who follows his own will and reason, instead of applying to a Dastûr (a spiritual guide) for direction; the third is one who has been led astray by another.

⁵ Drafsa means also banner: the Persian درفش, derived from drafsa, has preserved the two meanings. The Sanskrit translation has sastra, the Persian has سلاح.

12. 'I am the Keeper¹; I am the Creator and the Maintainer²; I am the Discerner³; I am the most beneficent Spirit.

'My name is the bestower of health; my name is the best bestower of health.

'My name is the Âthravan⁴; my name is the most Âthravan-like of all Âthravans.

'My name is Ahura (the Lord).

'My name is Mazdau (the all-knowing).

'My name is the Holy; my name is the most Holy.

'My name is the Glorious; my name is the most Glorious.

'My name is the Full-seeing; my name is the Fullest-seeing.

'My name is the Far-seeing; my name is the Farthest-seeing.

13. 'My name is the Protector; my name is the Well-wisher; my name is the Creator; my name is the Keeper; my name is the Maintainer.

'My name is the Discerner; my name is the Best Discerner.

'My name is the Prosperity-producer⁵; my name is the Word of Prosperity⁶.

'My name is the King who rules at his will;

¹ 'I keep the creation' (Phl. tr.).

² 'I created the world and I maintain it' (ibid.).

³ 'I can know what is useful and what is hurtful' (ibid.).

⁴ 'The priest.'

⁵ 'I impart increase to the righteous' (Phl. tr.).

⁶ Doubtful. *Fṣûrô-māthrô* is used in several passages as the name of a part of the Avesta, Yasna LVIII [LVII], which appears to be called so from the presence in it of the words *fṣûsa*, *fṣûmant*, 'thriving, causing to thrive,' which aptly express its contents.

my name is the King who rules most at his will.

‘My name is the liberal King¹; my name is the most liberal King.

14. ‘My name is He who does not deceive; my name is He who is not deceived.

‘My name is the good Keeper; my name is He who destroys malice; my name is He who conquers at once; my name is He who conquers everything; my name is He who has shaped everything².

‘My name is All weal; my name is Full weal; my name is the Master of weal.

15. ‘My name is He who can benefit at his wish; my name is He who can best benefit at his wish.

‘My name is the Beneficent One; my name is the Energetic One; my name is the most Beneficent.

‘My name is Holiness; my name is the Great One; my name is the good Sovereign; my name is the Best of Sovereigns.

‘My name is the Wise One; my name is the Wisest of the Wise; my name is He who does good for a long time.

16. ‘These are my names.

‘And he who in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! shall recite and pronounce those names of mine³ either by day or by night ;

¹ Nâma, translated âpât, and interpreted Khutâi râ. The Sanskrit translator has misread âzât for âpât, and translated svatantra, independent.

² The commentator observes orthodoxly, ‘everything good.’

³ That is to say, who will recite this Yast.

17. 'He who shall pronounce them, when he rises up or when he lays him down; when he lays him down or when he rises up; when he binds on the sacred girdle¹ or when he unbinds the sacred girdle; when he goes out of his dwelling-place, or when he goes out of his town, or when he goes out of his country and comes into another country;

18. 'That man, neither in that day nor in that night, shall be wounded by the weapons of the foe who rushes Aêshma-like² and is Drug-minded; not the knife, not the cross-bow, not the arrow, not the sword, not the club, not the sling-stone³ shall reach and wound him.

19. 'But those names shall come in to keep him from behind and to keep him in front⁴, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend⁵, from the evil-doer⁶ bent on mischief⁷, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man⁸.

20. "Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy

¹ The *aiwyâonghanem* or *kôsti* (see *Vendîdâd* XVIII, p. 191, note 4).

² Or 'with anger.'

³ *Akavô*, *kakavô*, *ishavô*, *kareta*, *vazra*, translated *kartari*, *kakra*, *sara*, *sastrikâ*, *vagra*.

⁴ *Min akhar u lûin* (Phl. tr.); *prîshtha*[ta]s *purataska* (Sansk. tr.).

⁵ Interpreted as the demon of lust and envy. Cf. *Vendîdâd*, *Introd.* IV, 23.

⁶ *Kayadha*, translated *kâstâr* (Phl.), 'the impairer,' *kadartaka* (Sansk.), 'he who holds for nothing, who makes slight of.'

⁷ Doubtful. The Phl. tr. has 'who impairs living creatures,' etc.

⁸ Cf. *Yt.* XIII, 71.

rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-Manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest¹."

21. 'Hail to the Glory of the Kavis²! Hail to the Airyanem Vaêgah³! Hail to the Saoka⁴, made by Mazda! Hail to the waters of the Dâitya⁵! Hail to Ardvi⁶, the undefiled well! Hail to the whole world of the holy Spirit!

'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord⁷

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good⁸

22. 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya⁹. We worship Asha-Vahista, most fair, undying, and beneficent¹⁰. We worship Strength and Prosperity and Might and Victory and Glory and Vigour¹¹. We worship Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious.

'Yênghê hâtâm¹²: All those beings¹³ of whom Ahura Mazda knows the goodness¹⁴ for a sacrifice

¹ From Yasna XLIV, 16; cf. Vendidad VIII, 20.

² See Sîrôzah I, 9, p. 7, note 2.

³ Irân Vêg; see Vendidad, p. 3.

⁴ Saoka; see Sîrôzah I, 3.

⁵ See Vendidad, p. 5, note 2.

⁶ Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the great goddess of the waters; see Yt. V.

⁷ See above, p. 23.

⁸ See above, p. 22.

⁹ The prayer yathâ ahû vairyô, known as Ahuna vairya (Honover), from the first words in it: ahû vairyô. See above, p. 23.

¹⁰ Or 'the fairest Amesha-Spenta;' cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 7.

¹¹ Impersonated as gods, to obtain from them the benefits of which they are the impersonations.

¹² A formula found at the end of most chapters of the Yasna and imitated from Yasna LI [L], 22.

¹³ The Amesha-Spentas (Pahl. Comm. ad Yasna XXVII, fin.).

¹⁴ The benefits of which they dispose, and which they impart as rewards to the righteous.

[performed] in holiness, all those beings, males¹ and females², do we worship.

23. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

'I bless the sacrifice and the prayer unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and his strength and vigour³.'

(Bahman Yast⁴.)

24. 'O Zarathustra! keep thou for ever that man who is friendly [to me] from the foe unfriendly [to me]! Do not give up that friend unto the stroke (of the foe), unto vexations to be borne; wish no harm unto that man who would offer me a sacrifice, be it ever so great or ever so small, if it has reached unto us, the Amesha-Spentas.

25. 'Here is Vohu-Manô, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Asha-Vahista, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Khsathra-Vairya, my creature, O Zarathustra! here is Spenta-Ârmaiti, my creature, O Zarathustra! here are Haurvatât and Ameretât, who are the reward of the holy ones⁵, when freed from their bodies, my creatures, O Zarathustra!

26. 'Thou knowest this, and how it is, O holy Zarathustra! from my understanding and from my knowledge; namely, how the world first began⁶, and how it will end⁷.

¹ The first three.

² The last three, whose names are feminine.

³ Which he will impart in return to his worshippers.

⁴ See above, p. 21.

⁵ As the Genii who preside over plants and waters, they are very likely entrusted with the care of feeding the righteous in Paradise. Cf. Yt. XXII, 18.

⁶ From Yasna XXVIII, 12.

⁷ Cf. Yasna XXX, 4.

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies ¹!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies!

27. ‘[We worship] the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength; Verethraghna, made by Ahura; the crushing Ascendant ², and Spenta-Ârmaiti.

28. ‘And with the help of Spenta-Ârmaiti, break ye ³ asunder their ⁴ malice, turn their minds astray, bind their hands, make their knees quake against one another, bind their tongues ⁵.

‘When, O Mazda! shall the faithful smite the wicked ⁶? When shall the faithful smite the Drug? When shall the faithful smite the wicked?’

29. Then Zarathustra said: ‘I threw you back into the earth ⁷, and by the eyes of Spenta-Ârmaiti ⁸ the ruffian was made powerless ⁹.

30. ‘We worship the powerful Gaokerena ¹⁰, made by Mazda; the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

31. ‘We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word.

‘We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word.

‘We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word.

¹ Yasna LXVIII, 15 (LXVII, 50).

² See Sîrôzah I, 20.

³ Refers probably to the Izeds mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

⁴ Of the foes alluded to § 24.

⁵ Derezvan; see Yt. XI, 2.

⁶ Cf. Yasna XLVIII [XLVII], 2.

⁷ I follow the reading *zamerena*, which is followed by the Pahlavi translation too. In the Yasna IX, 15 (46) Zarathustra is said to have obliged the Daêvas to hide themselves in the earth.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIX, 94.

⁹ Cf. Vend. IX, 12-13.

¹⁰ See Sîrôzah I, 7.

'We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding¹; [we worship it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted².

32. 'We worship that creation [of Ahura's], Spenta-Ârmaiti; and the holy creations of that creature and of Asha [Vahista], that are foremost in holiness³.

'Here I take as lord and master⁴ the greatest of all, Ahura Mazda; to smite the fiend Angra Mainyu; to smite Aêśma of the wounding spear⁵; to smite the Mâzainya fiends⁶; to smite all the Daêvas and the Varenya fiends⁶; to increase Ahura Mazda,

¹ That mount is called in later literature Mount Ôsdâstâr (the Pahlavi translation of ushi-darena, the keeper of understanding). According to the Bundahis (XII, 15), it stands in Seistan. High mountains, being nearer heaven, are apt to become in the spirit of mythology the seat of heavenly beings or treasures. It was on the top of a mountain that Ahura revealed the law (see Vd. XXII, 19 [53]); the first man and king, Gayomarth, ruled on a mountain and was called Gar-shâh, the king of the mountain. When the Kayanian family failed, the Iranians went to Mount Alborz and found there Kai Kobâd waiting for his fate.

² The order of the text differs in one series of manuscripts, in which it begins with § 31; then comes § 29 with the following additional words:

'A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies! (three times; cf. above, § 26.)

We worship the Fravashi of the man whose name is Asmô-hvanvant; then I will worship the Fravashis of the other holy ones who were strong of faith' (Yt. XXII, 37).

Asmô-hvanvant was one of the first followers of Zarathustra, and with his name begins the enumeration of the Fravashis (Yt. XIII, 96).

Then follows § 30, and then again § 31 with the Ashem Vohû; and then the additional passage, 'We worship . . .,' is repeated twice.

³ Vispêrad XIX, 2.

⁴ As ahu and ratu, that is, as temporal chief and spiritual guide.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 22.

⁶ Ibid. 23.

bright and glorious; to increase the Amesha-Spentas; to increase the star Tistrya¹, the bright and glorious; to increase the faithful men; to increase all the holy creatures of the Beneficent Spirit.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good’²

33. ‘[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous⁴ offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones⁵.

‘May it come according to my blessing⁶!

‘A thousand remedies, ten thousand remedies⁷! (three times.)

‘Come to me for help, O Mazda!

‘We worship the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength, and Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and the crushing Ascendant⁸.

‘We worship Râma Hvâstra, and Vayu who works highly and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures. That part of thee do we worship, O Vayu, that belongs to Spenta Mainyu. We worship the sovereign Sky, the boundless Time, and the sovereign Time of the long Period⁹.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good’

¹ See Yast VIII.

² As above, p. 22.

³ Who shall offer thee a sacrifice. This paragraph is taken from Yasna LXVIII, 11 (LXVII, 32), where it is addressed to the Waters: ‘Ye, good waters, give unto that man who will offer you a sacrifice’

⁴ Susîla (Sansk. tr. ad Yasna LXI, 13).

⁵ This clause serves as a conclusion to all Yasts.

⁶ From Yasna LXVIII, 20 (LXVII, 52).

⁷ Cf. above, § 26.

⁸ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 20.

⁹ Ibid. 21.

II. HAPTÂN YAST.

The Yast of the seven Amshaspands is recited on the first seven days of the week, that is to say, on the days consecrated to the Amesha-Spentas. In fact it is nothing more than an extract from the Sîrôzahs, being composed of the first seven formulas in their two forms: §§ 1-5 = Sîrôzah I, 1-7; §§ 6-10 = Sîrôzah II, 1-7. Then come four sections which are the original part of the Yast (§§ 11-15).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced¹ !

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good¹

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness¹

I.

1². To Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and to the Amesha-Spentas ;

To Vohu-Manô ; to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures ; to the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda, and to the Wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda ;

2³. To Asha-Vahista, the fairest ; to the much-desired Airyaman ; to the instrument made by Mazda ; and to the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy ;

¹ The rest as above, Yt. I, o.

² Sîrôzah I, 1-2.

³ Sîrôzah I, 3-4.

To Khshathra-Vairya ; to the metals ; to Mercy and Charity.

3¹. To the good Spenta-Ârmaiti, and to the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy ;

To Haurvatât, the master ; to the prosperity of the seasons and to the years, the masters of holiness ;

And to Ameretât, the master ; to fatness and flocks ; to the plenty of corn ; and to the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

4². (At the Gâh Hâvan) : To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures and to Râma Hvâstra.

(At the Gâh Rapithwin) : To Asha-Vahista and to Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the Gâh Uzîren) : To Apâm Napât, the tall lord, and to water, made by Mazda.

5³. (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem) : To the Fravashis of the faithful and to the females that bring forth flocks of males ; to the prosperity of the seasons ; to the well-shapen and tall-formed Strength ; to Vere-thraghna, made by Ahura, and to the crushing Ascendant.

(At the Gâh Usahin) : To the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow ; to Rashnu-Razista and to Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase³ ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification !

Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 5-7.

² Sîrôzah I, 7.

³ Sîrôzah I, 7.

II.

6¹. We sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious ; we sacrifice unto the Amesha-Spentas, the all-ruling, the all-beneficent.

We sacrifice unto Vohu-Manô, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and who is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures ; we sacrifice unto the heavenly Wisdom, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the wisdom acquired through the ear, made by Mazda.

7². We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman ; we sacrifice unto the instrument made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto Khshathra-Vairya ; we sacrifice unto the metals ; we sacrifice unto Mercy and Charity.

8³. We sacrifice unto the good Spenta-Ârmaiti ; we sacrifice unto the good Râta, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons ; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness.

We sacrifice unto Ameretât, the Amesha-Spenta ; we sacrifice unto fatness and flocks ; we sacrifice unto the plenty of corn ; we sacrifice unto the powerful Gaokerena, made by Mazda.

9⁴. (At the Gâh Hâvan) : We sacrifice unto

¹ Sirôzah II, 1-2.

³ Sirôzah II, 5-7.

² Sirôzah II, 3-4.

⁴ Sirôzah II, 7.

Mithra, the lord of wide pastures ; we sacrifice unto Râma *Hvâstra*.

(At the Gâh Rapithwin): We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

(At the Gâh Uzîren): We sacrifice unto Apâm Napât, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of the females ; we sacrifice unto the holy waters, made by Mazda.

10¹. (At the Gâh Aiwisrûthrem): We sacrifice unto the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful ; we sacrifice unto the females who bring forth flocks of males ; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons ; we sacrifice unto the well-shapen, tall-formed Strength ; we sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda ; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant.

(At the Gâh Usahin): We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow, the holy and master of holiness ; we sacrifice unto Rashnu-Razista ; we sacrifice unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase

III.

11. Let the Yâtus be crushed, O Zarathustra ² ! both Daêvas and men ³.

Who is he in whose house, O Spitama Zarathustra ! every Drug is destroyed, every Drug perishes, when he pronounces these words ⁴ :

12⁵. ?

13. It is he who takes the seven Amesha-Spentas,

¹ Sîrôzah II, 7.

² Or : Let Zarathustra crush the Yâtus.

³ The Yâtus are either demons or men : the man-Yâtu is the sorcerer, the wizard. Cf. Yt. VIII, 44.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ I am unable to make anything of this section.

the all-ruling, the all-beneficent, as a shield¹ against his enemies.

We worship the Law of the worshippers of Mazda; we worship the waters coming in the shape of a horse², made by Mazda.

14-15. He has renounced trespasses and faults, O Zarathustra! he has renounced all trespasses and faults³, O Zarathustra! when he throws down⁴ the destroyer of Vohu-Manô and his words⁵, with a hundred times hundredfold, with a many times manifold preaching and smiting, and he takes away the Law of Mazda, that was carried away as a prisoner⁶, from the hands of the [ungodly], who are destroyed by his strength.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

16. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and the prayer, the strength and vigour

Of Ahura Mazda, bright and glorious, and of the Amesha-Spentas;

Of Vohu-Manô; of Peace, whose breath is friendly⁷

¹ Doubtful.

² See Yt. VIII, 5, 42; cf. § 20.

³ Âtare-vîtaremaibyâ . . . vîmrao; cf. âtarâish . . . vî sareman mruyê (Yasna XII, 4 [XIII, 16]): âtareman seems to be a sin by commission, vîtareman a sin by omission.

⁴ Doubtful (fraspâvares: fraspâ is generally translated ramî-tûntan).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. Yt. XIII, 100; XIX, 86; fravašnām is the reverse of uzvazha/ (l. l.).

⁷ The rest as above, § 1.

Of Asha-Vahista, the fairest ; of the much-desired Airyaman ¹

Of Khshathra-Vairya, of the metals ¹

Of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti and of the good Râta ²

Of Haurvatât, the master ²

Of Ameretât, the master ²

(At the Gâh Hâvan) : Of Mithra ³

(At the Gâh Rapithwin) : Of Asha-Vahista ³

(At the Gâh Uzîren) : Of the high lord Apãm Napât ³

(At the Gâh Aiwiusrûthrem) : Of the Fravashis of the faithful ⁴

(At the Gâh Usahin) : Of the holy, devout, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world grow ; of Rashnu-Razista and of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

Give unto that man ⁵ brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him sturdiness of body, give him victorious strength of body, give him full welfare of wealth, give him a virtuous offspring, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ The rest as above, § 2.

² The rest as above, § 3.

³ The rest as above, § 4.

⁴ The rest as above, § 5.

⁵ Who shall offer a sacrifice to the Amshaspands.

III. ARDIBEHIST¹ YAST.

This Yast is for a great part devoted to the praise of the Airyaman prayer, which is described as driving away all the diseases and plagues that have been brought upon the world by Angra Mainyu; and when the writer passes from the glorification of Airyaman to that of Asha-Vahista, which is put into the mouth of Angra Mainyu himself (§§ 13 seq.), he makes him speak of Asha-Vahista just in the same way, and ascribe him just the same powers, as he himself has done with regard to Airyaman. This is owing to the fact of Airyaman being invoked in company with Asha-Vahista in the second formula of the *Sîrôzah*².

The powers ascribed to Asha-Vahista have their origin in the twofold nature of that *Amesha-Spenta*, who being, in his abstract character, the impersonation of the highest element in Mazdeism, Divine Order and Holiness³, and in his concrete character, the genius who presides over the mightiest of physical elements, Fire⁴, is one of the most powerful and dreaded opponents of Angra Mainyu⁵. On the other hand, Airyaman is the genius to whom Ahura Mazda applied to heal the nine, and ninety, and nine hundred and nine thousand diseases created by Angra Mainyu⁶.

This Yast is recited every day at the *Gâhs Hâvan*, *Rapithwin*, and *Aiwisrûthrem* (*Anquetil*).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the *Daêvas* and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [*Hâvani*], the holy and master of holiness⁷. . . .

¹ *Ard-î-behist* is the Parsi form for *Asha vahista*, and being derived from *arta*, the Persian form corresponding to the Zend *asha*.

² See *Sîrôzah* I, 3, and below the introductory formula.

³ See *Vend. Introd.* IV, 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* 33.

⁵ See *Yt.* XVII, 18.

⁶ *Fargard* XXII and *Introd.*

⁷ As above, *Yt.* I, o.

Unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest; unto the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda, and unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy¹;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness²

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'That thou mayest increase Asha-Vahista, O Spitama Zarathustra! with hymns of praise, with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes³—for the sacrifice and invocation of us, the Amesha-Spentas⁴'

2. Zarathustra said: 'Say unto me the right words, such as they are, O Ahura Mazda! that I may increase Asha-Vahista, with hymns of praise,

¹ Sîrôzah I, 3.

² Several manuscripts add here the full invocation of the greater Sîrôzah:

'We sacrifice unto Asha-Vahista, the fairest, the Amesha-Spenta;

We sacrifice unto the much-desired Airyaman;

We sacrifice unto the instrument, made by Mazda;

We sacrifice unto the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy.'

³ The Garô-nmânem or Paradise; see Yasna XVI, 7 [XVII, 42], Phl. tr.

⁴ The principal clause appears to be wanting, unless Zarathustra is supposed to interrupt Ahura. One might also understand the sentence in an optative sense: 'Mayest thou increase . . .'

with performance of the office, with invocations, holy words, sacrifice, blessings, and adoration,—once to abide in the shining luminous space, in the beautiful abodes,—for the sacrifice and invocation of you, the Amesha-Spentas.

3¹. ‘. . . . I proclaim Asha-Vahista: if I proclaim Asha-Vahista, then easy is the way to the abode of the other Amesha-Spentas², which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Thoughts, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Words, which Ahura Mazda keeps with Good Deeds³;

4. ‘(Easy is the way to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda): the Garô-nmâna is for the holy souls, and no one of the wicked can enter the Garô-nmâna and its bright, wide, holy ways; (no one of them can go) to Ahura Mazda.

II.

5. ‘The Airyaman prayer⁴ smites down the strength of all the creatures of Angra Mainyu, of the Yâtus and Pairikas⁵. It is the greatest of spells, the best of spells, the very best of all spells; the

¹ Here again it seems as if a paragraph had been lost: ‘Ahura Mazda answered: Proclaim thou Asha-Vahista; if thou proclaimest Asha-Vahista—Then Zarathustra replied: I proclaim Asha-Vahista’

² The Garôthmân.

³ An allusion to the three Paradises of Humat, Hûkht, Hvarst through which the souls of the blessed pass to Garôthmân (Yt. XXII, 15).

⁴ The prayer known as Airyama-ishyô; see Vendîdâd XXI, 11-12.

⁵ See Vend. Introd. IV, 20-21.

fairest of spells, the very fairest of all spells; the fearful one amongst spells, the most fearful of all spells; the firm one amongst spells, the firmest of all spells; the victorious one amongst spells, the most victorious of all spells; the healing one amongst spells, the best-healing of all spells.

6. 'One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word: amongst all remedies this one is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful: for this one is the best-healing of all remedies¹.

7. 'Sickness fled away [before it], Death fled away; the Daêva fled away, the Daêva's counter-work² fled away; the unholy Ashemaogha³ fled away, the oppressor of men fled away.

8. 'The brood of the Snake fled away; the brood of the Wolf fled away; the brood of the Two-legged⁴ fled away. Pride fled away; Scorn fled away; Hot Fever fled away; Slander fled away; Discord fled away; the Evil Eye fled away.

9. 'The most lying words of falsehood fled away; the Gahi⁵, addicted to the Yâtu, fled away; the

¹ Cf. Vendîdâd VII, 44 (118). That Airyaman made use of the Holy Word (of spells) to cure diseases appears from Vend. XXII, 6 seq.

² Paityâra: every work of Ahura was opposed and spoiled by a counter-work of Angra Mainyu. Cf. Bundahis I, 23 seq.; III, 13 seq.; Vend. I; see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 195 seq.

³ See Yt. I, 10 and note 4.

⁴ The Ahrimanian creatures belonging to mankind, the Mair-yas and Ashemaoghas (Yt. I, 10).

⁵ The courtesan; cf. Vend. XXI, 17 (35), and Introd. IV, 25.

Gahi, who makes one pine¹, fled away; the wind that blows from the North² fled away; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

10. 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Snake, and who might smite those Daêvas by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands; he smites sickness, he smites death, he smites the Daêvas, he smites the Daêva's counter-work, he smites the unholy Ashemaogha, he smites the oppressor of men.

11. 'He smites the brood of the Snake; he smites the brood of the Wolf; he smites the brood of the Two-legged. He smites Pride; he smites Scorn; he smites Hot Fever; he smites Slander; he smites Discord; he smites the Evil Eye.

12. 'He smites the most lying words of falsehood; he smites the Gahi, addicted to the Yâtu; he smites the Gahi, who makes one pine. He smites the wind that blows from the North; the wind that blows from the North vanished away.

13. 'He it is who smites me that brood of the Two-legged, and who might smite those Daêvas, by thousands of thousands, by ten thousands of ten thousands. Angra Mainyu, who is all death, the worst-lying of all Daêvas, rushed from before him:

14. 'He exclaimed, did Angra Mainyu: "Woe is me! Here is the god Asha-Vahista, who will smite the sickliest of all sicknesses, who will afflict the sickliest of all sicknesses;

¹ The Zend is Kahvaredhaini, a synonym of which, Kahvaredha, Yasna LXI, 2 [LX, 7], is translated impairer of Glory, which means very likely: he who makes one 'dwindle, peak, and pine' (cf. Vend. XVIII, 62-64).

² From the country of hell; cf. Vend. VII, 2; XIX, 1; Yt. XXII, 25.

“ He will smite the deadliest of all deaths, he will afflict the deadliest of all deaths ;

“ He will smite the most fiendish of all fiends, he will afflict the most fiendish of all fiends ;

“ He will smite the most counter-working of all counter-works, he will afflict the most counter-working of all counter-works ;

“ He will smite the unholy Ashemaogha, he will afflict the unholy Ashemaogha ;

“ He will smite the most oppressive of the oppressors of men, he will afflict the most oppressive of the oppressors of men.

15. “ He will smite the snakiest of the Snake’s brood, he will afflict the snakiest of the Snake’s brood ;

“ He will smite the most wolfish of the Wolf’s brood, he will afflict the most wolfish of the Wolf’s brood ;

“ He will smite the worst of the two-legged brood, he will afflict the worst of the two-legged brood ;

“ He will smite Pride, he will afflict Pride ;

“ He will smite Scorn, he will afflict Scorn ;

“ He will smite the hottest of hot fevers, he will afflict the hottest of hot fevers ;

“ He will smite the most slanderous of slanders, he will afflict the most slanderous of slanders ;

“ He will smite the most discordant of discords, he will afflict the most discordant of discords ;

“ He will smite the worst of the Evil Eye, he will afflict the worst of the Evil Eye.

16. “ He will smite the most lying words of falsehood, he will afflict the most lying words of falsehood ;

“ He will smite the *Gahi*, addicted to the *Yâtu*, he will afflict the *Gahi*, addicted to the *Yâtu* ;

“ He will smite the *Gahi*, who makes one pine, he will afflict the *Gahi*, who makes one pine ;

“ He will smite the wind that blows from the North, he will afflict the wind that blows from the North.”

17¹. ‘The Drug will perish away, the Drug will perish ; the Drug will rush, the Drug will vanish. Thou perishest away to the regions of the North, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit ².

18. ‘For his brightness and glory I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard³, namely, unto *Asha-Vahista*, the fairest, the *Amesha-Spenta*. Unto *Asha-Vahista*, the fairest, the *Amesha-Spenta*, we offer up the libations, the *Haoma* and meat⁴, the *baresma*⁵, the wisdom of the tongue⁶, the holy spells⁷, the speech, the deeds⁸, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

‘*Yênê hâtâm* : All those beings of whom *Ahura Mazda* knows the goodness⁹

19. ‘*Yathâ ahû vairyô* : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ One set of manuscripts insert : ‘He will smite the wind that blows against the North, he will afflict the wind that blows against the North ; the wind that blows against the North [will perish].’ This is most likely an interpolation, as the wind that blows against the North (if this is the right meaning of *aparô apâkhtara*, as opposed to *pourvô apâkhtara*) blows against *Angra Mainyu*.

² Cf. *Vendîdâd* VIII, 21.

³ That is to say, worth being accepted : cf. *Yt. X*, 32 ; the Parsis translate, ‘a sacrifice heard [from the lips of the *Dastûrs*]’ (به شنیده) *یزشن از زبان دستوران* ; East India Office, XXV, 42).

⁴ The *Haoma* and *Myazda*.

⁵ See *Vend. III*, 1, note 2.

⁶ *Hizvô danghah* : *huzvân dânâkih* (Phl. tr.) means ‘the right formulas.’

⁷ ‘The *Avestâ*’ (Phl. tr.).

⁸ The several operations of the sacrifice.

⁹ As above, *Yt. I*, 22.

‘I bless the sacrifice and prayer and the strength and vigour of Asha-Vahista, the fairest; of the much-desired Airyaman, made by Mazda; and of the good Saoka, with eyes of love, made by Mazda and holy¹.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good². . . .

‘[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him health of body; . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.’

IV. KHORDÂD YAST.

Only the first two sections of this Yast refer to its nominal object, Haurvatât, the Genius of Health and Waters (Vend. Introd. IV, 7, 33). The rest of the Yast refers to the performance of the Bareshnûm ceremony as being the test of the true Zoroastrian. As the Bareshnûm purification was performed by Airyaman to drive away the myriads of diseases created by Angra Mainyu⁴, its laudation is not quite unaptly inserted in a Yast devoted to the Genius of Health.

The Khordâd Yast can be recited at any time. It is better to recite it during the Gâh Usahin, on the day Khordâd (Anquetil).

The text is corrupt.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness⁵. . . .

Unto Haurvatât, the master; unto the prosperity

¹ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 2.

² As above, p. 22.

³ Who shall offer a sacrifice to Asha-Vahista; cf. Yt. I, 33 and notes.

⁴ Vend. XXII, 20 [54].

⁵ As above, p. 22 and notes.

of the seasons and unto the years, the masters of holiness¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta; we sacrifice unto the prosperity of the seasons; we sacrifice unto the years, the holy and masters of holiness².

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I created for the faithful the help, the enjoyments, the comforts, and the pleasures of Haurvatât. We unite them with him who would come up to thee as one of the Amesha-Spentas, as he would come to any of the Amesha-Spentas, Vohu-Manô, Asha-Vahista, Khshathra-Vairya, Spenta-Ârmaiti, Haurvatât, and Ameretât.

2. 'He who against the thousands of thousands of those Daêvas, against their ten thousands of ten thousands, against their numberless myriads would invoke the name of Haurvatât, as one of the Amesha-Spentas, he would smite the Nasu, he would smite Hasi³, he would smite Basi³, he would smite Saêni³, he would smite Bûgi³.

3⁴. 'I proclaim the faithful man as the first [of men]; if I proclaim the faithful man as the first

¹ Sîrôzah I, 6.

² Sîrôzah II, 6.

³ Names of Daêvas. According to the Parsi translator of the Dînkart (vol. ii, p. 65), Hasi is 'he who makes sceptical;' Basi is 'he who gives rise to the barking disease;' Saêni is 'he who causes harm;' Bûgi is 'he who preys upon.'

⁴ The translation of this paragraph is quite conjectural.

[of men]¹, then Rashnu Razista², then every heavenly Yazata of male nature in company with the Amesha-Spentas will free the faithful man³

4. 'From the Nasu, from Hasi, from Gasi⁴, from Saêni, from Bûgi; from the hordes with the wide front, from the hordes with the many spears uplifted, from the evil man who oppresses, from the wilful sinner⁵, from the oppressor of men, from the Yâtu, from the Pairika, from the straying way.

5. 'How does the way of the faithful turn and part from the way of the wicked⁶?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is when a man pronouncing my spell, either reading⁷ or reciting it by heart, draws the furrows⁸ and hides⁹ there himself, [saying]:

6. "I will smite thee, O Drug! whomsoever thou art, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come in an open way, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that come by hidden ways, whomsoever thou art amongst the Druges that defile by contact; whatsoever Drug thou art, I smite thee away from the Aryan countries; whatsoever Drug thou art, I bind thee; I smite thee down, O Drug! I throw thee down below, O Drug!"

¹ If I am one of the faithful.

² The Genius of Truth, Yt. XII.

³ Will free me as one of the faithful.

⁴ Sic; cf. § 2.

⁵ Starâi; cf. *Études Iraniennes*, II, 135.

⁶ How is the wicked known from the faithful one?

⁷ Marâo: Phl. ôsmôrît, Sansk. adhyeti; safarûnît, posha-yati (pustakayati? Yasna XIX, 6 [9]).

⁸ The furrows for the Bareshnûm purification (Vend. IX).

⁹ Doubtful: gaozaiti; read yaozdâiti (? he cleanses).

7. 'He draws [then] three furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws six furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful; he draws nine furrows¹: I proclaim him one of the faithful.

8. 'The names of those (Amesha-Spentas) smite the men turned to Nasus² by the Druges; the seed and kin of the deaf³ are smitten, the scornful⁴ are dead, as the Zaothar Zarathustra blows them away to woe⁵, however fierce, at his will and wish, as many as he wishes.

9. 'From the time when the sun is down he smites them with bruising blows; from the time when the sun is no longer up, he deals deadly blows on the Nasu with his club struck down, for the propitiation and glorification of the heavenly gods.

10. 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil⁶ in black hair, devoted to the good law, who, devoted to the good law, holy⁷ and brave, stills all the Druges⁸.

11. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta. Unto Haurvatât, the Amesha-Spenta, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the

¹ To perform the Bareshnûm; cf. Vend. XXII, 20 [54].

² Reading nasûm kereta; cf. nasu-kereta (Vend. VII, 26 [67]).

³ See above, p. 26, note 2.

⁴ Saoša; cf. Yt. XXII, 13.

⁵ Duzavât: both the reading and the meaning are doubtful. Mr. West suggests, 'sends to hell' (reading duzanghvât or duzangha?).

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ Reading ashava instead of asô ava.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIV, 46.

holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

12. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Haurvatât, the master; of the prosperity of the seasons and of the years, the masters of holiness.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

V. ÂBÂN YAST.

The Âbân Yast (or Yast of the Waters) is devoted to the great goddess of the waters, the celebrated Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the 'Anaitis' of the Greeks. Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ('the high, powerful, undefiled') is the heavenly spring from which all waters on the earth flow down; her fountains are on the top of the mythical mountain, the Hukairyâ, in the star region. Her descent from the heavens is described in §§ 85 seq.; it reminds one of the Indian legend of the celestial Gaṅgâ.

This Yast contains much valuable information about the historical legends of Iran, as it enumerates the several heroes who worshipped Ardvi Sûra and asked for her help. First of all is Ahura himself (§ 16); then came Haoshyangha (§ 21), Yima (§ 25), Azi Dahâka (§ 29), Thraêtaona (§ 33), Keresâspa (§ 37), Franghrasyan (§ 41), Kava Usa (§ 45), Husravah (§ 49), Tusa (§ 53), Vaêsaka's sons (§ 57), Vafra Navâza (§ 61), Gâmâspa (§ 68), Ashavazdah, the son of Pourudhâkhsti, and Ashavazdah and Thrîta, the sons of Sâyuzdri (§ 72), Vistauru (§ 76), Yôista (§ 81); the Hvôvas and the Naotaras (§ 98), Zarathustra (§ 103), Kava Vîstâspa (§ 107), Zairivairi (§ 112), Aregat-aspa and Vandaremaini (§ 116).

This enumeration is interrupted by a description of the descent of Ardvi Sûra from the heavens (§§ 85-89), and of certain rules for her sacrifice given by herself to Zarathustra (§§ 90-97). This interruption may have been intentional, as it takes place just when

¹ Who shall have sacrificed to Haurvatât.

the course of the enumeration brings us to the times of Zarathustra and of the institution of the new religion.

The Yast is opened with a laudation of the benefits bestowed by Ardvi Sûra (§§ 1-16), and it closes with a description of her garments and apparel.

The first record of the worship of Ardvi Sûra is in a cuneiform inscription by Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-361), in which her name is corrupted into Anahata. Artaxerxes Mnemon appears to have been an eager promoter of her worship, as he is said 'to have first erected the statues of Venus-Anâhita (*Ἀφροδίτης*, *Ἀναΐτιδος*) in Babylon, Suza, and Ecbatana, and to have taught her worship to the Persians, the Bactrians, and the people of Damas and Sardes' (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* 5, on the authority of Berossus; about 260 B. C.). My friend M. Halévy suggests to me that the detailed and circumstantial description of Anâhita's appearance and costume (in §§ 126-131) shows that the writer must have described her from a consecrated type of statuary.

The principal data of the Greek writers on Anâhita will be found in Windischmann's Essay (*Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis*, 1856). One must be cautious in the use of the Greek sources, as the Greeks, with the eclectic turn of their mind, were inclined to confound under the name of Anâhita all the great female deities of Asia Minor, and her name became a common appellation for the Aphrodites as well as for the Artemides of the East.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda ; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA ; unto all waters, made by Mazda ; unto all plants, made by Mazda¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 10.

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying : ' Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding¹ and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing² and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy ;

2. ' Who makes the seed of all males pure³, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth⁴, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk into the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality ;

3. ' The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth ; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya⁵ down to the sea Vouru-Kasha⁶.

4. ' All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are

¹ ' As she comes down to all places ' (Phl. tr. ad Yasna LXV, 1 [LXVI, 2]).

² Âdhu, translated *gân* ; ' she makes life longer ' (Aspendiârji). Perhaps âdhu will be better translated springs, rivers (reading *gûy* instead of *gân* ; cf. Yt. VIII, 29).

³ ' Pure and sound, without blood and filth ' (Phl. tr.).

⁴ ' So that it may conceive again ' (Phl. tr.).

⁵ Hûgar the lofty is that from which the water of Arêdvîvsûr leaps down the height of a thousand men ' (Bundahis XII, 5, tr. West) ; cf. infra, §§ 96, 121, 126 ; Yt. XIII, 24. The Hukairya is mentioned again § 25 and Yt. IX, 8 ; Yt. X, 88 ; Yt. XV, 15 ; Yt. XVII, 28. It appears to be situated in the west (Bundahis XXIV, 17 ; II, 7 ; Minokhired XLIV, 12).

⁶ The earth-surrounding Ocean ; cf. Vendîdâd V, 15 (49) seq., text and notes.

boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels¹: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

5. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts.

6. 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, to keep them, to maintain them, to look over them, to keep and maintain them close.

7. 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Spitama Zarathustra! proceeded forth from the Maker Mazda. Beautiful were her white arms, thick as a horse's shoulder or still thicker; beautiful was her², and thus came she, strong, with thick arms, thinking thus in her heart:

8. "Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?"³

9. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her

¹ See the description § 101 seq.

² *Zaosa* or *zusa*, an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, seems to designate a part of the body; cf. § 126.

³ Cf. §§ 11, 124.

a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita a good sacrifice with an offering of libations;—thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

‘Yênê hâtâm¹: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

10. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the herd-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy²;

11. ‘Who drives forwards on her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes, driving, on this chariot, longing for men³ and thinking thus in her heart: “Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me?”

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice, worth being heard⁴. . .

¹ As above, p. 30; § 9 is repeated at the end of every chapter.

² § 10=§ 2.

³ Viz. for their worshipping; cf. Yasna XXIII, 2 [5], paitisma-reñti=Phl. hûmîtnîft, they hope, they expect. Cf. § 123.

⁴ As above, § 9.

III.

12. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita¹. . . .

13. 'Whom four horses carry, all white, of one and the same colour, of the same blood, tall, crushing down the hates of all haters, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, of the blind and of the deaf².

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IV.

14. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

15. 'Strong and bright, tall and beautiful of form, who sends down by day and by night a flow of motherly³ waters as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and who runs powerfully⁴.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

V.

16. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zârathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

17. 'To her did the Maker Ahura Mazda offer up a sacrifice⁵ in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya⁶; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words⁷.

¹ As above, § 10.

² Doubtful; cf. Yt. VIII, 47.

³ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 9, 40. This is the heavenly prototype of the Mazdean sacrifice as it was later shown to men by Zarathustra; cf. § 101.

⁴ Cf. Yt. I, 4 and notes.

⁵ Cf. p. 26, note 2.

⁶ Cf. above, § 3.

⁷ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

18. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Pourushaspa, the holy Zarathustra, to think after my law, to speak after my law, to do after my law!"

19. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and begging that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

VI.

20. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

21. 'To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta¹, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure² of the Hara³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

22. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the

¹ Haoshyangha was the first king of the Paradhâta (Pêsh-dâdyan) dynasty (cf. above, p. 7, note 2, and Bundahis XXXI, 1). It is related in Firdausi's Shâh Nâmah that he was the grandson of Gayomarth, the first man and king, and the son of Syâmak; that his father having been killed by the black Dîv, he encountered him at the head of an army of lions, tigers, birds, and Paris, and destroyed him; he then succeeded his grandfather, and reigned supreme over the seven Keshvars of the earth.

² Doubtful: upabda=upabanda, as thribda (Yt. VIII, 55)=thribanda; it appears from Yt. XV, 7 that the place meant here is the Taêra which is said in the Bundahis (V, 7) to be surrounded by the Albôrz (the Hara).

³ The Hara berezaiti or Albôrz, in Mâzandarân, south of the Caspian Sea, was supposed to surround the earth; cf. Yt. X, 56.

Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may smite down two thirds¹ of the Daêvas of Mâzana² and of the fiends of Varena³."

23. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

VII.

24. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

25. 'To her did Yima Khshaêta⁴, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya⁵, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

26. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may take from the Daêvas both

¹ A formula frequently used, not only in the Avesta, but also in the Shâh Nâmah.

² The Daêvas in Mâzandarân. Mâzandarân was held a place of resort for demons and sorcerers, and was in the Iranian legend nearly the same as Ceylon is in the Râmâyana. The Damâvand mountain, to which Azi Dahâka was bound, is the southern boundary of Mâzandarân.

³ See Vend. Introd. IV, 23; cf. this Yast, § 33.

⁴ Yima Khshaêta (Gemshîd), as an earthly king, ruled over the world for a thousand years, while he made immortality reign in it (Yt. IX, 8; XV, 15; cf. Vendîdâd II, Introd.).

⁵ See above, § 3.

riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory¹."

27. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VIII.

28. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

29. 'To her did Azi Dahâka², the three-mouthed, offer up a sacrifice in the land of Bawri³, with a

¹ After his brother Takhma Urupa, who reigned before him, had been killed and devoured by Angra Mainyu (Yt. IV, 11, note).

² When Yima began to sin and lost the *Hvarenô* (Glory), he was overthrown by Azi Dahâka (Zohâk), who seized the power and reigned in his place for a thousand years (cf. Yt. XIX, 33 seq.).

Azi Dahâka, literally 'the fiendish snake,' was first a mythical personage; he was the 'snake' of the storm-cloud, and a counterpart of the Vedic Ahi or *Vṛitra*. He appears still in that character in Yast XIX seq., where he is described struggling for the *Hvarenô* against Âtar (Fire), in the sea Vourukasha (Vendidâd, Introd. IV, 38; cf. this Yast, § 90). His struggle with Yima Khshaêta bore at first the same mythological character, 'the shining Yima' being originally, like the Vedic Yama, a solar hero: when Yima was turned into an earthly king, Azi underwent the same fate. In the *Shâh Nâmah* he is described as a man with two snakes springing from his shoulders: they grew there through a kiss of Ahriman's. For the myths referring to Azi, see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 91-95.

³ Babylon (cf. Yt. XV, 19). The usurper Azi, being a non-Aryan, was identified with the hereditary foe, the Chaldæans: the name of Babylon united in it, at the same time, a dim historical record of the old Assyrian oppression, then shaken off and forgotten, and an actual expression of the national antipathy of the Iranians for their Semitic neighbours in Chaldæa. After the conquest of Persia by the Musulmans, Azi was turned at last into an Arab. The original seat of the Azi myths was on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 210).

hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs.

30. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men."

31. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon, although he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating her that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IX.

32. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

33. 'To her did Thraêtaona¹, the heir² of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

34. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses⁴, that most powerful, fiendish Drug,

¹ Thraêtaona (Ferîdûn), son of Âthwya, conquered Azi and bound him to Mount Damâvand, where he is to stay till the end of the world, when he shall be let loose and then killed by Keresâspa (Vendidâd, Introd. IV, 12, 18; Bahman Yast III, 55 seq.; Bund. XXIX, 8 seq.).

² Visô-puthra = Pahlavi barbîtâ (see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 139).

³ Cf. Vend. I, 18 and Introd. IV, 12. Modern tradition supposes Varena to have been the region of Ghilan (very likely on account of its proximity to Mâzandarân and Mount Damâvand).

⁴ See Yt. X, 82, note.

that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle¹; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk², who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world³."

35. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon,

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

X.

36. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

37. 'To her did Keresâspa⁴, the manly-hearted, offer up a sacrifice behind the Vairi Pisanah⁵, with a

¹ Cf. Yt. XIX, 37.

² The two daughters of Yima, who had been ravished by Azi: they are called in the Shâh Nâmah Shahrinâz and Arnavâz (see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 213, Savanghavâk et Erenavâk). Thraêtaona delivered them, and then married them; he had a son, Airyu, from Arnavâz, and two sons from Shahrinâz, Tura and Sairima; Airyu, Tura, and Sairima became the kings of Irân, Tûrân, and Rûm.

³ Cf. Yt. IX, 14; XV, 24; XVII, 34.

⁴ Keresâspa (Garshâsp), one of the greatest heroes in the Avestean romance, although Firdausi has all but passed him over in silence. See his feats, Yt. XIX, 38 seq.; cf. Yt. V, 27 seq.; Yasna IX, 10 (29); Vend. I, 10 (36).

⁵ The Pisîn valley, south of Cabool. It was in the land of Cabool that the Keresâspa legend had its rise, or at least it was localised there. It is in the plain near the Pisîn valley that Keresâspa lies asleep, till the end of the world comes (see Yt. XIII, 61, note).

hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

38. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the golden-heeled Gandarewa¹, though all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over; and that I may run up to the stronghold of the fiend on the wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar."

39. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ A Parsi poem, of a very late date, gives further details about Gandarewa. It was a monster who lived 'in the sea, on the mountain, and in the valley;' he was called Pâshnah zarah, because the sea did not go above his heel (a misinterpretation of his Avestean epithet zairi pâshna, golden-heeled, the Zend zairi being mistaken for the Persian zarah ۛ, sea); his head would rise to the sun and rub the sky; he could swallow up twelve men at once. Keresâspa fought him for nine days and nine nights together; he drew him at last from the bottom of the sea and smashed his head with his club: when he fell on the ground, many countries were spoiled by his fall (Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 339, and West, *Pahlavi Texts*, II, pp. 369 seq.).

In the Vedic mythology the Gandharva is the keeper of Soma, and is described now as a god, now as a fiend, according as he is a heavenly Soma-priest or a jealous possessor who grudges it to man. What was the original form of the myth in Mazdeism is not clear. In the Shâh Nâmah he appears as the minister of Azi Dahâka. Cf. Yt. XV, 27 seq., and Ormazd et Ahriman, pp. 99, note 5; 215, note 1.

XI.

40. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

41. 'To her did the Turanian murderer, Frangrasyan¹, offer up a sacrifice in his cave under the earth², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

42. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may seize hold of that Glory³, that is waving in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha³ and

¹ Frangrasyan (Afrâsyâb) was king of Tûrân for two hundred years. The perpetual struggle between Irân and Tûrân, which lasts to this day, was represented in the legend by the deadly and endless wars between Afrâsyâb and the Iranian kings from Minokîhr down to Kai Khosrav (Kavi Husravah). The chief cause of the feud was the murder of Syâvakhsh (Syâvarshâna) by Afrâsyâb; Syâvakhsh, son of Kai Kaus (Kava Usa), having been exiled by his father, at the instigation of his mother-in-law, took refuge with Afrâsyâb, who received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage: but the fortune of Syâvakhsh raised the jealousy of Afrâsyâb's brother, Karsîvaz (Keresavazda), who by means of calumnious accusations extorted from Afrâsyâb an order for putting him to death (see Yt. XIX, 77). Syâvakhsh was revenged by his son, Kai Khosrav, the grandson of Afrâsyâb (Yt. IX, 22).

² Hankanê: Firdausi speaks of a cave on the top of a mountain, near Barda (on the frontier of Adarbaigân), where Afrâsyâb, when defeated, took refuge, and was discovered by Kai Khosrav; that cave was called 'the cave of Afrâsyâb' (hang i Afrâsiâb; Shâh Nâmah, IV, 196). In an older form of the legend, that cave was a palace built under-ground, with walls of iron and a hundred columns: its height was a thousand times a man's size (Aogemaidê, § 61; cf. Bund. XII, 20: see Études Iraniennes, II, 225, Le Hang d'Afrâsyâb).

³ Yt. XIX, 56 seq.

that belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and to those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra."

43. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XII.

44. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

45. 'To her did the great, most wise Kavi Usa¹ offer up a sacrifice from Mount Erezifya², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

46. 'He begged of her a boon, saying : "Grant me, this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of the Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf."

47. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XIII.

48. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

49. 'To her did the gallant Husravah³, he who

¹ Kavi Usa (Kai Kaus), the son of Kavi Kavâta (Kai Kobâd) and the father of Syâvakhsh (see p. 64, note 1), was the second king of the Kayanian dynasty.

² Mount Erezifya has been supposed to be the same as the Sariphi Montes in Ptolemaeus, which stretch between Margiana and Ariana (Burnouf, *Commentaire sur le Yasna*, p. 436).

³ Kai Khosrav ; cf. p. 64, notes 1 and 2.

united the Aryan nations into one kingdom ¹, offer up a sacrifice behind the *Kaêkasta* lake ², the deep lake, of salt waters ³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

50. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may become the sovereign lord of all countries, of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind and the deaf; and that I may have the lead in front of all the teams ⁴ and that he may not pass through ⁵ the forest ⁶, he, the murderer ⁷, who now is fiercely ⁸ striving against me ⁹ on horseback ¹⁰."

51. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XIV.

52. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

53. 'To her did the valiant warrior Tusa ¹¹ offer

¹ Doubtful.

² A lake in Adarbaigân, with salt water: fish cannot live in it (Bundahis XXII, 2). It is the same as Lake Urumiah. Its name is miswritten in Firdausi (Khangast for *Kêgast*, *خنجست* for *خنجست*).

³ Doubtful; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, *uruyâpa*, p. 179.

⁴ In pursuing his adversary.

⁵ Doubtful (cf. Yt. XV, 32).

⁶ The White Forest (ibid.).

⁷ Aurvasâra (ibid.).

⁸ Doubtful.

⁹ Trying to flee and escape.

¹⁰ Possibly, 'vieing in horses' (for the swiftness of the race): cf. Yt. XIX, 77.

¹¹ Tusa, in the *Shâh Nâmah* Tus; one of the most celebrated Pahlavans of Kai Khosrav; he was the son of king Naotara (Nôdar).

worship on the back of his horse¹, begging swift-ness for his teams, health for his own body, and that he might watch with full success² those who hated him, smite down his foes, and destroy at one stroke his adversaries, his enemies, and those who hated him³.

54. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaêsaka⁴, by the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha⁵; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

55. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon⁶, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ He offers not a full sacrifice, being on horseback.

² Not to be taken by surprise.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 11, 94, 114.

⁴ Vaêsaka was the head of the Vîsah family, whose foremost member was Pîrân Vîsah, the clever and upright minister of Afrâsyâb, the Turanian Nestor; but his counsels were despised for the common ruin, and himself perished with all his sons in the war against Irân.

⁵ Kangha was a town founded by Syâvarshâna, during his exile, in a part of the land of Khvârizm, which is described as an earthly paradise. This city was built on the top of a high mountain (*Antare-Kangha*, Yt. XIX, 4). The Khshathrô-saoka castle is called in the *Shâh Nâmah* *Kang dez*, 'the fortress of Kangha;' and, possibly, Khshathrô-saoka is a mere epithet of *dvare*, 'the castle of kingly welfare.'

⁶ According to the *Shâh Nâmah*, *Kang dez* was stormed by Kai Khosrav himself.

XV.

56. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

57. 'To her did the gallant sons of Vaêsaka offer up a sacrifice in the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kangha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

58. 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads¹."

59. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XVI.

60. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

61. 'The old² Vafra Navâza worshipped her, when the strong fiend-smiter, Thraêtaona, flung him up in the air in the shape of a bird, of a vulture³.

¹ Cf. §§ 53-54.

² Doubtful (pourvô) ; perhaps 'the man of the primitive faith' (the paoiryô-/kaêsha ; cf. Yt. XIII, 0, note) : the sacrifice he offers is quite a Zoroastrian one (cf. §§ 17, 104, and note 2 to the latter).

³ An allusion is made here to a myth, belonging to the Thraêtaona cyclis, of which no other trace is found in the Avesta (except in Yt. XXIII, 4). It referred most likely to the time when

62. 'He went on flying, for three days and three nights, towards his own house; but he could not, he could not turn down. At the end of the third night, when the beneficent dawn came dawning up, then he prayed unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, saying :

63. "'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! do thou quickly hasten helpfully and bring me assistance at once. I will offer thee a thousand libations, cleanly prepared and well strained, along with Haomas and meat, by the brink of the river Rangha, if I reach alive the earth made by Ahura and my own house."

64. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, wearing a golden¹, and radiant ².

65. 'She seized him by the arm : quickly was it done, nor was it long till, speeding, he arrived at the earth made by Mazda and at his own house, safe, unhurt, unwounded, just as he was before.

[66. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, entreating that she would grant him that boon³.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

Thraêtaona, on his march to Bawri, the capital of Azi (cf. § 29), arrived at the Tigris (the Rangha); an angel then came and taught him magic to enable him to baffle the sortileges of Azi (Shâh Nâmah). We have in this passage an instance of his talents as a wizard, and one which helps us to understand why Thraêtaona is considered as the inventor of magic, and his name is invoked in spells and incantations (Hamzah Ispahanensis, p. 101; Anquetil, II, pp. 135 seq.). Cf. Yt. XIV, 40 and note.

¹ Urvikhsna, a word of doubtful meaning.

² Cf. Yt. V, 78, 126.

³ This clause is no doubt spurious here.

XVII.

67. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

68. 'To her did *Gâmâspa*¹ offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, when he saw the army of the wicked, of the worshippers of the Daêvas, coming from afar in battle array.

69. 'He asked of her a boon, saying : "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! that I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans²."

70. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XVIII.

71. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

72. 'To her did Ashavazdah, the son of Pouru-

¹ *Gâmâspa*, the prime minister of *Vîstâspa* (*Kai Gûstâsp*), appears here in the character of a warrior, though generally he is described as a sage and a prophet (*Yasna XLIX [XLVIII]*, 9 ; *LI [L]*, 8 ; *Zardûst Nâmah* ; yet cf. *Yt. XXIII*, 2). The *Shâh Nâmah* has an episode which recalls this one, although very different in its spirit, and more in accordance with the general character of *Gâmâspa*. At the moment when the two armies meet together, *Gûstâsp* asks *Gâmâsp* to reveal to him the issue of the encounter : *Gâmâsp* obeys reluctantly, as the issue is to be fatal to the Iranians. *Gâmâsp* belonged to the *Hvôva* family.

² Or, 'as all the rest of the Aryans together.'

dhâkhsti¹, and Ashavazdah and Thrîta, the sons of Sâyuzdri², offer up a sacrifice, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, by Apâm Napât, the tall lord, the lord of the females, the bright and swift-horsed³.

73. 'They begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the assemblers of the Turanian Dânus⁴, Kara Asabana⁵, and Vara Asabana, and the most mighty Dûraêkaêta, in the battles of this world⁶."

74. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

XIX.

75. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

76. 'Vistauru, the son of Naotara⁷, worshipped

¹ Cf. Yt. XIII, 112. Ashavazdah, the son of Pourudhâkhsti, is one of the immortals who will come forth to help Saoshyant in the final struggle (Bundahis XXIX, 6; Yt. XIX, 95).

² Cf. Yt. XIII, 113.

³ Cf. above, p. 6, note 1.

⁴ A Turanian tribe, Yt. XIII, 37-38.

⁵ Asabana is very likely an epithet; possibly, 'who kills with a stone' (asan-ban); the sling was, as it seems, the favourite weapon of the Dânus (Yt. XIII, 38).

⁶ This section is the only fragment left of the legend of Ashavazdah, which must have been an important one, since Ashavazdah is one of the immortals (Yt. XIX, 95).

⁷ Cf. Yt. XIII, 102. Vistauru, being the son of Naotara, is the brother of Tusa, which identifies him with the Gustahm (گستهم) in the Shâh Nâmah: Nôdar had two sons, Tus and Gustahm.

her by the brink of the river Vîtanghuhaiti¹, with well-spoken words, speaking thus :

77. "This is true, this is truly spoken, that I have smitten as many of the worshippers of the Daêvas as the hairs I bear on my head. Do thou then, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ! leave me a dry passage, to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti."

78. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita hastened unto him in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious race, wearing shoes up to the ankle, with all sorts of ornaments and radiant². A part of the waters she made stand still, a part of the waters she made flow forward, and she left him a dry passage to pass over the good Vîtanghuhaiti³.

[79. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon⁴.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XX.

80. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra ! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

81. 'To her did Yôista, one of the Fryanas⁵,

¹ A river not mentioned elsewhere.

² Cf. §§ 64, 126.

³ Firdausi has no mention of this episode.

⁴ Spurious.

⁵ This legend is fully told in the Pahlavi tale of Gôsti Fryân (edited and translated by West) : a sorcerer, named Akht, comes with an immense army to the city of the enigma-expounders, threatening to make it a beaten track for elephants, if his enigmas are not solved. A Mazdayasnian, named Gôsti Fryân, guesses the

offer up a sacrifice with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs on the Pədvāêpa¹ of the Rangha.

82. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness, and that I may answer the ninety-nine hard riddles that he asks me maliciously, the evil-doing Akhtya, the offspring of darkness."

'83. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

XXI.

84. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

85. 'Whom Ahura Mazda the merciful ordered thus, saying: "Come, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, come from those stars² down to the earth made by Ahura,

thirty-three riddles proposed by Akht; then, in his turn, he proposes him three riddles which the sorcerer is unable to guess, and, in the end, he destroys him by the strength of a Nîrang. Cf. Yt. XIII, 120. This tale, which belongs to the same widespread cycle as the myth of Oedipus and the Germanic legend of the Wartburg battle, is found in the Zarathustra legend too (Vendîdâd XIX, 4).

¹ Perhaps an affluent of the Rangha (cf. Yt. XIII, 19, 19; XV, 27).

² Between the earth and the region of infinite light there are three intermediate regions, the star region, the moon region, and the sun region. The star region is the nearest to the earth, and the sun region is the remotest from it. Ardvi Sûra has her seat in the star region (Yasna LXV [LXIV], 1; Phl. tr.); cf. Yt. V, 132.

that the great lords may worship thee, the masters of the countries, and their sons.

86. "The men of strength¹ will beg of thee swift horses and supremacy of Glory.

"The Âthravans who read² and the pupils of the Âthravans will beg of thee knowledge and prosperity, the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant.

87. "The maids of barren womb³, longing for a lord³, will beg of thee a strong husband ;

"Women, on the point of bringing forth, will beg of thee a good delivery.

"All this wilt thou grant unto them, as it lies in thy power, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita !"

88. 'Then Ardvi Sûra Anâhita came forth, O Zarathustra! down from those stars to the earth made by Mazda; and Ardvi Sûra Anâhita spake thus :

89. "O pure, holy Zarathustra! Ahura Mazda has established thee as the master of the material world: Ahura Mazda has established me to keep the whole of the holy creation.

"Through my brightness and glory flocks and herds and two-legged men go on, upon the earth: I, forsooth, keep all good things, made by Mazda, the offspring of the holy principle, just as a shepherd keeps his flock."

90. 'Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita: "O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee? So that Mazda may make thee run down (to the earth), that

¹ The warriors.

² To teach.

³ Doubtful.

he may not make thee run up into the heavens, above the sun¹; and that the Serpent² may not injure thee with³, with⁴, with⁵, and poisons⁶."

91. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: "O pure, holy Spitama! this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship me, this is the sacrifice wherewith thou shalt worship and forward me, from the time when the sun is rising to the time when the sun is setting.

"Of this libation of mine thou shalt drink, thou who art an Âthrvan, who hast asked and learnt the revealed law, who art wise, clever, and the Word incarnate.

92. "Of this libation of mine let no foe drink, no man fever-sick, no liar, no coward, no jealous one, no woman, no faithful one who does not sing the Gâthas, no leper to be confined⁷.

93. "I do not accept those libations that are drunk in my honour by the blind, by the deaf, by the wicked, by the destroyers, by the niggards, by the⁸, nor any of those stamped with those characters which have no strength for the holy Word⁹.

¹ When the beds of the rivers are dry, the cause is that Ardvi Sûra sends up her waters to the higher heavens (to the sun region) instead of sending them down to the earth (cf. p. 73, note 2).

² The serpent, Azi, is here Azi in his original naturalistic character, the storm-fiend (cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 38 and this Yast, § 29, note). The uncleanness and unhealthiness of the rivers are ascribed to his poison.

³ Arethna, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

⁴ Vawzaka, idem.

⁵ Varenva, idem.

⁶ Varenva poisons.

⁷ Cf. Vend. II, 29.

⁸ ? Ranghau.

⁹ Which incapacitate one for religious works.

“Let no one drink of these my libations who is hump-backed or bulged forward; no fiend with decayed teeth¹.”

94. ‘Then Zarathustra asked Ardvi Sûra Anâhita: “O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! What becomes of those libations which the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas bring unto thee after the sun has set²?”’

95. ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita answered: “O pure, holy Spitama Zarathustra! howling, clapping, hopping, and shouting³, six hundred and a thousand Daêvas, who ought not to receive that sacrifice⁴, receive those libations⁵ that men bring unto me after [the sun has set]⁶.”’

96. ‘I will worship the height Hukairya, of the deep precipices⁷, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man⁸, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully⁹.’

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

XXII.

97. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

98. ‘Before whom the worshippers of Mazda

¹ Cf. Vend. II, 29.

² Cf. Vend. VII, 79 and note 2; cf. above, § 91.

³ For joy. The translations of those several words are not certain.

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Perhaps, those cups (*yamau*).

⁶ Filled up from § 94.

⁷ The text here has *vîspô-vahmem*, ‘worthy of all prayer,’ the reading *vîspô-vaêmem* from Yt. XII, 24 seems to be better.

⁸ Cf. §§ 102, 121.

⁹ Cf. §§ 4, 102, 121.

stand with baresma in their hands : the Hvôvas did worship her, the Naotaras did worship her¹; the Hvôvas asked for riches, the Naotaras asked for swift horses. Quickly was Hvôva blessed with riches and full prosperity ; quickly became Vîstâspa, the Naotaride, the lord of the swiftest horses in these countries².

99. ['Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted them that boon, as they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant them that boon³.]

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXIII.

100. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

101. 'Who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels : the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse⁴. In each channel there stands a palace, well-founded, shining with a hundred windows, with a thousand columns, well-built, with ten thousand balconies, and mighty.

102. 'In each of those palaces there lies a well-laid, well-scented bed, covered with pillows, and

¹ The Hvôva or Hvôgva family plays as great a part in the religious legend, as the Naotara family in the heroic one. Two of the Hvôvas, Frashaostra and Gâmâspa, were among the first disciples of Zarathustra and the prophet married Frashaostra's daughter, Hvôgvi (cf. Yt. XIII, 139). For the Naotaras, see above, §§ 53, 76. According to the Bundahis, Vîstâspa did not belong to the Naotara family (XXXI, 28): perhaps he was considered a Naotaride on account of his wife Hutaosa, who was one (Yt. XV, 35).

² His very name means 'He who has many horses.'

³ Spurious.

⁴ Cf. § 4.

Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, O Zarathustra! runs down there from a thousand times the height of a man, and she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully¹.

XXIV.

103. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

104. 'Unto her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words².

105. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may bring the son of Aurvat-aspa³, the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa, to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law⁴."

106. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

¹ Cf. § 96.

² Cf. § 17. It is to be noticed that only Ahura and Zarathustra (and perhaps Vafra Navâza; see p. 68, note 2) offer the pure Zoroastrian sacrifice.

³ Called Lôhrâsp in Parsi tradition.

⁴ Cf. § 18. The conversion of Vîstâspa by Zarathustra is the turning-point in the earthly history of Mazdeism, as the conversion of Zarathustra by Ahura himself is in its heavenly history. Cf. Yt. XXIV and IX, 26.

XXV.

107. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita . . .

108. 'Unto her did the tall¹ Kavi Vîstâspa² offer up a sacrifice behind Lake Frazdâna³, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

109. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Tâthravant, of the bad law, and Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregaŧ-aspa⁴, in the battles of this world!"

110. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice . . .

¹ Berezaidhi, translated buland (Yasna LVII, 11 [LVI, 5, 2]).

² See Yt. XIII, 99; V, 98, 105.

³ A lake in Seistan (Bundahis XXII, 5); from that lake will rise Hôshêdar Bâmî (Ukhshyaŧ-ereta), the first of the three sons of Zarathustra, not yet born (Bahman Yast III, 13; cf. Yt. XIII, 98).

⁴ Of these three, Aregaŧ-aspa alone is known to Firdausi; he is the celebrated Argâsp, who waged a deadly war against Gûstâsp to suppress the new religion: he stormed Balkh, slaughtered Lôhrâsp and Zartûst (Zarathustra), and was at last defeated and killed by Gûstâsp's son, Isfendyâr. He is the Afrâsyâb of the Zoroastrian period. In the Avesta he is not called a Turanian (Tura), but a Hvyâona; see Yt. IX, 30.

XXVI.

111. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

112. 'Unto her did Zairi-vairi¹, who fought on horseback, offer up a sacrifice behind the river Dâitya², with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

113. 'He begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Peshô-Kangha the corpse-burier³, Humâyaka⁴ the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the wicked Aregaŧ-aspa⁵, in the battles of this world.

114. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita granted him that boon⁶, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXVII.

115. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

116. 'Unto her did Aregaŧ-aspa and Vandaremaini⁷

¹ Zarîr in Firdausi, the brother of Vistâspa; cf. Yt. V, 117; XIII, 101.

² The Araxes (Vendidad I, 3).

³ Doubtful (cf. Vend. III, 36 seq.).

⁴ This is perhaps an epithet to Peshô-Kangha, 'the most malicious.'

⁵ See p. 79, note 4.

⁶ If we may trust the Shâh Nâmah, she did not grant her favour to the last, as Zarîr was killed by one of the generals of Argâsp, Bîdirafsh.

⁷ A brother of Argâsp's: his name is slightly altered in Firdausi (Andarîmân miswritten for Vandarîmân, وندریمان for اندریمان; see Études Iraniennes, p. 228).

offer up a sacrifice by the sea Vouru-Kasha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs.

117. 'They¹ begged of her a boon, saying: "Grant us this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may conquer the valiant Kavi Vîstâspa and Zairivairi who fights on horseback, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads."

118. 'Ardvi Sûra Anâhita did not grant them² that favour, though they were offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she should grant them that favour.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXVIII.

119. 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

120. 'For whom Ahura Mazda has made four horses—the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet—and thus ever³ upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting; and whose armies are so many and numbered by nine-hundreds and thousands.

121. 'I will worship the height Hukairya, of the

¹ The text has the singular here and in the rest of the sentence: the names of the two brothers form a sort of singular dvandva; cf. Franghrasyanem Keresavazdem (Yt. XIX, 77); Ashavazdanghō Thrithâhē (Yt. XIII, 113; and same Yast, 115), and in the present passage Vîstâspô Zairivairis (see *Études Iraniques*, II, 229).

² Both were killed by Isfendyâr (Shâh Nâmah).

³ Mîsti translated hamêsak, sadâ (Yt. VII, 4).

deep precipices, made of gold, wherefrom this mine Ardvi Sûra Anâhita leaps, from a hundred times the height of a man, while she is possessed of as much Glory as the whole of the waters that run along the earth, and she runs powerfully¹.

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXIX.

122. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

123. ‘She stands, the good Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, wearing a golden mantle², waiting for a man who shall offer her libations and prayers, and thinking thus in her heart :

124. “Who will praise me? Who will offer me a sacrifice, with libations cleanly prepared and well-strained, together with the Haoma and meat? To whom shall I cleave, who cleaves unto me, and thinks with me, and bestows gifts upon me, and is of good will unto me³?”

‘For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

XXX.

125. ‘Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

126. ‘Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, who stands carried forth in the shape of a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure, nobly born of

¹ § 121=§§ 96, 102.

² Paitidâna, a mantle, a tunic (Vend. XIV, 9 [28]).

³ See §§ 8, 11.

a glorious race¹, wearing along her² a mantle fully embroidered with gold;

127. 'Ever holding the baresma in her hand, according to the rules, she wears square golden earrings on her ears bored³, and a golden necklace around her beautiful neck, she, the nobly born Ardvi Sûra Anâhita; and she girded her waist tightly, so that her breasts may be well-shaped, that they may be tightly pressed⁴.

128. 'Upon her head Ardvi Sûra Anâhita bound a golden crown, with a hundred stars⁵, with eight rays, a fine⁶, a well-made crown, in the shape of a⁷, with fillets streaming down.

129. 'She is clothed with garments of beaver⁸, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita; with the skin of thirty beavers of those that bear four young ones, that are the finest kind of beavers; for the skin of the beaver that lives in water is the finest-coloured of all skins, and when worked at the right time it shines to the eye with full sheen of silver and gold.

130. 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! I beg of thee this favour: that I, fully blessed, may conquer large kingdoms, rich in horses⁹, with high tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments, with stores of food, with well-scented beds¹⁰; that I may have

¹ Cf. §§ 64, 78.

² Zaosa; cf. § 7, note 2.

³ Doubtful (sispemna, from sif, سفتن).

⁴ Doubtful.

⁵ Gems.

⁶ ? Anupôithwaitîm.

⁷ ? Ratha; the usual meaning of ratha is 'a chariot'; perhaps the round shape of the chest of a chariot is meant.

⁸ Possibly otter, Vend. XIV.

⁹ Doubtful.

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. XVII, 7.

at my wish the fulness of the good things of life and whatever makes a kingdom thrive¹.

131. 'Here, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! I beg of thee two gallant companions, one two-legged and one four-legged²: one two-legged, who is swift, quickly rushing, and clever in turning a chariot round in battle; and one four-legged, who can quickly turn towards either wing of the host with a wide front, towards the right wing or the left, towards the left wing or the right.

132. 'Through the strength of this sacrifice, of this invocation, O Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! come down from those stars³, towards the earth made by Ahura, towards the sacrificing priest, towards the full boiling [milk⁴]; come to help him who is offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that thou wouldst grant him thy favours; that all those gallant warriors may be strong, like king Vîstâspa.

'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

133. 'Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!'

¹ The translation of the last clause is doubtful.

² A good horse and a good driver.

³ Cf. §§ 85, 88. ⁴ Aspendiârji ad Vend. XIX, 40 [133].

VI. KHÔRSHÊD YAST.

(YAST TO THE SUN.)

This Yast is recited at any time, but particularly on the days consecrated to the sun and to Khshathra-Vairya (Shahrîvar), Mithra (Mihir), Asman (Âsmân), and Anaghra *raokau* (Anîrân¹): the last three, Mithra, Asman (the Heaven), Anaghra (the infinite Light), have a natural connection with the sun, but its connection with Khshathra-Vairya is not so clear.

Of this Yast we have a Pahlavi (East India Office, XII), a Persian (ibid. XXIV), and a Sanskrit translation (Fonds Burnouf V; all three edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced !

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness²

Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun³ ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness²

I. We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

When the light of the sun waxes warmer⁴, when the brightness of the sun waxes warmer, then up

¹ Or the 11th, 16th, 27th, and 30th days of the month (Anquetil, II, 184).

² As above, Yt. I, o.

³ Sirôzah I, 11.

⁴ 'That is to say, rises up' (Phl. tr.).

stand the heavenly Yazatas, by hundreds and thousands: they gather together its Glory, they make its Glory pass down, they pour its Glory upon the earth made by Ahura, for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness¹, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

2. And when the sun rises up, then the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean²; the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; all the holy creatures, the creatures of the Good Spirit, become clean.

3. Should not the sun rise up, then the Daêvas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

4. He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun—to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daêvas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen—offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul³. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly Yazatas, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

5. I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide

¹ Literally 'of the body of holiness,' that is to say, of the bodily creatures that incorporate holiness.

² 'From the uncleanness that the Daêvas mix with the earth during the night' (Phl. tr.).

³ As he benefits them and himself thereby.

pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes.

I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, well struck down¹ upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

I will sacrifice unto that friendship, the best of all friendships, that reigns between the moon and the sun².

6. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun. Unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words³.

Yêzhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

7. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and the invocation, and the strength and vigour of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Hunivikhtem: suniyuktam (Sansk. tr.); خوب نهاده (Pers. tr.).

² As they succeed one another in regular order.

³ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

VII. MÂH YAST.

This Yast to the Moon is recited on the day of the Moon, and on those of Bahman, Gôsr, and Râm¹ (Anquetil, II, 185). Bahman and Gôsr are so far connected with the Moon that all three are *gaoñithra*: 'Bahman², the Moon, and Gôsr³, all three, are having in them the seed of the bull; Bahman can neither be seen nor seized with the hand; the Moon proceeded from Bahman⁴ and can be seen, but cannot be seized with the hand; Gôsr proceeded from the Moon⁵ and can both be seen and seized with the hand⁶.' Râm is referred to here as being *hvastra*, 'lord of good pastures⁷.'

Of this Yast we have translations in Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanskrit (edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the

¹ The 12th, 2nd, 14th, and 21st days of the month.

² The Amshaspand Bahman is entrusted with the care of cattle (Vend. XIX, 20, note 8).

³ The Genius of Cattle; see Yt. IX.

⁴ Bahman is 'good thought, good mind,' Vohu-Manô; in the Vedas the moon is said to have been made out of the mind (manas) of Purusa. For an explanation of that old mystical myth, see Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 74, note 3.

⁵ See Vend. XXI, 9 [51], note 4.

⁶ Pahlavi commentary to this Yast, I.

⁷ Vend. Introd. IV, 16, and *Études Iraniennes*, II, 187 seq.

Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull¹ of many species;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull²! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us³!

2. How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane?

For fifteen days does the moon wax⁴; for fifteen days does the moon wane. As long as her waxing, so long is the waning⁵; as long as her waning, so long is the waxing.

'Who is there but thee⁶ who makes the moon wax and wane⁷?'

¹ Sirôzah I, 12.

² See Vend. XXI, 1, text and note.

³ When the moon allows itself to be perceived.

⁴ The Pahlavi translation has the following interesting details: 'For fifteen days they take good deeds from the earthly creatures and the rewards for virtue from the heavens; for fifteen days they make the rewards pass to the earth and the good deeds pass to the heavens.' The moon is thus a sort of moral clearing-house between earth and heaven.

⁵ According to the Parsis this waning does not refer to the moon, but to the constellations that help it in the struggle against the planets, which are supposed to belong to the Ahrimanic world (see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 223-226): 'while it waxes—namely, the moon—they wane,—namely, those that are opposed to the planets, to the bad stars; for instance, Haftôiring, Vanand, Tistar, Satvês; . . . while it wanes—namely, the moon—they wax, that is to say, they are strong for doing good.' Thus the moon and the stars relieve each other in the battle against Ahriman.

⁶ Ahura.

⁷ Quoted from Yasna XLIV [XLIII], 3.

3. We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the holy and master of holiness.

Here I look at the moon, here I perceive the moon; here I look at the light of the moon, here I perceive the light of the moon. The Amesha-Spentas stand up¹, holding its glory; the Amesha-Spentas stand up, pouring its glory upon the earth, made by Mazda².

4. And when the light of the moon waxes warmer, golden-hued plants grow on³ from the earth during the spring⁴.

We sacrifice unto the new moons, the full moons, and the Vîshaptathas⁵.

We sacrifice unto the new moon, the holy and master of holiness;

We sacrifice unto the full moon, the holy and master of holiness;

We sacrifice unto the Vîshaptatha, the holy and master of holiness.

¹ As soon as the moon appears.

² Cf. Yt. VI, 2.

³ Misti, meaning sadâ, همیشه; cf. mi-sâki.

⁴ Zaremaêm, meaning vasantamâse, بهار; it has the same meaning in Vend. XVIII, 9 [23]; cf. Yt. XXII, 18.

⁵ New moon and full moon are not used here in the English meaning: the month was divided into six parts, of five days each (the Norse fimt or five days' week; see Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary, s. v.): the first five days (pankâk fartûm) formed the new moon or antare-maungha, literally 'the moon within;' the next five days (pankâk datîgar) formed the perenô-maungha, literally 'the moon full,' which in fact partly answered to our first quarter; the next five days (pankâk sitîgar), belonging to the full moon, were called the Vîshaptatha; no mention is made of the last three pankâk, forming the second half of the month. It may be they were not mentioned, as belonging to the waning period, when the powers of the moon are suffering an eclipse. Cf. Neriosengh to Yasna I, (23.)

5. I will sacrifice unto the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, the liberal, bright, glorious, water-giving¹, warmth-giving, wisdom-giving², wealth-giving³, riches-giving, thoughtfulness-giving⁴, weal-giving, freshness-giving⁵, prosperity-giving⁶, the liberal, the healing.

6. For its brightness and glory, I will offer unto it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull.

Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yēnhê hâtām : All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

7. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Moon, that keeps in it the seed of the Bull, and of the only-created Bull, and of the Bull of many species.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good.

Give unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Or possessing: giving may be replaced by possessing in this word as in the following.

² Varekhanghantem : dânák (Phl.); gñânitaram (Sansk.).

³ Khstâvantem : lakshmîvantam (Sansk.).

⁴ Yaokhstivantem, 'pondering on what good is to be done' (viçâryavantam kâryanyâyânâm; اندیشه نیک دارنده کار و عدل).

⁵ Zairimyâvantem : haritavarnavantam, kila prithivî(m) sâdratarâm karoti (Sansk.).

⁶ Vohvâvantem : uttamasamriddhimantam (Sansk.).

VIII. TÎR YAST.

Tistrya is the leader of the stars against the planets, as stars and planets belong, respectively, to the worlds of Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu (Vend. Introd. IV, 36; Bund. II, 5 seq.).

This Yast is a description of the production of the rain through the agency of the star Tistrya. It has to struggle against the Daêva of Drought, Apaosha, is first overcome and conquers at last. This seems to be a refacimento of the old storm myths, which have been in so far renewed as the role of the hero in the original myth has been transferred to a star. It is to be noticed, however, that Apaosha is not described as a planet.

Tistrya is Sirius¹. It presides over the first month of summer (21 June—21 July). This Yast appears thus to have been written in a part of Iran where the dog-days must have fallen in July, and the rainy season began in the last days of July, unless the place of Tistrya in the calendar has been changed at some later period.

This Yast is recited on the days of Tistrya, Haurvatât (as the Genius of Waters), Farvardîn (as the Fravashis are his allies in the struggle; § 34), and Bâd (the wind; § 32).

The struggle between Tistrya and Apaosha is described in the Bundahis (VII), but it has there a cosmological character: it has not for its object the annual and regular return of the rains after the dog-days, but the production of the seas and lakes in the first ages of the world.

o. Mây Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and unto the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward²,

¹ "Ενα δ' ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων, οἷον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε, τὸν Σείριον (Plutarchus, de Iside et Osiride, § 47; cf. infra, § 48).

² Sîrôzah I, 13.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'We worship the lordship and mastership [of Tistrya], whereby he protects¹ the Moon, the dwelling, the food, when my glorious stars come along and impart their gifts² to men. I will sacrifice unto the star Tistrya, that gives the fields their share [of waters].

2. 'We offer up libations unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that gives happy dwelling and good dwelling; the white, shining, seen afar, and piercing; the health-bringing, loud-snorting³, and high, piercing from afar with its shining, undefiled rays; and unto the waters of the wide sea, the Vanguhi of wide renown⁴, and the species⁵ of the Bull, made by Mazda, the awful kingly Glory, and the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra.

3. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the star Tistrya.

'Unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, we offer up the libations, the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words⁶.

¹ Doubtful.

² The rain.

³ In his disguise as a horse; § 18.

⁴ See Vend., pp. 3, 5, note 2.

⁵ Nâma; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 124.

⁶ Cf. p. 47.

‘Yênhê hâtãm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

4. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who is the seed of the waters, powerful, tall, and strong, whose light goes afar; powerful and highly¹ working, through whom the brightness and the seed of the waters come from the high Apãm Napât²,

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

5. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; for whom long³ flocks and herds and men, looking forward for him and deceived in their hope⁴: “When shall we see him rise up, the bright and glorious star Tistrya? When will the springs run with waves as thick as a horse’s size and still thicker? Or will they never come?”

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

6. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star; who flies, towards the sea Vouru-Kasha⁵, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly

¹ Powerfully.

² Or, ‘through whom the beauty of the waters comes from Bereza, and their seed from Apãm Napât.’ Bereza, the high, the tall, an epithet of Apãm Napât, became one of his names (Ized Bôrg; cf. § 34); for Apãm Napât, see above, p. 6, note 1.

³ Paitismarenti; cf. Yt. V, 123.

⁴ Or better, ‘in their looking.’

⁵ See above, p. 54, note 6.

space¹, which Erekhsha², the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount *Hvanvant*³.

7. 'For Ahura Mazda gave him assistance; so did the waters and the plants; and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, opened a wide way unto him.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

8. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, that afflicts the Pairikas, that vexes the Pairikas, who, in the shape of worm-stars⁴, fly

¹ Mainivasau=mainyu-asau (meaning pun mînôî gîvâkîh, svargasthânâ, Yasna LVII, 27 [LVI, 11, 3]).

² Erekhsha khshviwi-ishus, in Pahlavi Aris Shvâtîr (see *Études Iranienes*, II, 220), or 'Aris of the swift arrow,' was the best archer in the Iranian army. When Minozihr and Afrâsyab determined to make peace and to fix the boundary between Irân and Tûrân, 'it was stipulated that Aris should ascend Mount Damâvand, and from thence discharge an arrow towards the east; and that the place in which the arrow fell should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. Aris thereupon ascended the mountain, and discharged towards the east an arrow, the flight of which continued from the dawn of day until noon, when it fell on the banks of the Gihûn (the Oxus),' (Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, trans. by David Shea, p. 175; cf. Noeldeke, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1881, p. 445.)

³ Mount Khshaotha seems to be the same as Mount Damâvand (see preceding note); Mount *Hvanvant* may be the same as Mount Bâmîân, from which the Balkh river springs, as according to Tabari (trans. by Noeldeke, l. 1.), Aris' arrow stopped at the Balkh river (an affluent of the Oxus). But it may be that the limits given refer to the course of Tistrya; cf. § 38, text and note.

⁴ Doubtful. Shooting stars are alluded to. Mr. Geiger remarks that there is a swarm of shooting stars falling every year just at the time when Tistrya, in the European climate, is supposed to be most active, on the 10th of August.

between the earth and the heavens, in the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep sea of salt¹ waters. He goes to its lake in the shape of a horse, in a holy shape; and down there he makes the waters boil over, and the winds flow above powerfully all around.

9. 'Then Satavaêsa² makes those waters flow down to the seven Karshvares of the earth³, and when he has arrived down there, he stands, beautiful, spreading ease and joy on the fertile countries (thinking in himself): "How shall the countries of the Aryas grow fertile?"

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

10. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who spake unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

11. "'If men would worship me with a sacrifice in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I should have come to the faithful at the appointed time⁴; I should have come in the appointed time of my

¹ See above, p. 66, note 3.

² Satavaêsa is said to be the leader of the western stars (to be read southern stars, Bund. II, 7), and has in its protection the seas of the southern quarter (ibid. XIII, 12); the Satavaêsa sea is the Persian gulf.

³ This seems to be an allusion to the tide in the Arabian sea (the sea Vouru-Kasha) and in the gulf of Oman, which, being a southern sea, is under the control of Satavaêsa (cf. preceding note and Vend. V, 18, note 1).

⁴ At the right time of the year when rain is expected.

beautiful, immortal life¹, should it be one night, or two nights, or fifty, or a hundred nights."

12. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya ;

'We sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya².

'We sacrifice unto the first star³; we sacrifice unto the rains of the first star.

'I will sacrifice unto the stars Haptôiringa⁴, to oppose the Yâtus and Pairikas.

'We sacrifice unto Vanant⁵, the star made by Mazda; for⁶ the well-shapen strength, for the Victory, made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant, for the destruction of what distresses us, for the destruction of what persecutes us.

'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose eye-sight is sound⁷.

13. 'For ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape

¹ Cf. §§ 23-24 and Yt. X, 54-55, 74.

² As Tistrya is the producer of the rain: Tistryênnyaska = Tistara-tâarakasya vrîshâm (Khorshêd Nyâyis 8, Sansk. tr.).

³ Tistrya; cf. p. 105, note 3.

⁴ Haptôiringa (Ursa Major) is the leader of the stars in the north (Bund. II, 7). It is 'entrusted with the gate and passage of hell, to keep back those of the nine, and ninety, and nine hundred, and nine thousand and nine myriad demons, and demonesses, and fairies (Pairikas) and sorcerers (Yâtus) who are in opposition to the celestial sphere and constellations' (Minokhired XLIX, 15; tr. by West).

⁵ Vanant is the leader of the stars in the south (read west; Bund. II, 7). Cf. Yt. XX.

⁶ To obtain . . . This invocation is brought about by the very name of Vanant, which means 'who smites, who overcomes.' The peculiar office of Vanant is to keep the passes and gates of Mount Albôrz, around which the sun, the moon, and the stars revolve, and to prevent the Paris and Daêvas from cutting off and breaking the road of the sun (Minokhired XLIX, 12).

⁷ 'I sacrifice to Tistar for (=to obtain) the soundness of the sight' (Khorshêd Nyâyis 8, Pahl. tr.).

with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age¹, bright, with clear eyes, tall, full of strength, strong, and clever.

14. 'He is active as the first man² was; he goes on with the strength of the first man; he has the virility³ of the first man.

15⁴. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of male children, a troop of male children, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

16. 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a golden-horned bull⁵.

17. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of oxen, a herd of oxen, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

18. 'The next ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

¹ The age of fifteen is the paradisiacal age in the Avesta (Yasna IX, 5 [18]).

² Gayô maratan. But the translation is doubtful; possibly 'as a first-rate man is.'

³ Doubtful; cf. erezi, Yt. XIV, 29.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 8.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XIX, 37 (123).

19. 'Here he calls for people to assemble, here he asks, saying: "Who now will offer me the libations with the Haoma and the holy meat? To whom shall I give wealth of horses, a troop of horses, and the purification of his own soul? Now I ought to receive sacrifice and prayer in the material world, by the law of excellent holiness."

20. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison¹.

21. 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha, in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

22. 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya and the Daêva Apaosha. They fight together, O Spitama Zarathustra! for three days and three nights. And then the Daêva Apaosha proves stronger than the bright and glorious Tistrya, he overcomes him.

23. 'And Tistrya flees from the sea Vouru-Kasha, as far as a Hâthra's² length. He cries out in woe and distress, the bright and glorious Tistrya: "Woe is me, O Ahura Mazda! I am in distress, O Waters and Plants! O Fate and thou, Law of the worshippers of Mazda! Men do not worship me with a

¹ 'Tistar was converted into three forms, the form of a man and the form of a horse and the form of a bull . . . as the astrologers say that every constellation has three forms' (Bund. VII, 4; tr. West). Tistrya promises his worshippers children (§ 15), oxen (§ 17), or horses (§ 19), according as he appears in the form of a man (§ 13), of a bull (§ 16), or of a horse (§ 18).

² A mile (Bundahis XXVI, 1; tr. West, note 1).

sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names¹.

24. "If men had worshipped me with a sacrifice in which I had been invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, I should have taken to me the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers²."

25. 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, offer up to the bright and glorious Tistrya a sacrifice in which he is invoked by his own name, and I bring him the strength of ten horses, the strength of ten camels, the strength of ten bulls, the strength of ten mountains, the strength of ten rivers.

26³. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya goes down to the sea Vouru-Kasha in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and golden caparison.

27. 'But there rushes down to meet him the Daêva Apaosha in the shape of a dark horse, black with black ears, black with a black back, black with a black tail, stamped with brands of terror.

28. 'They meet together, hoof against hoof, O Spitama Zarathustra! the bright and glorious Tistrya, and the Daêva Apaosha; they fight together, O Zarathustra! till the time of noon. Then the bright and glorious Tistrya proves stronger than the Daêva Apaosha, he overcomes him.

29. 'Then he goes from the sea Vouru-Kasha as far as a Hâthra's length: "Hail!" cries the

¹ Cf. § 10 and Yt. X, 54 seq., 74.

² Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 27.

³ §§ 26-27 = §§ 20-21.

bright and glorious Tistrya. "Hail unto me, O Ahura Mazda ! Hail unto you, O waters and plants ! Hail, O Law of the worshippers of Mazda ! Hail will it be unto you, O lands ! The life¹ of the waters will flow down unrestrained to the big-seeded² corn-fields, to the small-seeded³ pasture-fields, and to the whole of the material world !"

30. 'Then the bright and glorious Tistrya goes back down to the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison⁴.

31. 'He makes the sea boil up and down ; he makes the sea stream this and that way ; he makes the sea flow this and that way : all the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over.

32. 'And the bright and glorious Tistrya rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the bright and glorious Satavaêsa rises up from the sea Vouru-Kasha ; and vapours rise up above Mount Us-hindu, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha⁵.

¹ Adhavô ; possibly 'the streams ;' cf. Yt. V, 1, note 2. A month in the ancient Persian calendar, supposed to correspond to September-October, was called âdukani, which might, on that hypothesis, mean '(the month) that makes streams spring up.'

² Of which the representative is wheat (Bundahis XXIV, 19).

³ Of which the representative is the summer vetch (ibid. 21).

⁴ Cf. § 18.

⁵ 'The Âûsindôm mountain is that which, being of ruby, of the substance of the sky, is in the midst of the wide-formed ocean (the sea Vouru-Kasha),' (Bund. XII, 6; tr. West). Mount Âûsindôm receives its waters through a golden channel from the height Hukairya (cf. Yt. V, 3); 'from there one portion flows forth to the ocean for the purification of the sea, and one portion drizzles in moisture upon the whole of this earth, and all the creations of

33. 'Then the vapours push forward, in the regular shape of clouds¹; they go following the wind, along the ways which Haoma traverses, the increaser of the world². Behind him travels the mighty wind, made by Mazda, and the rain, and the cloud, and the sleet, down to the several places, down to the fields, down to the seven Karshvares of the earth.

34. 'Apām Napât³, O Spitama Zarathustra! divides the waters amongst the countries in the material world, in company with the mighty wind, the Glory, made by the waters⁴, and the Fravashis of the faithful⁵.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

35. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who from the shining east, moves along his long winding course, along the path made by the gods, along the way appointed for him the

Aûharmazd acquire health from it, and it dispels the dryness of the atmosphere' (ibid. XIII, 5).

¹ Doubtful.

² Haoma opens the way for the waters from heaven, as being the foremost element in sacrifice (cf. § 24). For the same reason the Bundahis numbers Vohu-Manô, 'Good Mind,' amongst the co-operators of Tistrya.

³ See p. 6, note 1.

⁴ Or better, 'seated in the waters;' see Yt. XIX, 56 seq. and Yt. XIII, 65.

⁵ The Fravashis are active in the world struggle; cf. Yt. XIII, 43. 'Co-operators with Tîstar were Vohûman and the angel Hôh, with the assistance of the angel Bûrg (the same as Apām Napât; see p. 94, note 2) and the righteous guardian spirits in orderly arrangement' (Bundahis VII, 3, tr. West).

watery way, at the will of Ahura Mazda, at the will of the Amesha-Spentas.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VIII.

36. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whose rising is watched by men who live on the fruits of the year, by the chiefs of deep¹ understanding²; by the wild beasts in the mountains, by the tame beasts that run in the plains; they watch him, as he comes up to the country for a bad year, or for a good year³, (thinking in themselves): “How shall the Aryan countries be fertile?”

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

37⁴. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, swift-flying and swift-moving, who flies towards the sea Vouru-Kasha, as swiftly as the arrow darted through the heavenly space, which Erekhsha, the swift archer, the Arya amongst the Aryas whose arrow was the swiftest, shot from Mount Khshaotha to Mount *Hvanvant*.

38. ‘Ahura Mazda gave him assistance, and the Amesha-Spentas and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, pointed him the way: behind him went the

¹ Doubtful.

² For good or bad harvest.

³ The chiefs of the state.

⁴ § 37=§ 6.

tall Ashis Vanguhi¹ and Pârendi² on her light chariot : always till, in his course, he reached Mount *Hvanvant* on the shining waters³.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

39. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who afflicts the Pairikas, who destroys the Pairikas, that Angra Mainyus flung to stop all the stars that have in them the seed of the waters⁴.

40. ‘Tistrya afflicts them, he blows them away from the sea Vouru-Kasha ; then the wind blows the clouds forward, bearing the waters of fertility, so that the friendly showers spread wide over, they spread helpfully and friendly over the seven Karshvares.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

41. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long the standing waters, and the running spring-waters, the stream-waters, and the rain-waters :

42. “When will the bright and glorious Tistrya rise up for us ? When will the springs with a flow and overflow of waters, thick as a horse’s shoulder, run to the beautiful places and fields, and to the

¹ See Yt. XVII.

² See above, p. 11, note 5.

³ Doubtful. Mount *Hvanvant*, being situated in the sea Vouru-Kasha (as appears from Tistrya travelling towards that sea, § 38), seems to be the same with Mount Aûsindôm (§ 32).

⁴ Cf. above, § 8.

pastures, even to the roots of the plants, that they may grow with a powerful growth?"

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

43. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, who washes away all things of fear¹, who stunts the growth of all², and brings health to all these creations, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

44. 'I will sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, whom Ahura Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars³, in the same way as he has established Zarathustra above men; whom neither Angra Mainyu, nor the Yâtus and the Pairikas, nor the men Yâtus⁴ can deliver unto death, nor can all the Daêvas together prevail for his death.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ *Simau*, meaning *sahmgûn*, *bhayamkara* (Yasna IX, 38 [93]).

² ? *Vazdris*.

³ In the *Bundahis* it is especially the leader of the eastern stars; but the *Minokhired* calls it the first star (XLIX, 5; cf. above, § 12).

⁴ See above, p. 38, note 3.

XIV.

45. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, to whom Ahura Mazda has given a thousand senses¹, and who is the most beneficent amongst the stars that have in them the seed of the waters :

46. 'Who moves in light with the stars that have in them the seed of the waters : he, from the sea Vouru-Kasha, the powerful sea, the large-sized, deep, and salt of waters, goes to all the lakes, and to all the beautiful caves, and to all the beautiful channels², in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with golden ears and a golden caparison.

47. 'Then, O Spitama Zarathustra ! the waters flow down from the sea Vouru-Kasha, mother-like³, friendly, and healing : he divides them amongst these countries, being most beneficent, when he has been worshipped with a sacrifice and propitiated, rejoiced, and satisfied⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

48. 'We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, for whom long all the creatures of Spenta-Mainyu, those that live under the ground, and those that live above the ground ; those that live in the waters, and those that live on dry land ; those that fly, and those that run in the plains⁵ ; and all those

¹ See Yt. X, 82, note.

² Those of Ardvi Sûra Anâhita ; cf. Yt. V, 4, 101.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 15.

⁴ Cf. § 43.

⁵ See Yt. XIII, 10, note ; cf. Vispêrad I, 1, and Bundahis XXIV, tr. West, note 1.

that live within this boundless and endless world of the holy Spirit.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

49. ‘We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, the healthful, wise, happy, and powerful, who is the lord of a thousand boons, and grants many boons to that man who has pleased him, whether begging or not begging for them.

50. ‘I, O Spitama Zarathustra! have created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda¹;

51. ‘In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duz-yâirya², whom evil-speaking³ people call Huyâirya⁴.

52. ‘Had I not created that star Tistrya as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer, as worthy of propitiation, as worthy of glorification as myself, Ahura Mazda;

53. ‘In order to withstand, to break asunder, to afflict, to drive back the malice of that Pairika Duz-yâirya, whom evil-speaking people call Huyâirya;

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 1.

² Bad year, that is to say, sterility, drought. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, also deprecates Duzyâirya in one of his inscriptions: ‘May Ahura Mazda keep this country from the hostile host, from sterility (dusiyâra), from lying (disloyalty): may never the foreigner enter this country, nor the hostile host, nor sterility, nor lying’ (Persepolis, H, 15).

³ People who object to rain and are fond of fine weather (?).

⁴ Good year.

54. 'Then all day long, all night long, that Pairika Duzyâirya would wage war against this material world of mine, wanting to extinguish its life¹, and she goes on, rushing upon and around it.

55. 'But the bright and glorious Tistrya keeps that Pairika in bonds, with twofold bonds, with threefold bonds, that cannot be overcome, with bonds all over the body: it is as if there were a thousand men keeping one man in bonds, a thousand men of those who are the strongest in strength.

56. 'If the Aryan countries, O Spitama Zarathustra! would perform in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya the due sacrifice and invocation, just as that sacrifice and invocation ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness; never should a hostile horde enter these Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants², nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

57³. Zarathustra asked: 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of the bright and glorious Tistrya, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness?'

58. Ahura Mazda answered: 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

¹ Reading *ava[-derenām]*; cf. Vend. XVIII, 18 [45].

² Kapasti is properly the colocynthis or bitter-apple:

'Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet.' (Ecl. IV, 24, 25.)

³ §§ 57-61 = Yt. XIV, 49-53; cf. Yt. V, 89 seq.

59. 'Let not a murderer take of these offerings, nor a whore, nor a¹ who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

60. 'If a murderer take of these offerings, or a whore, or a who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra, then the bright and glorious Tistrya takes back his healing virtues.

61. 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten, by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

62. 'Yathâ ahû vairîô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, and of the powerful Satavaêsa, made by Mazda, who pushes waters forward.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones².'

¹ ? Ashaovô.

² Cf. Yt. I, 33.

IX. GÔS YAST.

Gôš, 'the cow,' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, is a personation of the animal kingdom which she maintains and protects. She is also called Drvâspa and Gosûrûn: Drvâspa means 'she who keeps horses in health,' and is nothing more than an epithet of Gôš: Gôšûrûn (from the Zend *Geus urvan*) means 'the Soul of the Bull' (the primeval Bull). Although *urvan* is a masculine noun in Zend, yet Gôšûrûn is considered a female angel, as this name is only a substitute for Gôš.

Gôš is the angel of the 14th day (Sîrôzah I, 14), and her Yast is recited during the Gâh Usahin, on the days of Gôš, Bahman, Mâh, and Râm (the same days as those on which the Mâh Yast is recited; see above, p. 88).

Gôš is hardly described in this Yast (§§ 1-2); the greater part of it being filled with the several prayers addressed to her by the Iranian heroes, Haoshyangha (§ 3), Yima (§ 8), Thraëtaona (§ 13), Haoma (§ 17), Husravah (§ 21), Zarathustra, and Vîstâspa. Her worshippers and their prayers to her are the same as in the case of Ashi Vanguhi (see Yt. XVII).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be afflicted!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, satisfaction, and glorification unto Hâvâni, the holy and master of holiness.

Unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Sîrôzah I, 14.

I.

1. We sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health, the herds in health, the grown-up¹ (cattle) in health, the young ones in health; who watches well from afar, with a wide-spread and long-continued welfare-giving friendship;

2. Who yokes teams of horses, who makes her chariot turn and its wheels sound, fat and glistening², strong, tall-formed, weal-possessing, health-giving, powerful to stand and powerful to turn for assistance to the faithful.

3. To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta³, offer up a sacrifice on the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

4. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana⁴; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness⁵.'

5. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

6. For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful

¹ Doubtful; possibly 'the friend in health, the child in health.'

² Doubtful.

⁴ Cf. p. 59, note 2.

³ Cf. p. 58, note 1.

⁵ To hell.

Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda¹

II.

7. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful².

8. To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations:

9. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda;

10. 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years³.'

11. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon,

¹ As above, p. 30.

² § 7=§§ 1-2.

³ §§ 8-10=Yt. XVII, 28-30; cf. Yasna IX, 4-5 [11-20]; Yt. V, 25-27.

as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

12. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

13¹. To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations :

14. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mâinyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâê and Erenavâê, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world¹.'

15. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Yt. V, 34; XV, 24; XVII, 34.

IV.

16. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

17¹. To her did Haoma² offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza. He begged of her a boon, saying :

18. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan³, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake⁴, the deep lake of salt⁵ waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna⁶, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man⁷.'

¹ §§ 17-19=Yt. XVII, 37-38.

² Cf. Yasna XI, 7 [20-21]. The destruction of the fiends, being one of the principal effects of sacrifice, is ascribed to Haoma as the most powerful element in the sacrifice. In the *Shâh Nâmah*, the god Haoma has been turned into a hermit who, living near the cave in which Afrâsyâb had taken refuge (see above, Yt. V, 41), overhears his lamentations, takes him by surprise, binds him, and delivers him into the hands of Khosrav (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 227).

³ See p. 64, note 1.

⁴ See above, p. 66, note 2.

⁵ See p. 66, note 3.

⁶ See p. 64, note 1.

⁷ Doubtful (*narava*, as opposed to *nara*). Aghraêratha (Aghrêrath) was a brother of Afrâsyâb's; he was a righteous man, and Afrâsyâb killed him for his having saved the Iranian king Mino-kîhr with his army, when captive in the Padashkhvâr mountains (*Bundahis* XXXI, 21). Yet he is still living as an immortal in the land of Saukavastân, under the name of Gôpatshâh (the king of the bulls); 'from foot to mid-body he is a bull, and from mid-body to

19. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would give him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

20. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

21¹. To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Arya nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and an offering of libations :

22. 'Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man².'

23. The powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacri-

the top he is a man; at all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God, and always pours holy-water into the sea' (Minokhired LXII, 31 seq., tr. West; Bund. XXIX, 5); according to Bund. XXXI, 20, Aghrêrath was not Gôpatshâh, he was his father. Cf. Yt. XIX, 93.

¹ §§ 21-22 = Yt. XVII, 41-42.

² See p. 114, note 7.

ficing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

24. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

25¹. To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words. He begged of her a boon, saying :

26. 'O good, most beneficent Drvâspa ! grant me this boon, that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa² to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my Mazdean law and make it known, and that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

27. The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ §§ 25-26=XVII, 44-45; cf. Yt. V, 104.

² Hutaosa was the wife of king Vistâspa; cf. Yt. XV, 37.

VII.

28. We offer up a sacrifice unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy, who keeps the flocks in health

Who yokes teams of horses for assistance to the faithful.

29¹. To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs, and with an offering of libations :

30. ' Grant me this boon, O good, most beneficent Drvâspa ! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant², the son of Vîspa-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven hundred camels² ; that I may put to flight the *Hvyaona* murderer, Aregat-aspa³ ; that I may put to flight Darsinika⁴, the worshipper of the Daêvas ;

31. And that I may smite Tâthravant⁵ of the bad law ; that I may smite Spingauruska⁴, the worshipper of the Daêvas ; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the Varedhakas and of the *Hvyaonas*⁶ ; and that I may smite of the *Hvyaona* nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their

¹ §§ 29-31 = Yt. XVII, 49-51.

² ? *Gainyâvart*.

³ See above, p. 79, note 4.

⁴ " *Ἀπαξ λεγόμενος*.

⁵ Mentioned Yt. V, 109 and XIX, 87.

⁶ The *Hvyaonas* seem to have been the Chionitae, a bellicose tribe, near the land of Gilan, often at war with the first Sassanides (Amm. Marcellinus XVII, 5). The name of the Varedhakas reminds one of the Vertae who are mentioned once in company with the Chionitae (ibid. XIX, 1) ; but their geographical situation is not ascertained. In any case the proximity of the Dâitya (§ 29) shows that both people must have inhabited the western coast of the Caspian sea.

tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.

32. The strong Drvâspa, made by Mazda, the holy Drvâspa, the maintainer, granted him that boon, as he was offering up libations, giving gifts, sacrificing, and entreating that she would grant him that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well performed, namely, unto the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy. We offer up libations to the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy; we offer her the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

Yathâ ahû vairiyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the powerful Drvâspa, made by Mazda and holy.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

X. MIHIR YAST.

This Yast, one of the longest of the Avesta and one of the most interesting in a literary point of view, is not very instructive for mythology. It consists of long descriptive pieces, sometimes rather spirited, and of fervent prayers and invocations for mercy or protection. Originally Mithra was the god of the heavenly light (§§ 12, 50, 67, 104, 124 seq., 136 seq., &c.); and in that character he knows the truth, as he sees everything; he is therefore taken as a witness of truth, he is the preserver of oaths and good faith (§§ 2, 44 seq., 79 seq., 81 seq., &c.); he chastises those who break their promises and lie to Mithra, destroys their houses and smites them in battle (§§ 17 seq., 28 seq., 35 seq., 47 seq., 99 seq., 105 seq., 112 seq., 128 seq., &c.).

Particularly interesting are §§ 115-118, as giving a sketch of moral hierarchy in Iran, and §§ 121-122, as being perhaps the source of the trials in the later Roman Mithriacism. Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 8 and Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 59-61.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name, and unto Râma Hvâstra¹,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Verily, when I created Mithra, the lord of

¹ Sîrôzah I, 16.

wide pastures, O Spitama ! I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda¹.

2. 'The ruffian who lies unto Mithra² brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers³ could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama ! neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is one of thy own faith⁴. For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful.

3. 'Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, gives swiftness to the horses of those who lie not unto Mithra.

'Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, gives the straightest way to those who lie not unto Mithra.

'The good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful give a virtuous offspring to those who lie not unto Mithra.

4. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

'We offer up libations unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who gives a happy dwelling and a good dwelling to the Aryan nations.

5. 'May he come to us for help ! May he come to us for ease ! May he come to us for joy ! May he come to us for mercy ! May he come to us for health ! May he come to us for victory ! May he

¹ Cf. Yt. VIII, 50.

² The Mithradrug : one might also translate 'who breaks the contract,' as mithra, as a common noun, means 'a contract.'

³ Kayadhas ; cf. Yt. I, 19.

⁴ Cf. Ardâ Viraf, chap. lii.

come to us for good conscience¹! May he come to us for bliss²! he, the awful and overpowering, worthy of sacrifice and prayer, not to be deceived anywhere in the whole of the material world, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

6. 'I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazata, the powerful Mithra, most beneficent to the creatures: I will apply unto him with charity³ and prayers: I will offer up a sacrifice worth being heard unto him, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

'Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda⁴

II.

7. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge⁵, strong, sleepless, and ever awake⁶;

¹ Cheerfulness at the head of the *Kinva* bridge (Yasna LXII, 6 [LXI, 17]; cf. Vend. XVIII, 6).

² The condition of the blessed in the next world.

³ *Vanta*, 'assistance, that is, making *gâdangôî*' (Yasna LXII [LXI], 1; *gâdangôî* is making a collection for the poor (Études Iraniennes, II, 155).

⁴ As p. 30.

⁵ *Perethu-vaêdhayana: sampûrnavittâram kâryanyâyânam* (Khorshêd Nyâyis 6).

⁶ *Gaghâurvaung hem*: this word, strangely enough, is generally translated 'who has most strong arms' (balish/ab hugam); *gaghâuru* is translated in the same way.

8. 'To whom the chiefs of nations offer up sacrifices, as they go to the field, against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

9. 'On whichever side he has been worshipped first in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turns Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, with the fiend-smiting wind, with the cursing thought of the wise¹.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

10. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

11. 'Whom the horsemen worship on the back of their horses, begging swiftness for their teams, health for their own bodies, and that they may watch with full success those who hate them, smite down their foes, and destroy at one stroke their adversaries, their enemies, and those who hate them².

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

12. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

13. 'Who first of the heavenly gods reaches over the Hara³, before the undying, swift-horsed sun⁴;

¹ See p. 12, note 13.

² Cf. Yt. V, 53 ; X, 94.

³ Mount Albôrz, whence the sun rises ; see § 50.

⁴ Mithra is closely connected with the sun, but not yet identical with it, as he became in later times (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, the sun ; Deo invicto Soli Mithrae).

who, foremost in a golden array, takes hold of the beautiful summits, and from thence looks over the abode of the Aryans with a beneficent eye.

14. 'Where the valiant chiefs draw up their many troops in array¹; where the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters, yield plenty to the cattle²; where the deep lakes, with salt waters, stand³; where wide-flowing rivers swell and hurry towards Iskata and Pouruta, Mouru and Harôyu, the Gava-Sughdha and *Hvâirizem*⁴;

15. 'On Arezahi and Savahi, on Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, on Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti, on this bright Karshvare of *Hvaniratha*⁵, the abode of cattle, the dwelling of cattle, the powerful Mithra looks with a health-bringing eye;

16. 'He who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings glory; he who moves along all the Karshvares, a Yazata unseen, and brings sovereignty; and increases⁶ strength for

¹ In the flat countries.

² In the mountainous parts of Iran.

³ In the lake regions (Seistan, Farsistan, Âdarbaigân).

⁴ In the country of the large rivers in the East. Mouru is Marv (Margiana), with the Murghâb river (the Margus); Harôyu is the Herat country, with the Harêrûd; Gava-Sughdha and *Hvâirizem* are Sogdiana and Khvârizm, with the Oxus. The situation of Iskata and Pouruta is not clear: one might think of Alexander eschata on the Iaxartes and the Paretacene country between the Oxus and the Iaxartes.

⁵ The earth is divided into seven Karshvares, separated from one another by seas and mountains impassable to men. Arezahi and Savahi are the western and the eastern Karshvare; Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu are in the south; Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti are in the north; *Hvaniratha* is the central Karshvare. *Hvaniratha* is the only Karshvare inhabited by man (Bundahis XI, 3).

⁶ Doubtful.

victory to those who, with a pious intent, holily offer him libations.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

17. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

‘Unto whom nobody must lie, neither the master of a house, nor the lord of a borough, nor the lord of a town, nor the lord of a province.

18. ‘If the master of a house lies unto him, or the lord of a borough, or the lord of a town, or the lord of a province, then comes Mithra, angry and offended, and he breaks asunder the house, the borough, the town, the province ; and the masters of the houses, the lords of the boroughs, the lords of the towns, the lords of the provinces, and the foremost men of the provinces.

19. ‘On whatever side there is one who has lied unto Mithra, on that side Mithra stands forth, angry and offended, and his wrath¹ is slow to relent².

20. ‘Those who lie unto Mithra, however swift they may be running, cannot overtake³ ; riding, cannot³ ; driving, cannot³. The spear that the foe of Mithra flings, darts backwards, for the

¹ Mainyu, in the meaning of the Sanskrit manyu (?).

² Doubtful; *aspakat*: cf. *سپوختن*, to be late.

³ *Apayêinti*, *frastanvainti*, *framanyêintê*: these are three technical words for the movements of the three classes of soldiers, footmen, horsemen, and chariot-men; the last two words are probably synonymous with the first, but the exact shades of meaning are not known. Mr. West suggests, cannot outrun, outride, outdrive him.

number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out¹.

21. 'And even though the spear be flung well, even though it reach the body, it makes no wound, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out¹. The wind drives away the spear that the foe of Mithra flings, for the number of the evil spells that the foe of Mithra works out.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

22. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who takes out of distress the man who has not lied unto him, who takes him out of death.

23. 'Take us out of distress, take us out of distresses, O Mithra! as we have not lied unto thee. Thou bringest down terror upon the bodies of the men who lie unto Mithra; thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

24. 'Not the wound² of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ The sacramental words of the contract, by their not being kept, turn to evil spells against the contract-breaker.

² Doubtful: sanamayô, or sanamaoyô; read shanmaoyô (?), from shan, Sansk. kshan.

VII.

25. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who is lordly, deep, strong, and weal-giving ;
a chief in assemblies, pleased with prayers¹, high,
holily clever, the incarnate Word, a warrior with
strong arms ;

26. 'Who breaks the skulls of the Daêvas, and is
most cruel in exacting pains ; the punisher of the
men who lie unto Mithra, the withstander of the
Pairikas ; who, when not deceived, establisheth
nations in supreme strength ; who, when not de-
ceived, establisheth nations in supreme victory ;

27. 'Who confounds the ways of the nation that
delights in havoc, who turns away their Glory², takes
away their strength for victory, blows them away
helpless³, and delivers them unto ten thousand
strokes ; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful,
all-seeing, undeceivable Mithra.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth
being heard

VIII.

28. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who upholds the columns of the lofty house and
makes its pillars⁴ solid ; who gives herds of oxen and
male children to that house in which he has been
satisfied ; he breaks to pieces those in which he has
been offended.

29. 'Thou, O Mithra ! art both bad and good to

¹ Vahmô-sendah ; cf. Vispêrad VIII (IX, 1), Phl. tr.

² Their *Hvarenô*.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ *Āithya* ; cf. Lat. *antae* (Brugmann).

nations; thou, O Mithra! art both bad and good to men; thou, O Mithra! keepest in thy hands both peace and trouble for nations.

30. 'Thou makest houses large, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations¹, and high above their groundwork²; thou makest that house lofty, beautiful with women, beautiful with chariots, with well-laid foundations, and high above its groundwork, of which the master, pious and holding libations in his hand, offers thee a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name and with the proper words.

31. 'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra!

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra!

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra!

32. 'Listen unto our sacrifice³, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated⁴! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

33. 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance⁵ with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss⁶, good fame and a good

¹ Doubtful.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yt. III, 18.

⁴ By the proper prayers (*yastau*).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. § 5.

soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness¹, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word².

34. 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

35. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Victory-making⁴, army-governing, endowed with a thousand senses⁵; power-wielding, power-possessing, and all-knowing;

36. 'Who sets the battle a going, who stands against (armies) in battle, who, standing against (armies) in battle, breaks asunder the lines arrayed. The wings of the columns gone to battle shake, and he throws terror upon the centre of the havocking host.

37. 'He can bring and does bring down upon them distress and fear; he throws down the heads of those who lie unto Mithra, he takes off the heads of those who lie unto Mithra.

¹ Spiritual happiness, bliss.

² Vend. XVIII, 51 [111].

³ See above, p. 26, note 2. §§ 30-34 = §§ 56-59.

⁴ Doubtful (reading *arena/-gaêsha*?).

⁵ See § 82, note.

38. 'Sad is the abode, unpeopled with children, where abide men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, the fiendish killer of faithful men. The grazing cow goes a sad straying way, driven along the vales¹ of the Mithradrugēs: they² stand on the road, letting tears run over their chins³.

39. 'Their falcon-feathered arrows, shot from the string of the well-bent bow, fly towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

'Their spears, well whetted and sharp, their long spears fly from their hands towards the mark, and hit it not, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

40. 'Their swords, well thrust and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

'Their clubs, well falling and striking at the heads of men, hit not the mark, as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them.

41. 'Mithra strikes fear into them; Rashnu⁴ strikes a counter-fear into them⁵; the holy Sraosha blows them away from every side towards the two Yazatas, the maintainers of the world⁶. They make the ranks of the army melt away, as Mithra, the lord

¹ Doubtful.

² The cattle.

³ The meaning is, that the cattle of the Mithradrugēs do not thrive, and that their pasture-fields are waste.

⁴ See Yt. XII.

⁵ As they flee from Mithra, they fall into the hands of Rashnu.

⁶ Thrâtâra; one might feel inclined to read thrâstâra, 'the fear-striking'; cf. § 36.

of wide pastures, angry, offended, and unsatisfied, comes and meets them¹.

42. 'They cry unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, saying: "O Mithra, thou lord of wide pastures! here are our fiery horses taking us away, as they flee from Mithra; here are our sturdy arms cut to pieces by the sword, O Mithra!"'

43. 'And then Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, throws them to the ground, killing their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads; as Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, is angry and offended.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

44. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Whose dwelling, wide as the earth, extends over the material world, large², unconfined², and bright, a far-and-wide-extending abode.

45. 'Whose eight friends³ sit as spies for Mithra, on all the heights, at all the watching-places, observing the man who lies unto Mithra, looking at those, remembering those who have lied unto Mithra, but guarding the ways of those whose life is sought by

¹ Cf. §§ 99-101.

² Doubtful. The text is corrupt.

³ Doubtful. The number eight has probably an astronomical signification, each of the eight râtis of Mithra occupying one of the eight points of the compass.

men who lie unto Mithra, and, verily, by the fiendish killers of faithful men.

46. 'Helping and guarding, guarding behind and guarding in front, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, proves an undeceivable spy and watcher for the man to whom he comes to help with all the strength of his soul, he of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

47. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'A god of high renown and old age¹, whom wide-hoofed horses carry against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations².

48. 'And when Mithra drives along towards the havocking hosts, towards the enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of the conflicting nations, then he binds the hands of those who have lied unto Mithra, he confounds their eye-sight, he takes the hearing from their ears ; they can no longer move their feet ; they can no longer withstand those people, those foes, when Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bears them ill-will.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

49. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

50. 'For whom the Maker, Ahura Mazda, has

¹ Doubtful.

² Cf. § 8.

built up a dwelling on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve¹, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daêvas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza²;

51. 'A dwelling that all the Amesha-Spentas, in one accord with the sun, made for him in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, and he surveys the whole of the material world from the Haraiti Bareza.

52. 'And when there rushes a wicked worker of evil, swiftly, with a swift step, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, goes and yokes his horses to his chariot, along with the holy, powerful Sraosha and Nairyô-sangha³, who strikes a blow that smites the army, that smites the strength of the malicious⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

53. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

54. 'Who, with hands lifted up, ever cries unto Ahura Mazda, saying: "I am the kind keeper of all creatures, I am the kind maintainer of all creatures; yet men worship me not with a sacrifice in which I am invoked by my own name, as they worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names.

55⁵. "'If men would worship me with a sacrifice

¹ Bundahis V, 3 seq.; cf. Yt. XII, 13, and Yt. X, 13.

² The Haraiti Bareza is the same as Hara Berezaiti.

³ Sîrôzah I, 9, notes 4 and 5.

⁴ Doubtful (mâyaos).

⁵ Cf. Yt. VIII, 11, 24, and Yt. X, 74.

in which I were invoked by my own name, as they worship the other Yazatas with sacrifices in which they are invoked by their own names, then I would come to the faithful at the appointed time ; I would come in the appointed time of my beautiful, immortal life."

56¹. 'But the pious man, holding libations in his hands, does worship thee with a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, and with the proper words.

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O powerful Mithra !

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O most beneficent Mithra !

'With a sacrifice, in which thou art invoked by thy own name, with the proper words will I offer thee libations, O thou undeceivable Mithra !

57. 'Listen unto our sacrifice, O Mithra! Be thou pleased with our sacrifice, O Mithra! Come and sit at our sacrifice! Accept our libations! Accept them as they have been consecrated! Gather them together with love and lay them in the Garô-nmâna!

58. 'Grant us these boons which we beg of thee, O powerful god! in accordance with the words of revelation, namely, riches, strength, and victory, good conscience and bliss, good fame and a good soul; wisdom and the knowledge that gives happiness, the victorious strength given by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant of Asha-Vahista, and conversation (with God) on the Holy Word.

¹ §§ 56-59=§§ 30-34.

59. 'Grant that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our foes; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all our enemies; that we, in a good spirit and high spirit, exalted in joy and a good spirit, may smite all the malice of Daêvas and Men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIV.

60. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Whose renown is good, whose shape is good, whose glory is good; who has boons to give at his will, who has pasture-fields to give at his will; harmless to the tiller of the ground,¹, beneficent; he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

61. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Firm-legged², a watcher fully awake; valiant, a chief in assemblies; making the waters flow forward; listening to appeals; making the waters run and the plants grow up; ruling over the Karsh-

¹ The text is corrupt (*vasô-yaonâi inatâm?*).

² *Eredhwô-zangem: sudridhagaŋghatâ, kila kârye yad pâdâ-bhyâm yugyate kartum vyavasâyi saktasâ* (*Yasna LXII, 5 [LXI, 13]*).

vares¹; delivering²; happy³; undeceivable; endowed with many senses⁴; a creature of wisdom;

62. 'Who gives neither strength nor vigour to him who has lied unto Mithra; who gives neither glory nor any boon to him who has lied unto Mithra.

63. 'Thou takest away the strength from their arms, being angry and all-powerful; thou takest the swiftness from their feet, the eye-sight from their eyes, the hearing from their ears.

'Not the wound of the well-sharpened spear or of the flying arrow reaches that man to whom Mithra comes for help with all the strength of his soul, he, of the ten-thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god⁵.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

64. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who takes possession⁶ of the beautiful, wide-expanding law, greatly and powerfully, and whose face looks over all the seven Karshvares of the earth;

65. 'Who is swift amongst the swift, liberal amongst the liberal, strong amongst the strong, a chief of assembly amongst the chiefs of assemblies; increase-giving, fatness-giving, cattle-giving, sovereignty-giving, son-giving, cheerfulness⁷-giving, and bliss⁷-giving.

¹ Karsô-râzanghem: kêsvar vîrâi (Pahl. tr. *ibid.*).

² From Ahriman; cf. Yasna XXIX, 6 (vyâna = viârisn, visuddhatâ.)

³ Yaokhstivant: kâmakômand (possessing whatever he wishes for, Vend. XX, 1 [3]).

⁴ See Yt. X, 82, note.

⁵ From Yt. X, 23-24.

⁶ Cf. Yasna XLIII, 7: vyânayâ: amat vandînî, yat grîhâtî.

⁷ Cf. Yt. X, 5, p. 121, notes 1 and 2.

66. 'With whom proceed Ashi Vanguhi, and Pârendi on her light chariot ¹, the awful Manly Courage, the awful kingly Glory, the awful sovereign Sky, the awful cursing thought ² of the wise, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, and he who keeps united together the many faithful worshippers of Mazda ³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVII.

67. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who drives along on his high-wheeled chariot, made of a heavenly ⁴ substance, from the Karshvare of Arezahi ⁵ to the Karshvare of *Hvaniratha*, the bright one ; accompanied by ⁶ the wheel of sovereignty ⁷, the Glory made by Mazda, and the Victory made by Ahura ;

68. 'Whose chariot is embraced ⁸ by the great Ashi Vanguhi ; to whom the Law of Mazda opens a way, that he may go easily ; whom four heavenly steeds, white, shining, seen afar, beneficent, endowed with knowledge, swiftly ⁹ carry along the heavenly space ¹⁰, while the cursing thought of the wise pushes it forward ;

69. 'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends ¹¹ flee away in fear. Oh ! may we

¹ Cf. Yt. VIII, 38.

² See above, p. 12, note 13.

³ Mithra himself (?).

⁴ Or 'invisible.'

⁵ The western Karshvare (see above, p. 123, note 5) ; this seems to refer to the career of Mithra during the night ; cf. § 95.

⁶ And rolling upon it.

⁷ Cf. Yt. XIII, 89, note.

⁸ And uplifted.

⁹ Doubtful.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, note 1.

¹¹ See Vend. Introd. IV, 23.

never fall across the rush of the angry lord¹, who goes and rushes from a thousand sides against his foe, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVIII.

70. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake ;

‘Before whom Verethraghna, made by Ahura, runs opposing the foes in the shape of a boar², a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing³, wrathful, with a dripping face; strong, with iron feet, iron fore-paws⁴, iron weapons, an iron tail, and iron jaws ;

71. ‘Who, eagerly clinging to the fleeing foe, along with Manly Courage, smites the foe in battle, and does not think he has smitten him, nor does he consider it a blow till he has smitten away the marrow⁵ and the column of life⁶, the marrow⁵ and the spring of existence.

72. ‘He cuts all the limbs to pieces, and mingles, together with the earth, the bones, hair, brains, and blood of the men who have lied unto Mithra⁷.

‘For his brightness and glory, we offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Cf. § 98.

² See Yt. XIV, 15; cf. Yt. X, 127.

³ Anupôithwa; cf. pôithwa (Vend. XIV [114])=rânînisn.

⁴ Literally, hands.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ The spine.

⁷ Cf. § 80.

XIX.

73. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake ;

'Who, with hands lifted up, rejoicing, cries out,
speaking thus :

74. "'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit !
Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' "If men would worship me¹ with a sacrifice in
which I were invoked by my own name, as they
worship the other gods with sacrifices in which they
are invoked by their own names, then I should
come to the faithful at the appointed time ; I should
come in the appointed time of my beautiful, im-
mortal life ²."

75. 'May we keep our field ; may we never be
exiles³ from our field, exiles from our house, exiles
from our borough, exiles from our town, exiles from
our country.

76. 'Thou dashest in pieces the malice of the
malicious, the malice of the men of malice : dash
thou in pieces the killers of faithful men !

'Thou hast good horses, thou hast a good
chariot : thou art bringing help at every appeal, and
art powerful.

77. 'I will pray unto thee for help, with many
consecrations, with good consecrations of libations ;
with many offerings, with good offerings of libations,
that we, abiding in thee, may long inhabit a good
abode, full of all the riches that can be wished for.

¹ They have worshipped him and he has consequently over-
come the Mithradrugēs ; this accounts for the word rejoicing.

² Cf. Yt. X, 55.

³ Iric ; cf. linquo.

78. 'Thou keepest those nations that tender a good worship to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures; thou dashest in pieces those that delight in havoc. Unto thee will I pray for help: may he come to us for help, the awful, most powerful Mithra, the worshipful and praiseworthy, the glorious lord of nations.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XX.

79. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu¹, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

80. 'Thou art a keeper and protector of the dwelling of those who lie not: thou art the maintainer of those who lie not. With thee hath Verethraghna, made by Ahura, contracted the best of all friendships², and thus it is how so many men who have lied unto Mithra, even privily³, lie smitten down on the ground.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXI.

81. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who made a dwelling for Rashnu, and to whom Rashnu gave all his soul for long friendship;

82. 'To whom Ahura Mazda gave a thousand

¹ The Genius of Truth (Yt. XII); Mithra gives a dwelling to the truthful man in the same way as he destroys the dwelling of the liar (§ 80).

² Cf. § 70.

³ Aipi vithisi; Vedic api vyathisi (VIII, 45, 19).

senses¹ and ten thousand eyes to see. With those eyes and those senses, he watches the man who injures Mithra, the man who lies unto Mithra. Through those eyes and those senses, he is undeceivable, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXII.

83. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘Whom the lord of the country invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the lord of the town invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

84. ‘Whom the lord of the borough invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the master of the house invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the² in danger of death³ invokes for help, with hands uplifted;

‘Whom the poor man, who follows the good law, when wronged and deprived of his rights, invokes for help, with hands uplifted.

85. ‘The voice of his wailing reaches up to the sky, it goes over the earth all around, it goes over

¹ Yaokhsti, the root of Persian *nyôstîdan*, Pahlavi *niyôkhsîtan*, to hear; one might be inclined to translate ‘a thousand ears,’ or ‘a thousand hearings;’ but the meaning of the word must have been rather more general, as Neriosengh translates it (*pranidhi*, IX, 8 [25]).

² *Dvâkîna*?

³ *Pithê*: *mrîtyu* (*Yasna* LIII [LII], 6).

the seven Karshvares, whether he utters his prayer in a low tone of voice¹ or aloud.

86. 'The cow driven astray invokes him for help², longing for the stables:

' "When will that bull, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, bring us back, and make us reach the stables? when will he turn us back to the right way from the den of the Drug where we were driven³?"

87. 'And to him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been satisfied, he comes with help; and of him with whom Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, has been offended, he crushes down the house, the borough, the town, the province, the country.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIII.

88. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'To whom the enlivening, healing, fair, lordly, golden-eyed Haoma offered up a sacrifice on the highest of the heights, on the Haraiti Bareza⁴, he

¹ *Vâkem*, the so-called *vâg*.

² Most manuscripts have added here, from the preceding clauses, 'with hands uplifted!'

³ An allusion to a myth in which Mithra was described as an Indra delivering the cows carried away by a *Vrâtra*: Firmicus Maternus called him *abactorem boum* (*De Errore Profan. Relig. V*); Commodianus compares him with *Cacus*:

'*Vrtebatque boves alienos semper in antris
Sicut et Cacus Vulcani filius ille.*'

(*Apud Windischmann, Mithra, p. 64.*)

⁴ See above, p. 132, note 2.

the undefiled to one undefiled, with undefiled baresma, undefiled libations, and undefiled words;

89. 'Whom¹ the holy Ahura Mazda has established as a priest, quick in performing the sacrifice and loud in song. He performed the sacrifice with a loud voice, as a priest quick in sacrifice and loud in song, a priest to Ahura Mazda, a priest to the Amesha-Spentas. His voice reached up to the sky, went over the earth all around, went over the seven Karshvares.

90. 'Who first lifted up Haomas, in a mortar inlaid with stars and made of a heavenly substance. Ahura Mazda longed for him, the Amesha-Spentas longed for him, for the well-shapen body of him whom the swift-horsed sun awakes for prayer from afar².

91. 'Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes! Thou art worthy of sacrifice and prayer: mayest thou have sacrifice and prayer in the houses of men! Hail to the man who shall offer thee a sacrifice, with the holy wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the holy meat in his hand, the holy mortar in his hand³, with his hands well-washed, with the mortar well-washed, with the bundles of baresma tied up, the Haoma uplifted, and the Ahuna Vairya sung through.

92. 'The holy Ahura Mazda confessed that religion and so did Vohu-Manô, so did Asha-Vahista, so did Khshathra-Vairya, so did Spenta-Ârmaiti, so

¹ Haoma; cf. Yasna IX, 26 [81].

² For the morning service in the Gâh Usahîn.

³ Cf. Vend. III, 1.

did Haurvatât and Ameretât; and all the Amesha-Spentas longed for and confessed his religion. The kind Mazda conferred upon him the mastership of the world; and [so did they¹] who saw thee amongst all creatures the right lord and master of the world, the best cleanser of these creatures.

93. 'So mayest thou in both worlds, mayest thou keep us in both worlds, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! both in this material world and in the world of the spirit, from the fiend of Death, from the fiend Aêshma², from the fiendish hordes, that lift up the spear of havoc, and from the onsets of Aêshma, wherein the evil-doing Aêshma rushes along with Vîdôtu³, made by the Daêvas.

94. 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies and those who hate us⁴.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIV.

95. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who goes over the earth, all her breadth over, after the setting of the sun⁵, touches both ends of

¹ The Amesha-Spentas.

² See Vend. Introd. IV, 22.

³ See *ibid.*

⁴ See Yt. V, 53; X, 11, 114; V, 53.

⁵ It should seem as if Mithra was supposed to retrace his steps during the night. The Hindus supposed that the sun had a bright face and a dark one, and that during the night it returned from the west to the east with its dark face turned towards the earth.

this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and surveys everything that is between the earth and the heavens,

96. 'Swinging in his hands a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forwards and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons¹;

97. 'From whom Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; from whom Aêshma, the evil-doing Peshôtanu², flees away in fear; from whom the long-handed Bûshyâsta³ flees away in fear; from whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear⁴.

98. 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger⁵! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures⁶.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXV.

99. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'From whom all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear⁷.

¹ Cf. § 132.

³ See *ibid.* IV, 24.

⁵ Cf. Yt. X, 69.

⁷ Cf. § 97.

² See Vend. Introd. V, 19.

⁴ Cf. § 69.

⁶ §§ 97-98 = §§ 134-135.

‘The lord of nations, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward at the right-hand side of this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar.

100. ‘At his right hand drives the good, holy Sraosha; at his left hand drives the tall and strong Rashnu; on all sides around him drive the waters, the plants, and the Fravashis of the faithful.

101. ‘In his might, he ever brings to them falcon-feathered arrows, and, when driving, he himself comes there, where are nations, enemy to Mithra, he, first and foremost, strikes blows with his club on the horse and his rider; he throws fear and fright upon the horse and his rider.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXVI.

102. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘The warrior of the white horse, of the sharp spear, the long spear, the quick arrows; foreseeing and clever;

103. ‘Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving¹ world, and who maintains and looks over all this moving world; who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Fravôis; Parsi tradition translates large: frâz (tr. Phl.), buland (Asp., Yasna LVII, 15 [LVI, 7, 3]).

XXVII.

104. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake;

'Whose long arms, strong with Mithra-strength, encompass what he seizes in the easternmost river¹ and what he beats with the westernmost river², what is by the Sanaka³ of the Rangha and what is by the boundary of the earth⁴.

105. 'And thou, O Mithra! encompassing all this around, do thou reach it, all over, with thy arms.

'The man without glory⁵, led astray from the right way, grieves in his heart; the man without glory thinks thus in himself: "That careless Mithra does not see all the evil that is done, nor all the lies that are told."

106. 'But I think thus in my heart:

"Should the evil thoughts of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good thoughts of the heavenly Mithra;

"Should the evil words of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good words of the heavenly Mithra;

¹ The Sind.

² The Rangha or Tigris. The words âgeurvayêiti and nighnê, 'he seizes, he beats,' are the words used of the priest laying the Haoma in the mortar and pounding it with the pestle (Yasna, X, 2 [4-5]). The Sind and the Rangha are thus compared with the two parts of the Hâvana, the land between is the Haoma, and Mithra's arms are the arms of the priest.

³ Sanakê, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; opposed to the aodhas of the Rangha, Yt. XII, 19.

⁴ The Arabian sea (?). Cf. Yt. XII, 21.

⁵ Who has not a ray of the celestial light: here, the man of little faith.

“Should the evil deeds of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good deeds of the heavenly Mithra ;

107. “Should the heavenly wisdom¹ in the earthly man be a hundred times greater, it would not rise so high as the heavenly wisdom in the heavenly Mithra ;

“And thus, should the ears of the earthly man hear a hundred times better, he would not hear so well as the heavenly Mithra, whose ear hears well, who has a thousand senses, and sees every man that tells a lie.”

‘Mithra stands up in his strength, he drives in the awfulness of royalty, and sends from his eyes beautiful looks that shine from afar, (saying) :

108. “Who will offer me a sacrifice ? Who will lie unto me ? Who thinks me a god worthy of a good sacrifice ? Who thinks me worthy only of a bad sacrifice ? To whom shall I, in my might, impart brightness and glory ? To whom bodily health ? To whom shall I, in my might, impart riches and full weal ? Whom shall I bless by raising him a virtuous² offspring ?

109. “To whom shall I give in return, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect ; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten ; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger ?”

‘O Mithra ! when thou art offended and not satisfied, he³ soothes thy mind, and makes Mithra satisfied.

¹ See above, p. 4, n. 5.

² Âsna : Sansk. *susila* (p. 34, n. 4).

³ He who offers thee a good sacrifice ; cf. § 108.

110. "To whom shall I, in my might, impart sickness and death? To whom shall I impart poverty and sterility¹? Of whom shall I at one stroke cut off the offspring?"

111. "From whom shall I take away, without his thinking of it, the awful sovereignty, beautifully arrayed, with many armies, and most perfect; the sovereignty of an all-powerful tyrant, who fells down heads, valiant, smiting, and unsmitten; who orders chastisement to be done and his order is done at once, which he has ordered in his anger."

'O Mithra! while thou art satisfied and not angry, he moves thy heart to anger², and makes Mithra unsatisfied.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXVIII.

112. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

'A warrior with a silver helm³, a golden cuirass³, who kills with the poniard, strong, valiant, lord of the borough. Bright are the ways of Mithra, by which he goes towards the country, when, wishing well, he turns its plains and vales to pasture grounds,

113. 'And then cattle and males come to graze, as many as he wants.

'May Mithra and Ahura⁴, the high gods, come to us for help, when the poniard lifts up its voice

¹ Doubtful.

² He who offers thee a bad sacrifice.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ See Vend. Introd. IV, 8.

aloud¹, when the nostrils of the horses quiver, when the poniards², when the strings of the bows whistle and shoot sharp arrows; then the brood of those whose libations are hated fall smitten to the ground, with their hair torn off.

114. 'So mayest thou, O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! give swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries, our enemies, and those who hate us³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXIX.

115. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

'O Mithra, lord of wide pastures! thou master of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country, thou Zarathustrôtéma⁴!

116. 'Mithra is twentyfold⁵ between two friends or two relations;

'Mithra is thirtyfold between two men of the same group⁶;

'Mithra is fortyfold between two partners⁷;

¹ When it clashes with another.

² Kahvān.

³ See Yt. V, 53; X, 11, 94.

⁴ The chief of the sacerdotal order, the so-called Maubedân-maused.

⁵ Or 'the contract is twentyfold,' that is, twenty times more strictly binding than between any two strangers. This passage is one of the most important of the Avesta, as a short account of the social constitution and morals of Zoroastrian Iran.

⁶ Of the same gild (svapañkti, ap. Neriosengh).

⁷ Hadha-gaêtha, co-proprietors of a gaêtha (a rural estate).

‘Mithra is fiftyfold between wife and husband¹;

‘Mithra is sixtyfold between two pupils (of the same master);

‘Mithra is seventyfold between the pupil and his master;

‘Mithra is eightyfold between the son-in-law and his father-in-law;

‘Mithra is ninetyfold between two brothers;

117. ‘Mithra is a hundredfold between the father and the son;

‘Mithra is a thousandfold between two nations²;

‘Mithra is ten thousandfold when connected with the Law of Mazda³, and then he will be every day⁴ of victorious strength⁵.

118. ‘May I come unto thee with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly! As this sun rises up above the Hara Berezaitei and then fulfils its career, so may I, O Spitama! with a prayer that goes lowly or goes highly, rise up above the will of the fiend Angra Mainyu⁶!

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXX.

119. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

‘Offer up a sacrifice unto Mithra, O Spitama! and order thy pupils to do the same.

¹ Doubtful.

² A fair recognition of the *jus gentium*.

³ The contract between the faithful and the Law, the covenant (?).

⁴ Reading [h]amahê ayān.

⁵ The last clause is doubtful; the text is corrupt.

⁶ Prayer follows Mithra in his career, rising and setting with him.

‘Let the worshipper of Mazda sacrifice unto thee¹ with small cattle, with black cattle, with flying birds, gliding forward on wings.

120. ‘To Mithra all the faithful worshippers of Mazda must give strength and energy with offered and proffered Haomas, which the Zaothar proffers unto him and gives in sacrifice². Let the faithful man drink of the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does, if he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger.’

121. Zarathustra asked him: ‘O Ahura Mazda! how shall the faithful man drink the libations cleanly prepared, which if he does and he offers them unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, Mithra will be pleased with him and without anger?’

122. Ahura Mazda answered: ‘Let them wash their bodies three days and three nights; let them undergo thirty strokes³ for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let them wash their bodies two days and two nights; let them undergo twenty strokes for the sacrifice and prayer unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. Let no

¹ Mithra.

² The translation of this sentence is conjectural.

³ Thirty strokes with the Sraoshô-karana (upâzana; see Vend. Introd. V, 19); it is an expiation (âkayayanta) which purges them from their sins and makes them fit for offering a sacrifice to Mithra. One may find in this passage the origin of the painful trials through which the adepts of the Mithriac mysteries had to go before being admitted to initiation (οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν δυνήσαιοι τις τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τινων βαθμῶν παρελθὼν τῶν κολάσεων δείξει ἑαυτὸν ὅσιον καὶ ἀπαθῆναι, Suidas s. v., ap. Windischmann, über Mithra, 68 seq.).

man drink of these libations who does not know the staota yêsnya¹: Vîspê ratavô².

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXXI.

123. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake;

‘To whom Ahura Mazda offered up a sacrifice in the shining Garô-nmâna³.

124. ‘With his arms lifted up towards Immortality⁴, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward from the shining Garô-nmâna, in a beautiful chariot that drives on, ever-swift, adorned with all sorts of ornaments, and made of gold.

125. ‘Four stallions draw that chariot, all of the same white colour, living on heavenly food⁵ and undying. The hoofs of their fore-feet are shod with gold, the hoofs of their hind-feet are shod with silver; all are yoked to the same pole, and wear the yoke⁶ and the cross-beams of the yoke⁶, fastened with hooks⁶ of Khshathra vairyâ⁷ to a beautiful⁸

126. ‘At his right hand drives Rashnu-Razista⁹, the most beneficent and most well-shapen.

¹ The sutûd yêst; the last chapters of the Yasna, from LVIII [LVII] to end, according to Anquetil (Zend-Avesta I, 2, 232).

² The first words of the Vîspêrad.

³ Paradise.

⁴ Towards the abode of the Immortals.

⁵ Fed with ambrosia (ἀμβροσίον εἶδαρ) like Poseidon’s steeds (Il. XIII, 35; cf. Ovid, Metam. IV, 214).

⁶ Doubtful (simāmka simôithrāmka).

⁷ Metal. See Vend. Intro. IV, 33.

⁸ Upairispâta.

⁹ See Yt. XII.

‘At his left hand drives the most upright *Kīsta*¹, the holy one, bearing libations in her hands, clothed with white clothes, and white herself; and the cursing thought² of the Law of Mazda.

127. ‘Close by him drives the strong cursing thought² of the wise man, opposing foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face³, strong and swift to run, and rushing all around⁴.

‘Behind him drives *Âtar*⁵, all in a blaze, and the awful kingly Glory.

128. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand bows well-made, with a string of cowgut; they go through the heavenly space⁶, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

129. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand vulture-feathered arrows, with a golden mouth⁷, with a horn shaft, with a brass tail, and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

130. ‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand spears well-made and sharp-piercing. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the *Daêvas*.

‘On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of

¹ See Yt. XVI. ² See above, p. 12, note 13. ³ Cf. Yt. X, 70.

⁴ Or better, rushing before (*pâiri-vâza*; cf. the translations of *pairi-daŋvyu*, Yt. X, 144 and *pairi-vâra*, Yt. I, 19). Cf. Yt. XIV, 15.

⁵ The Genius of Fire. ⁶ See p. 95, note 1. ⁷ A golden point.

wide pastures, stand a thousand steel-hammers, two-edged, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

131. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand swords, two-edged and well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stand a thousand maces of iron, well-made. They go through the heavenly space, they fall through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

132. 'On a side of the chariot of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, stands a beautiful well-falling club, with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forward and fells men down; a club cast out of red brass, of strong, golden brass; the strongest of all weapons, the most victorious of all weapons¹. It goes through the heavenly space², it falls through the heavenly space upon the skulls of the Daêvas.

133. 'After he has smitten the Daêvas, after he has smitten down the men who lied unto Mithra, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, drives forward through Arezahê and Savahê, through Fradadhafshu and Vîdadhafshu, through Vourubaresti and Vourugaresti, through this our Karshvare, the bright *Hvaniratha*³.

134. 'Angra Mainyu, who is all death, flees away in fear; Aêshma, the evil-doing Peshotanu, flees

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 96.

² The text has, they go

³ See above, p. 123, note 5.

away in fear; the long-handed Bûshyâsta flees away in fear; all the Daêvas unseen and the Varenya fiends flee away in fear.

135. 'Oh! may we never fall across the rush of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, when in anger! May Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, never smite us in his anger; he who stands up upon this earth as the strongest of all gods, the most valiant of all gods, the most energetic of all gods, the swiftest of all gods, the most fiend-smiting of all gods, he, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures¹.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard . . .

XXXII.

136. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, . . . sleepless, and ever awake;

'For whom white stallions, yoked to his chariot, draw it, on one golden wheel, with a full shining axle.

137. 'If Mithra takes his libations to his own dwelling², "Happy that man, I think,"—said Ahura Mazda,—“O holy Zarathustra! for whom a holy priest, as pious as any in the world³, who is the Word incarnate, offers up a sacrifice unto Mithra with bundles of baresma and with the [proper] words.

“Straight to that man, I think, will Mithra come, to visit his dwelling,

138. “When Mithra's boons will come to him, as he follows God's teaching, and thinks according to God's teaching.

“Woe to that man, I think,”—said Ahura Mazda,—

¹ §§ 134-135=§§ 97-98.

² Cf. Yt. X, 32.

³ Doubtful. Possibly, 'of a pious conscience.'

"O holy Zarathustra! for whom an unholy priest, not pious¹, who is not the Word incarnate, stands behind the baresma, however full may be the bundles of baresma he ties, however long may be the sacrifice he performs."

139. 'He does not delight Ahura Mazda, nor the other Amesha-Spentas, nor Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, he who thus scorns Mazda, and the other Amesha-Spentas, and Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, and the Law, and Rashnu, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXXIII.

140. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, sleepless, and ever awake.

'I will offer up a sacrifice unto the good Mithra, O Spitama! unto the strong, heavenly god, who is foremost, highly merciful, and peerless; whose house is above², a stout and strong warrior;

141. 'Victorious and armed with a well-fashioned weapon, watchful in darkness and undeceivable. He is the stoutest of the stoutest, he is the strongest of the strongest, he is the most intelligent of the gods, he is victorious and endowed with Glory: he, of the ten thousand eyes, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ An unqualified priest; cf. Vend. IX, 47-57; XVIII, 1 seq.

² Or, 'whose house is great.'

XXXIV.

142. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures,
sleepless, and ever awake;

'Who, with his manifold knowledge, powerfully
increases the creation of Spenta Mainyu, and is a
well-created and most great Yazata, self-shining like
the moon, when he makes his own body shine;

143. 'Whose face is flashing with light like the
face of the star Tistrya¹; whose chariot is embraced
by that goddess who is foremost amongst those who
have no deceit in them², O Spitama! who is fairer
than any creature in the world, and full of light to
shine. I will worship that chariot, wrought by the
Maker, Ahura Mazda, inlaid with stars and made of
a heavenly substance; (the chariot) of Mithra, who
has ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing,
undeceivable god.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth
being heard

XXXV.

144. 'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide
pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies,
with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand
eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and
ever awake.

'We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries³;

'We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries;

¹ See Yt. VIII.

² Ashi Vanguhi (?); cf. § 68.

³ Who watches around countries: *aiwida/zyûm* is translated
مهر پیرامون شهرها (Pers. tr. of Mihir Nyâyis).

- ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country ¹;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries ²;
 ‘We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

145. ‘We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods ³; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield up baresma ⁴. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

‘Yathâ ahû vairyoð: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

‘I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a Yazata invoked by his own name; and that of Râma Hvâstra ⁵.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

‘[Give] unto that man ⁶ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!’

¹ Âdahvyûm: مهرکه در این شهر است; cf. Yasna XXVI, 9 [28].

² Pairidahvyûm: که پیش هر شهر است.

³ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 8.

⁴ Cf. Vend. p. 22, note 2.

⁵ Cf. Sîrôzah I, 16.

⁶ Who sacrifices to Mithra.

XI. SRÔSH YAST HÂDHÔKHT.

There are two Yasts dedicated to Sraosha, the angel of divine worship¹: one is a part of the Yasna (LVII [LVI]), and this, the other, is called the Srôsh Yast Hâdhôkht. Whether it belonged to the so-called Hâdhôkht Nosk², one of the twenty-one Nosks of which the original Avesta was formed³, or whether it was recited in the Hadhôkht sacrifice⁴, a particular liturgy, is a matter on which we have no sufficient information.

The two Yasts have a few developments in common (see §§ 8-9, 10-13): the Hâdhôkht is more liturgical, the Yasna Yast is more descriptive, and has to a greater degree the poetical imagery of a Yast.

The Srôsh Yast Hâdhôkht is recited every day, during any gâh except the Rapihvîn. A Pahlavi translation of this Yast is extant (East India Office, XII, 102; Paris, Supplément Persan, XXXIII, 259; edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II), and Anquetil mentions a Sanskrit translation.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . .

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness . . .

Unto the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

¹ Cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 31.

² Ibid. III, 3.

³ See an account of the Hâdhôkht Nosk in the Dînkart (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 225, note); cf. Introd. to Yt. XXI.

⁴ Cf. § 18, note.

I.

1. We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness.

Good prayer, excellent prayer to the worlds¹, O Zarathustra!

2. This it is that takes away the friendship of the fiend and fiends, of the he-fiend and of the she-fiend; it turns away in giddiness their eyes, minds, ears², hands, feet, mouths, and tongues³; as good prayer, without deceit and without harm, is Manly Courage⁴, and turns away the Drug⁵.

3. The holy Sraosha, the best protector of the poor, is fiend-smiting; he is the best smiter of the Drug.

The faithful one who pronounces most words of blessing is the most victorious in victory; the Mâthra *Spenta* takes best the unseen Drug away. The Ahuna Vairya⁶ is the best fiend-smiter among all spells; the word of truth is the fighter⁷ that is the best of all fiend-smiters.

The Law of the worshippers of Mazda is the truest giver of all the good things, of all those that are the offspring of the good principle; and so is the Law of Zarathustra.

4. And he who should pronounce that word⁸, O Zarathustra! either a man or a woman, with a mind all intent on holiness, with words all intent on

¹ 'Has been taught to the world, namely, the Law' (Pahl. Comm.).

² Doubtful.

³ Derezvâ: Pahl. hûzvân; cf. Yt. I, 28.

⁴ Is the same with it, is as powerful.

⁵ Doubtful (vârethrem dârestâ zak drôg vartî dâstârtûm).

⁶ See p. 23.

⁷ Or, 'is the best of all fiend-smiters in battle.'

⁸ This chapter (Pahl. Comm.).

holiness, with deeds all intent on holiness, when he is in fear either of high waters or of the darkness of a rainy night;

Or at the fords of a river, or at the branching-off of roads;

Or in the meeting together of the faithful, or the rushing together of the worshippers of the Daêvas¹;

5. Whether on the road² or in the law³ he has to fear, not in that day nor in that night shall the tormenting fiend, who wants to torment him, prevail to throw upon him the look of his evil eye, and the malice of the thief⁴ who carries off cattle shall not reach him.

6. Pronounce then that word, O Zarathustra! that word to be spoken⁵, when thou fall upon the idolaters⁶ and thieves and Daêvas rushing together. Then the malice of the wicked worshippers of the Daêvas, of the Yâtus and their followers, of the Pairikas and their followers, will be affrighted and rush away. Down are the Daêvas! Down are the Daêva-worshippers, and they take back their mouths from biting⁷.

¹ Different words are used, as usual, to express the same conflict, according as it refers to the faithful or to the idolaters.

² Aipi-ayanâm: madam râs.

³ Arethyanâm: dâdistân (from aretha, meaning dînâ, dâdistân).

⁴ Gadha: *nrîsamsa* (Neriosengh); the Pahlavi has 𐬔𐬀, a Saka, a Scythe.

⁵ The praise of Sraosha.

⁶ Keresasza: krasîâk; cf. Neriosengh ad Yasna IX, 24 [75]; that name was in the later periods applied to Christians, as if keresa were the name of Christ; cf. Bahman Yast II, 19; III, 2.

⁷ Doubtful.

7. And therefore we take around us the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, as one does with shepherds' dogs; therefore we sacrifice unto the holy-natured Sraosha, the holy, the fiend-smiter, with good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

8¹. For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power, for his offering sacrifices unto the gods², I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. I will offer up libations unto the holy Sraosha, unto the great Ashi Vanguhi³, and unto Nairyô-sangha⁴, the tall-formed.

So may the holy Sraosha, the fiend-smiter, come to us for help!

9. We worship the holy Sraosha; we worship the great master, Ahura Mazda, who is supreme in holiness, who is the foremost to do deeds of holiness.

We worship all the words⁵ of Zarathustra, and all the good deeds, those done and those to be done.

Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

10⁶. We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness;

Who strikes the evil-doing⁷ man, who strikes the evil-doing woman; who smites the fiendish

¹ §§ 8-9 = Yasna LVII, 3-4 [LVI, 1, 6-12].

² See Vend. Introd. IV, 31.

³ See Yt. XVII.

⁴ See Vend. XXII, 7 [22] and Sîrôzah I, 9.

⁵ The words of the law.

⁶ §§ 10-13 = Yasna LVII, 15-18 [LVI, 7].

⁷ Cf. Yt. I, 19.

Drug, and is most strong and world-destroying; who maintains and looks over all this moving¹ world;

11. Who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda; who protects all the material world with his club uplifted, from the hour when the sun is down;

12. Who never more did enjoy sleep from the time when the two Spirits made the world, namely, the good Spirit and the evil One; who every day, every night, fights with the Mâzainya Daêvas.

13. He bows not for fear and fright before the Daêvas: before him all the Daêvas bow for fear and fright reluctantly, and rush away to darkness².

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power....³

III.

14. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness....

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness;

Who with peace and friendship⁴ watches the Drug and the most beneficent Spirit: so that the Amesha-Spentas may go along the seven Karshvares of the earth⁵; who is the teacher of the

¹ Cf. above, p. 145, note 1.

² To hell.

³ As above, §§ 8-9.

⁴ To the creation of Ormazd.

⁵ Doubtful. The Yasna has: 'Through whose strength, victorious power, wisdom, and knowledge the Amesha-Spentas go (avān; Phl. sâtûnand) along the seven Karshvares of the earth' (LVII, 23 [LVI, 10, 2]).

Law¹: he himself was taught it by Ahura Mazda, the holy One.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power

IV.

15. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha, who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness ;

Whom the holy Ahura Mazda has created to withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear ; we sacrifice unto Peace, whose breath is friendly, and unto the two withstanders of sin and guilt²,

16. The friends of the holy Sraosha ;

The friends of Rashnu Razista³ ;

The friends of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda ;

The friends of Arstât⁴, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper ;

The friends of Ashi Vanguhi⁵ ;

The friends of the good Kisti⁶ ;

The friends of the most right Kista⁷ ;

¹ He teaches the law to the three saviours to come, Oshêdar Bâmî, Oshêdar Mâh, and Soshyôs (Yasna LVII, 24 [LVI, 10, 2] ; Phl. tr.).

² Parestaskâ mravaydoskâ, to be corrected, according to various readings, into staretaskâ mavaydoskâ or something like it ; the two genii here alluded to are Anâstareta and Amuyamna, Sinlessness and Innocence, who are invoked in company with Akhsti hamvaiiti in Vispêrad VIII, 4.

³ See Yt. XII.

⁴ See Yt. XVII.

⁵ See Vend. XIX, 39.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ See Yt. XVI, 1.

17. The friends of all gods ;
 The friends of the Mâthra Spenta ;
 The friends of the fiend-destroying Law ;
 The friends of the long-traditional teaching ;
 The friends of the Amesha-Spentas ;
 The friends of ourselves, the Saoshyants¹, the
 two-footed part of the holy creation ;
 The friends of all the beings of the holy world.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious
 power

V.

18. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of
 holiness

We sacrifice unto the holy, tall-formed, fiend-smiting Sraosha,
 who makes the world increase, the holy and master of holiness ;

The first [Sraosha], the next, the middle, and the
 highest ; with the first sacrifice, with the next, with
 the middle, and with the highest². We sacrifice
 unto all [the moments]³ of the holy and strong
 Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word ;

19. The strong Sraosha, of the manly courage,
 the warrior of the strong arms, who breaks the
 skulls of the Daêvas ; who smites with heavy blows⁴
 and is strong to smite ; the holy Sraosha, who smites

¹ The faithful, as helping through their good deeds in the work
 of final restoration, to be performed by Saoshyant (cf. Yt. XIII, 17).

² The first sacrifice is the Yasna sacrifice ; the next (literally,
 superior) is the Vispêrad ; the middle sacrifice is the Hâdhôkht
 [and] êvak hômâst ; the highest sacrifice is the Dvâzdah hômâst
 (Pahl. Comm.). Sraosha is called the first, next, middle, and highest,
 accordingly as he presides over one or the other of those sacrifices.
 For a definition of the êvak hômâst and Dvâzdah hômâst, see
 West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 212, note 5.

³ Vispân, translated harvisp zamân.

⁴ Literally, the smiter who smites with smittings.

with heavy blows; we sacrifice unto the crushing Ascendant of both the holy Sraosha and Arsti¹.

20. We sacrifice for all the houses protected by Sraosha, where the holy Sraosha is dear and friendly treated and satisfied, as well as the faithful man², rich in good thoughts, rich in good words, rich in good deeds.

21. We sacrifice unto the body of the holy Sraosha;

We sacrifice unto the body of Rashnu Razista;

We sacrifice unto the body of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures;

We sacrifice unto the body of the holy wind;

We sacrifice unto the body of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

We sacrifice unto the body of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase, who makes the world prosper;

We sacrifice unto the body of Ashi Vanguhi;

We sacrifice unto the body of the good Kisti;

We sacrifice unto the body of the most right Kista;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the gods;

22. We sacrifice unto the body of the Mâthra Spenta;

We sacrifice unto the body of the fiend-destroying Law;

We sacrifice unto the body of the long-traditional teaching;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of the Amesha-Spentas;

¹ The same as Arstât. Cf. Yasna LVII, 34-35 [LVI, 13, 3-7].

² He receives alms (the ashô-dâd).

We sacrifice unto the bodies of ourselves, the Saoshyants, the two-footed part of the holy creation ;

We sacrifice unto the bodies of all the beings of the holy world ¹.

For his brightness and glory, for his strength and victorious power

23. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, the strength and vigour of the holy, strong Sraosha, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god.

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones !

¹ Cf. §§ 16-17.

² Who sacrifices to Sraosha.

XII. RASHN YAST.

Rashnu Razista, 'the truest True,' is the Genius of Truth: he is one of the three judges of the departed, with Mithra and Sraosha: he holds the balance in which the deeds of men are weighed after their death: 'he makes no unjust balance . . . , neither for the pious nor yet the wicked, neither for lords nor yet rulers; as much as a hair's breadth he will not vary, and he shows no favour¹.' He is an offshoot either of Mithra, the God of Truth and the avenger of lies, or of Ahura Mazda himself, the all-knowing lord (§ 2 seq.).

This Yast seems to be an appeal made to Rashnu to come and attend the performance of the *var nîrang* or ordeal (see p. 170, note 3), of which Rashnu, as the Genius of Truth, was the natural witness and arbiter (cf. Vend. IV, 54-55 [154-156]). As a god of Truth must know everything and be present everywhere, he is called from whatever part of the world he may actually be in. This brings about an enumeration of all the parts of the world, from this earth (§§ 9-22) to the highest heaven (§ 37), passing through the Albôrz (§§ 23-26), the star region (§§ 26-32), the moon region (§ 33), and the sun region (§ 34; cf. p. 73, note 2).

This Yast is recited on the days of Rashn, Murdâd, Âshtâd, and Zemyâd (the 18th, 7th, 26th, and 28th of the month).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness.

Unto Rashnu Razista; unto Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; unto the true-spoken speech, that makes the world grow²;

¹ Minokhirad II, 120-121 (tr. West).

² Sîrôzah I, 18.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. The holy (Zarathustra) asked him¹: 'O holy Ahura Mazda! I ask thee; answer me with words of truth, thou who knowest the truth. Thou art undeceivable, thou hast an undeceivable understanding; thou art undeceivable, as thou knowest everything.

'What of the Holy Word is created true? what is created progress-making? what is fit to discern? what is healthful? what is wise? what is happy and more powerful to destroy than all other creatures²?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'I will declare that unto thee, O pure, holy Spitama!

'The most glorious Holy Word (itself), this is what in the Holy Word is created true, what is created progress making, what is fit to discern, what is healthful, wise, and happy, what is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures.'

3. Ahura Mazda said: 'Bind up a three-twigged baresma against the way of the sun. [Address] unto me, Ahura Mazda, these words: "We invoke, we bless [Ahura]³; I invoke the friendship [of Ahura] towards this var⁴ prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk⁵], towards the var⁴ of oil and the sap⁶ of the plants."

¹ Ahura Mazda.

² Cf. Yt. I, 1 seq.

³ The text is apparently corrupt and has literally, 'We invoke, we bless me, Ahura Mazda.'

⁴ See following page, note 3.

⁵ Possibly, waters; cf. Yt. V, 132 and Vend. IV, 46 [128], 54 [154] seq.

⁶ Literally, the fat.

4. 'Then I, Ahura Mazda, shall come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants;

'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise¹, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka², made by Mazda.

5. 'We invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong; I invoke his friendship towards this var³ prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants.

6. 'Then Rashnu the tall, the strong, will come for help unto thee, towards this var prepared, towards the fire and the baresma, towards the full boiling [milk], towards the var of oil and the sap of the plants:

'Along with the fiend-smiting Wind, along with the cursing thought of the wise, along with the kingly Glory, along with Saoka, made by Mazda.

7. 'O thou, holy Rashnu! O most true Rashnu! most beneficent Rashnu! most knowing Rashnu! most discerning Rashnu! most fore-knowing Rashnu! most far-seeing Rashnu! Rashnu, the

¹ See p. 12, note 13.

² See Vend. XXII, 3.

³ Varô; this seems to be the Var nîrang or ordeal which is alluded to in several passages of the Avesta; cf. Afrîgân I, 9; Yasna XXXI, 3 b (see Pahl. Comm.; cf. Comm. ad XXXIV, 4 a); cf. Vend. IV, 46, 55. According to the Dînkart, there were thirty-three kinds of var ordeals (Haug, Ardâ Virâf, p. 145); the most common was to pour melted copper upon the breast of the man whose truth was to be tested: if he went off uninjured, he was considered to have spoken the truth. Cf. Vend. Introd. III, 9.

best doer of justice¹! Rashnu, the best smiter of thieves;

8. 'The uninjured, the best killer, smiter, destroyer of thieves and bandits! in whatever part of the world thou art watching the doings² of men and making the account³.

II.

9. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Arezahi⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared⁵ in whatever part of the world thou art.

III.

10. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Savahi⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

IV.

11. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Fradadhafshu⁴, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

V.

12. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the

¹ Arethama/-bairishta: aretha is dīnâ, dâdistân (law, justice).

² Kesa=kartârî (Pahl. Comm. ad Vend. XXI, 3 [14]).

³ I cannot make anything of the rest of the sentence hadhanâ tanasus; cf. § 38.

⁴ See Yt. X, 15, note 5.

⁵ The rest as in §§ 5-8.

Karshvare Vîdadhafshu¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VI.

13. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-baresti¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VII.

14. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the Karshvare Vouru-garesti¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

VIII.

15. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in this Karshvare, the bright *Hvaniratha*¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

IX.

16. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sea Vouru-Kasha², we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared in whatever part of the world thou art.

¹ See Yt. X, 15, note 5.

² See p. 54, note 6.

X.

17. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the tree of the eagle¹, that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-Kasha, that is called the tree of good remedies, the tree of powerful remedies, the tree of all remedies, and on which rest the seeds of all plants; we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XI.

18. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Aodhas² of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XII.

19. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Sanaka³ of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

¹ The Saêna, in later mythology the Sinamrû or Sîmûrgh; his 'resting-place is on the tree which is Jaz-bêsh (opposed to harm) of all seeds; and always when he rises aloft, a thousand twigs will shoot forth from that tree; and when he alights, he will break off the thousand twigs, and he sheds their seed therefrom. And the bird Chañmrôsh for ever sits in that vicinity; and his work is this, that he collects that seed which sheds from the tree of all seeds, which is Jaz-bêsh, and conveys it there where Tishtar seizes the water, so that Tishtar may seize the water with that seed of all kinds, and may rain it on the world with the rain' (Minokhirad LXII, 37; tr. West).

² By the floods (? Vend. I, 26); it has probably a geographical meaning; cf. the following paragraph; perhaps the marshy country at the mouth of the Tigris.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 104; aodhas and sanaka may refer to the southern and northern basin of the Tigris.

XIII.

20. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at one of the angles of this earth, we invoke we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XIV.

21. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art at the boundary of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XV.

22. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in any place of this earth, we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XVI.

23. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Hara Berezaiti, the bright mountain around which the many (stars) revolve, where come neither night nor darkness, no cold wind and no hot wind, no deathful sickness, no uncleanness made by the Daêvas, and the clouds cannot reach up unto the Haraiti Bareza¹; we invoke, we bless Rashnu. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XVII.

24. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the highest Hukairya, of the deep precipices², made of gold, wherefrom this river of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, leaps from a thousand times the height of a man, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 50.

² Reading vîspô-vaêmem; cf. Yt. V, 96, note 7.

XVIII.

25. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art upon the Taêra of the height Haraiti, around which the stars, the moon, and the sun revolve¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XIX.

26. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the star Vanant², made by Mazda, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XX.

27. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright and glorious star Tistrya³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards the var prepared

XXI.

28. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the group of the Haptôiringa stars³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXII.

29. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the waters in them⁴, we

¹ See Bund. V, 3 seq.; cf. Yt. X, 13, 50.

² Cf. Yt. XX and Yt. VIII, 12.

³ Cf. Yt. VIII, 12.

⁴ 'The star of water essence is for the increase of water; and the star of earth essence, for the increase of earth; and the star of tree essence, for the increase of trees; and the star of cattle essence,

invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIII.

30. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the earth in them¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIV.

31. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in those stars that have the seed of the plants in them¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXV.

32. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the stars that belong to the Good Spirit², we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXVI.

33. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the moon which has the seed of the Bull in it³, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

for the increase of cattle; and the essence of water, and earth, and trees, and cattle is created for the increase of man' (Minokhirad XLIX, 7, tr. West).

¹ See preceding note.

² Excluding the planets which belong to Ahriman (Minokhirad VIII, 19; Bund. III, 25; V, 1).

³ See above, p. 8, note 8.

XXVII.

34. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the swift-horsed sun, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXVIII.

35. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the sovereign endless Light, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXIX.

36. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXX.

37. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art in the shining Garô-demâna¹, we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

XXXI.

38. 'Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art² we invoke, we bless Rashnu, the strong. I invoke his friendship towards this var prepared

39. 'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ The highest heaven, the abode of Ormazd.

² ? Upa hadhana hadhanâ tanasus; cf. § 8, p. 171, note 3.

‘Yênhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

40. ‘Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

‘I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Rashnu Razista; of Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase; and of the true-spoken speech that makes the world grow.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

‘[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, give him health of body, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.’

¹ Who shall have worshipped Rashnu.

XIII. FARVARDÎN YAST.

The Fravashi is the inner power in every being that maintains it and makes it grow and subsist. Originally the Fravashis were the same as the *Pitris* of the Hindus or the *Manes* of the Latins, that is to say, the everlasting and deified souls of the dead (see §§ 49-52); but in course of time they gained a wider domain, and not only men, but gods and even physical objects, like the sky and the earth, &c. (§§ 85-86), had each a Fravashi (see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 111-113).

This Yast is to be divided into two parts. The former part (§§ 1-84) is a glorification of the powers and attributes of the Fravashis in general; the latter part (§§ 85-158) is an enumeration of the Fravashis of the most celebrated heroes of Mazdeism, from the first man, Gaya Maretan, down to the last, Saoshyant.

This latter part is like a Homer's catalogue of Mazdeism. The greatest part of the historical legends of Iran lies here condensed into a register of proper names. This enumeration is divided into seven chapters:

The first (XXIV, §§ 85-95) contains the names of several gods, of the first man, Gaya Maretan, the first law-giver, Zarathustra, and his first disciple, Maidhyô-maungha;

The second part (XXV, §§ 96-110) contains the names of the disciples of Zarathustra, most of them belonging to the epical cyclus of Vîstâspa (Gustâsp);

The third part (XXVI, §§ 111-117) is of uncertain character, and no name contained in it is found in the epical legends;

The fourth part (XXVII, §§ 118-128) seems to be devoted to the heroes of the other Karshvares and to mythical beings, born or unborn (cf. §§ 121, 122, 127, 128);

The fifth part (XXVIII, § 129) is devoted to Saoshyant alone;

The sixth part (XXIX, §§ 130-138) is devoted to the heroes before the time of Zarathustra;

The seventh part (XXX, §§ 139-142) is devoted to the holy women of Mazdeism from Hvôvi, Zarathustra's wife, down to Srûta/-fedhri, Vanghu-fedhri, and Ereda/-fedhri, the future mothers of his three unborn sons.

The second, third, and fourth enumerations all end with the

name of *Astvat-ereta* (that is to say, *Saoshyant*), which shows that they do not refer to successive generations, but to three independent branches, which are each developed apart down to the time of the Saviour.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced !

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness.

Unto the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful ; unto the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law¹ ; unto the Fravashis of the next-of-kin,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying : ' Do thou proclaim, O pure Zarathustra ! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful, the awful and overpowering Fravashis ; do thou tell how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful².

2. ' Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra ! I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all around.

3. ' It looks like a palace, that stands built of a

¹ The so-called *paoiryô-kaêsha* : the primitive law is what ' is considered as the true Mazdayasnian religion in all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst ' (West, *Pahlavi Texts*, I, 242, note 1) ; cf. § 150.

² Cf. § 19.

heavenly substance¹, firmly established, with ends that lie afar, shining in its body of ruby over the three-thirds (of the earth)²; it is like a garment inlaid with stars, made of a heavenly substance, that Mazda puts on, along with Mithra and Rashnu and Spenta-Ârmaiti, and on no side can the eye perceive the end of it.

4. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the wide-expanding and health-giving, who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura, who is worthy of sacrifice in the material world, worthy of prayer in the material world; the life-increasing and holy, the flocks-increasing and holy, the fold-increasing and holy, the wealth-increasing and holy, the country-increasing and holy³;

5⁴. 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth, who makes all females bring forth in safety, who puts milk in the breasts of all females in the right measure and the right quality;

6. 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of all the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha.

7. 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over,

¹ Reading mainyu-tâstô; cf. Yt. X, 90, 143, and in this very paragraph vanghanem mainyu-tâstem.

² A division of the earth different from and older than the division into seven Karshvares; cf. Yasna XI, 7 [21]; this division was derived by analogy from the tripartite division of the universe (earth, atmosphere, and heaven).

³ Yt. V, 1.

⁴ §§ 5-8 = Yt. V, 2-5.

when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvî Sûra Anâhita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels; the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels, is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse.

8. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter. This river of mine purifies the seed in males, the womb in females, the milk in females' breasts¹.

9. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain the wide earth made by Ahura, the large and broad earth, that bears so much that is fine, that bears all the bodily world, the live and the dead, and the high mountains, rich in pastures and waters;

10. 'Upon which run the many streams and rivers; upon which the many kinds of plants grow up from the ground, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals², and to help the faithful.

11. 'Through their brightness and glory, O Zarathustra! I maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the

¹ §§ 4-8 = Yt. V, 1-5.

² There are five classes of animals: those living in waters (upâpa), those living under the ground (upasma=upa-zema), the flying ones (fraptargat), the running ones (ravas&arant), the grazing ones (&angranghâ&); Vispêrad I, 1 seq.; Yt. XIII, 74. The representatives of those several classes are the kar mâhi fish, the ermine, the karsipt, the hare, and the ass-goat (Pahl. Comm. ad Visp. l. 1.).

assaults of Vîdôtu¹, and I develop in it² the bones, the hair, the³, the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs.

12. 'Had not the awful Fravashis of the faithful given help unto me, those animals and men of mine, of which there are such excellent kinds, would not subsist; strength would belong to the Drug, the dominion would belong to the Drug, the material world would belong to the Drug.

13 'Between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be harassed by the Drug; between the earth and the sky the immaterial creatures would be smitten by the Drug; and never afterwards would Angra-Mainyu give way to the blows of Spenta-Mainyu.

14. 'Through their brightness and glory the waters run and flow forward from the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the plants grow up from the earth, by the never-failing springs; through their brightness and glory the winds blow, driving down the clouds towards the never-failing springs.

15. 'Through their brightness and glory the females conceive offspring; through their brightness and glory they bring forth in safety; it is through their brightness and glory when they become blessed with children.

16. 'Through their brightness and glory a man is born who is a chief in assemblies and meetings⁴, who listens well⁵ to the (holy) words, whom Wisdom

¹ See Vend. IV, 40 [137].

² Doubtful.

³ ? Derewda.

⁴ Ἀ ποιμὴν λαῶν.

⁵ Who learns well, who has the gaoshô-srûta khratu.

holds dear¹, and who returns a victor from discussions with Gaotema, the heretic².

‘Through their brightness and glory the sun goes his way; through their brightness and glory the moon goes her way; through their brightness and glory the stars go their way.

17. ‘In fearful battles they are the wisest for help, the Fravashis of the faithful.

‘The most powerful amongst the Fravashis of the faithful, O Spitama! are those of the men of the primitive law³ or those of the Saoshyants⁴ not yet born, who are to restore the world. Of the others, the Fravashis of the living faithful are more powerful, O Zarathustra! than those of the dead, O Spitama!

18. ‘And the man who in life shall treat the Fravashis of the faithful well, will become a ruler of the country with full power, and a chief most strong; so shall any man of you become, who shall treat Mithra well, the lord of wide pastures, and Arstât, who makes the world grow, who makes the world increase.

19. ‘Thus do I proclaim unto thee, O pure Spitama! the vigour and strength, the glory, the help, and the joy that are in the Fravashis of the faithful,

¹ Or, ‘who wishes for wisdom’ (lore; khratukâta=khratukînah).

² Yô nâidhyanghô gaotemahê parô ayzu parstôit avâiti. This seems to be an allusion to controversies with the Buddhists or Gotama’s disciples, whose religion had obtained a footing in the western parts of Iran as early as the second century before Christ. Nâidhyanghô means a heretic, an Ashemaogha (see Pahl. Comm. ad Yasna XXXIV, 8).

³ See above, p. 180, note 1.

⁴ See above, p. 165, note 1.

the awful and overpowering Fravashis; and how they come to help me, how they bring assistance unto me, the awful Fravashis of the faithful¹.

II.

20. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'If in this material world, O Spitama Zarathustra! thou happenest to come upon frightful roads, full of dangers and fears, O Zarathustra! and thou fearest for thyself, then do thou recite these words, then proclaim these fiend-smiting words, O Zarathustra!

21. "I praise, I invoke, I meditate upon, and we sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. We worship the Fravashis of the masters of the houses, those of the lords of the boroughs, those of the lords of the towns, those of the lords of the countries, those of the Zarathustrôtemas²; the Fravashis of those that are, the Fravashis of those that have been, the Fravashis of those that will be; all the Fravashis of all nations³, and most friendly the Fravashis of the friendly nations;

22. "Who maintain the sky, who maintain the waters, who maintain the earth, who maintain the cattle, who maintain in the womb the child that has been conceived, so that it does not die from the assaults of Vîdôtu, and develop in it the bones, the hair, the . . . , the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs⁴;

23. "Who are much-bringing, who move with

¹ Cf. § 1.

² See Yt. X, 115, note.

³ See § 143, text and note.

⁴ See § 11.

awfulness, well-moving, swiftly moving, quickly moving, who move when invoked; who are to be invoked in the conquest of good, who are to be invoked in fights against foes, who are to be invoked in battles;

24. "Who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man, who give good Glory to the faithful man that brings libations and invokes them with a sacrifice and words of propitiation¹;

25. "Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety², where the faithful man is rejoiced³, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated⁴."

III.

26. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are the mightiest of drivers, the lightest of those driving forwards, the slowest of the retiring⁵, the safest⁶ of all bridges, the least-erring⁶ of all weapons and arms⁶, and who never turn their backs⁷.

27. At once, wherever they come, we worship them, the good ones, the excellent ones, the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the faithful. They are to be invoked when the bundles of baresma are tied; they are to be invoked in fights against foes, in battles⁸, and there where gallant men strive to conquer foes.

¹ Cf. § 40.

² Fréritaù: cf. fréreti=farnâmisn, âdesa (Yasna VIII, 2 [4]).

³ With alms (ashô-dâd).

⁵ Doubtful.

⁷ To flee.

⁴ Cf. § 36.

⁶ Defensive arms.

⁸ Cf. § 23.

28. Mazda invoked them for help, when he fixed the sky and the waters and the earth and the plants; when Spenta-Mainyu fixed the sky, when he fixed the waters, when the earth, when the cattle, when the plants, when the child conceived in the womb, so that it should not die from the assaults of Vidôtu, and developed in it the bones, the hair, the . . . , the entrails, the feet, and the sexual organs¹.

29. Spenta-Mainyu maintained the sky, and they sustained it from below, they, the strong Fravashis, who sit in silence, gazing with sharp looks; whose eyes and ears are powerful, who bring long joy, high and high-girded; well-moving and moving afar, loud-snorting², possessing riches and a high renown.

IV.

30. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose friendship is good, and who know how to benefit; whose friendship lasts long; who like to stay in the abode where they are not harmed by its dwellers; who are good, beautiful afar³, health-giving, of high renown, conquering in battle, and who never do harm first.

V.

31. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; whose will is dreadful unto those who vex them; powerfully working and most beneficent; who in battle break the dread arms of their foes and haters.

¹ Cf. §§ 11, 22.

² They are compared to horses; cf. Yt. VIII, 2.

³ Their beauty is seen afar. One manuscript has 'known afar;' another, 'whose eyesight reaches far.'

VI.

32. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; liberal, valiant, and full of strength, not to be seized by thought, welfare-giving, kind, and health-giving, following with Ashi's remedies, as far as the earth extends, as the rivers stretch, as the sun rises ¹.

VII.

33. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who gallantly and bravely fight, causing havoc, wounding², breaking to pieces all the malice of the malicious, Daêvas and men, and smiting powerfully in battle, at their wish and will.

34. You kindly deliver the Victory made by Ahura, and the crushing Ascendant, most beneficently, to those countries where you, the good ones, unharmed and rejoiced, unoppressed and unoffended, have been held worthy of sacrifice and prayer, and proceed the way of your wish.

VIII.

35. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, of high renown, smiting in battle, most strong, shield-bearing and harmless to those who are true, whom both the pursuing and the fleeing invoke for help: the pursuer invokes

¹ All the beneficent powers hidden in the earth, in the waters, and in the sun, and which Ashi Vanguhi (Yt. XVII) imparts to man.

² Doubtful: *urvaênaitîs*.

them for a swift race, and for a swift race does the fleer invoke them;

36. Who turn to that side where are faithful men, most devoted to holiness, and where is the greatest piety, where the faithful man is rejoiced, and where the faithful man is not ill-treated¹.

IX.

37. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who form many battalions, girded with weapons², lifting up spears, and full of sheen; who in fearful battles come rushing along where the gallant heroes³ go and assail the Dânus⁴.

38. There you destroy the victorious strength of the Turanian Dânus; there you destroy the malice of the Turanian Dânus; through you the chiefs⁵ are of high intellect⁶ and most successful; they, the gallant heroes³, the gallant Saoshyants⁷, the gallant conquerors of the offspring of the Dânus chiefs of myriads, who wound with stones⁸.

X.

39. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who rout the two wings of an army standing in battle array, who make the centre swerve, and swiftly pursue onwards, to help the faithful and to distress the doers of evil deeds.

XI.

40. We worship the good, strong, beneficent

¹ Cf. § 25.

² Yâstô-zayau.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ Yt. V, 72.

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Hvîra; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 183.

⁷ Cf. p. 165, note 1.

⁸ Doubtful (asabana).

Fravashis of the faithful; awful, overpowering, and victorious, smiting in battle, sorely wounding, blowing away (the foes), moving along to and fro, of good renown, fair of body, godly of soul, and holy; who give victory to their invoker, who give boons to their lover, who give health to the sick man¹;

41. Who give good glory to him who worships them with a sacrifice, as that man did worship them, the holy Zarathustra, the chief of the material world, the head of the two-footed race, in whatever struggle he had to enter, in whatever distress he did fear;

42. Who, when well invoked, enjoy bliss in the heavens; who, when well invoked, come forward from the heavens, who are the heads² of that sky above, possessing the well-shapen Strength, the Victory made by Ahura, the crushing Ascendant, and Welfare³, the wealth-bringing, boon-bringing, holy, well fed, worthy of sacrifice and prayer in the perfection of holiness.

43. They shed Satavaêsa⁴ between the earth and the sky, him to whom the waters belong⁵, who listens to appeals and makes the waters flow and the plants grow up, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals⁶, and to help the faithful⁷.

44. Satavaêsa comes down and flows between the earth and the sky, he to whom the waters belong, who listens to appeals and makes the waters and the plants grow up, fair, radiant, and full of

¹ Cf. § 24.

² 'The chief creatures;' cf. Gâh II, 8.

³ Saoka; cf. Sîrôzah I, 3, note.

⁴ Cf. Yt. VIII, 9, and 34, note.

⁶ See above, p. 182, note 2.

⁵ Taî-âpem.

⁷ Cf. § 10.

light, to nourish animals and men, to nourish the Aryan nations, to nourish the five kinds of animals, and to help the faithful.

XII.

45. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful; with helms of brass, with weapons of brass, with armour¹ of brass; who struggle in the fights for victory in garments of light, arraying the battles and bringing them forwards, to kill thousands of Daêvas.

When the wind blows from behind them² and brings their breath unto men,

46. Then men know where blows the breath of victory: and they pay pious homage unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, with their hearts prepared and their arms uplifted.

47. Whichever side they have been first worshipped in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart³, to that side turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu and the awful cursing thought⁴ of the wise and the victorious wind.

48. And those nations are smitten at one stroke by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads, against which turn the awful Fravashis of the faithful, along with Mithra and Rashnu, and the awful cursing thought of the wise and the victorious wind.

¹ Doubtful.

² Literally, blows them within.

³ Cf. Yt. X, 9.

⁴ See above, p. 12, note 12.

XIII.

49. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who come and go through the borough at the time of the Hamaspathmaêdha¹; they go along there for ten nights, asking thus²:

50. 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us³? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand⁴ and with a prayer worthy of bliss⁵? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation⁶? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice?' To whom will this gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?'

51. And the man who offers them up a sacrifice,

¹ The sixth and last Gâhambâr (see Âfrîgân Gâhambâr), or the last ten days of the year (10th-20th March), including the last five days of the last month, Sapendârmad, and the five complementary days. These last ten days should be spent in deeds of charity, religious banquets (*garan*), and ceremonies in memory of the dead. It was also at the approach of the spring that the Romans and the Athenians used to offer annual sacrifices to the dead; the Romans in February '*qui tunc extremus anni mensis erat*' (Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 21), the Athenians on the third day of the Anthesterion feast (in the same month). The souls of the dead were supposed to partake of the new life then beginning to circulate through nature, that had also been dead during the long months of winter.

² Perhaps: asking for help, thus.

³ Frînâ/: who will pronounce the Âfrîn?

⁴ To be given in alms to poor Mazdayasnians (*ashô-dâd*).

⁵ Asha-nasa: that makes him reach the condition of one of the blessed (*ahlâyîh arzânîk*, Vend. XVIII, 6 [17]): the Sanskrit translation has, 'that is to say, that makes him worthy of a great reward.'

⁶ As in the invocations from § 87 to the end.

⁷ An allusion to the formula: 'I sacrifice to the Fravashi of my own soul,' Yasna XXIII, 4 [6].

with meat and clothes in his hand, with a prayer worthy of bliss, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, satisfied, unharmed, and unoffended, bless thus :

52. 'May there be in this house flocks of animals and men! May there be a swift horse and a solid chariot! May there be a man who knows how to praise God¹ and rule in an assembly, who will offer us sacrifices with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss².'

XIV.

53. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show beautiful paths to the waters, made by Mazda, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without flowing³:

54. And now they flow along the path made by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, the watery way appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

XV.

55. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who show a beautiful growth to the fertile⁴ plants, which had stood before for a long time in the same place without growing :

56. And now they grow up along the path made

¹ Stâhyô: stutikaro (Sansk. tr.; cf. Âtash Nyâyis, 10).

² §§ 49-52 are a part of the so-called Âfrîgân Dahmân (a prayer recited in honour of the dead); a Sanskrit translation of that Âfrîgân has been published by Burnouf in his *Études zendes*.

³ In winter.

⁴ Doubtful. The word is *h̥vawrîra*, which Aspendiârji makes synonymous with *h̥vâpara*, kind, merciful (*Vispêrad XXI [XXIV], 1*).

by Mazda, along the way made by the gods, in the time appointed to them, at the wish of Ahura Mazda, at the wish of the Amesha-Spentas.

XVI.

57. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who showed their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun, and the endless lights, that had stood before for a long time in the same place, without moving forwards, through the oppression of the Daêvas and the assaults of the Daêvas¹.

58. And now they move around in their far-revolving circle for ever, till they come to the time of the good restoration of the world.

XVII.

59. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the bright sea Vouru-Kasha², to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XVIII.

60. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the stars Haptôiringa³, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XIX.

61. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the body

¹ Bundahis VI, 3.

² To keep the white Hôme there from the evil beings that try to destroy it (Minokhirad LXII, 28).

³ See above, p. 97, note 4.

of Keresâspa, the son of Sâma¹, the club-bearer with plaited hair, to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XX.

62. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the seed of the holy Zarathustra², to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand, and nine hundred, and ninety-nine.

XXI.

63. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who fight at the right hand of the reigning lord, if he rejoices the faithful³ and if the awful Fravashis of the faithful are not hurt by him, if they are rejoiced by him, unharmed and unoffended.

XXII.

64. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who are greater, who are

¹ Keresâspa lies asleep in the plain of Pêryânsâi; 'the glory (far) of heaven stands over him for the purpose that, when Az-i-Dahâk becomes unfettered, he may arise and slay him; and a myriad guardian spirits of the righteous are as a protection to him' (Bundahis XXIX, 8; tr. West).

² 'Zarâtûst went near unto Hvôv (Hvôgvi, his wife) three times, and each time the seed went to the ground; the angel Nêryôsang received the brilliance and strength of that seed, delivered it with care to the angel Anâhîd, and in time will blend it with a mother' (Bundahis XXXII, 8). A maid, Ereda/-fedhri, bathing in Lake Kâsava, will conceive by that seed and bring forth the Saviour Saoshyant; his two fore-runners, Ukhshya/-ereta and Ukhshya/-nemah, will be born in the same way of Srûta/-fedhri and Vanghu/-fedhri (Yt. XIII, 141-142).

³ With alms.

stronger, who are swifter, who are more powerful, who are more victorious, who are more healing, who are more effective than can be expressed by words; who run by tens of thousands into the midst of the Myazdas.

65. And when the waters come up from the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! along with the Glory made by Mazda¹, then forwards come the awful Fravashis of the faithful, many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands,

66. Seeking water for their own kindred, for their own borough, for their own town, for their own country, and saying thus: 'May our own country have a good store and full joy!'

67. They fight in the battles that are fought in their own place and land, each according to the place and house where he dwelt (of yore)²: they look like a gallant warrior who, girded up and watchful, fights for the hoard he has treasured up.

68. And those of them who win bring waters to their own kindred, to their own borough, to their own town, to their own country, saying thus: 'May my country grow and increase!'

69. And when the all-powerful sovereign of a country has been surprised by his foes and haters, he invokes them, the awful Fravashis of the faithful.

70. And they come to his help, if they have not been hurt by him, if they have been rejoiced by him, if they have not been harmed nor offended, the awful Fravashis of the faithful: they come flying unto him, it seems as if they were well-winged birds.

¹ Cf. Yt. XIX, 56 seq.; VIII, 34.

² Doubtful.

71. They come in as a weapon and as a shield, to keep him behind and to keep him in front, from the Drug unseen, from the female Varenya fiend, from the evil-doer bent on mischief, and from that fiend who is all death, Angra Mainyu. It will be as if there were a thousand men watching over one man¹;

72. So that neither the sword well-thrust, neither the club well-falling, nor the arrow well-shot, nor the spear well-darted, nor the stones flung from the arm shall destroy him.

73. They come on this side, they come on that side, never resting, the good, powerful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, asking for help thus: 'Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? Of which of you will the soul be worshipped by you with a sacrifice? To whom will that gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever²?'

74. We worship the perception³; we worship the intellect; we worship the conscience; we worship those of the *Saoshyants*⁴;

We worship the souls; those of the tame animals; those of the wild animals; those of the animals that live in the waters; those of the animals that live under the ground; those of the flying ones; those of the running ones; those of the grazing ones⁵.

¹ Cf. Yt. I, 19.

³ Âsna=âzana (?).

⁵ Cf. Yt. XIII, 10.

² Cf. § 50.

⁴ Cf. p. 165, note 1.

We worship their Fravashis¹.

75. We worship the Fravashis.

We worship them, the liberal ;

We worship them, the valiant ; we worship them,
the most valiant ;

We worship them, the beneficent ; we worship
them, the most beneficent ;

We worship them, the powerful ;

We worship them, the most strong ;

We worship them, the light ; we worship them,
the most light ;

We worship them, the effective ; we worship
them, the most effective.

76. They are the most effective amongst the
creatures of the two Spirits, they the good, strong,
beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who stood
holding fast when the two Spirits created the world,
the Good Spirit and the Evil One².

77. When Angra Mainyu broke into the creation
of the good holiness, then came in across Vohu
Manô and Âtar³.

78. They destroyed the malice of the fiend
Angra Mainyu, so that the waters did not stop
flowing nor did the plants stop growing ; but at
once the most beneficent waters of the creator and

¹ There seems to be in this paragraph a distinction of five faculties of the soul, âsna, mana, daêna, urvan, fravashi. The usual classification, as given in this Yast, § 149, and in later Parsism (Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, p. 172), is: ahu, spirit of life (?); daêna, conscience ; baodhô, perception ; urvan, the soul ; fravashi.

² The Fravashis, 'on war horses and spear in hand, were around the sky . . . and no passage was found by the evil spirit, who rushed back' (Bund. VI, 3-4 ; tr. West).

³ Cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 107.

ruler, Ahura Mazda, flowed forward and his plants went on growing.

79. We worship all the waters ;

We worship all the plants ;

We worship all the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful.

We worship the waters by their names¹ ;

We worship the plants by their names² ;

We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful by their names.

80. Of all those ancient Fravashis, we worship the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda ; who is the greatest, the best, the fairest, the most solid, the wisest, the finest of body and supreme in holiness³ ;

81. Whose soul is the Māthra Spenta, who is white, shining, seen afar ; and we worship the beautiful forms, the active forms wherewith he clothes the Amesha-Spentas ; we worship the swift-horsed sun.

XXIII.

82. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform what they wish, the tall, quickly coming to do, strong, and lordly, who are undecaying and holy ;

83. Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed ; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and

¹ That is to say, after their different kinds (described in Yasna XXXVIII, 3, 5 [7-9, 13-14] ; LXVIII, 8 [LXVII, 15] ; and Bund. XXI).

² After their kinds (Bund. XXVII).

³ Cf. Yasna I, 1.

commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda;

84. Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways¹ are shining as they go down towards the libations².

XXIV.

85. We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis: that of the most rejoicing³ fire, the beneficent and assembly-making⁴; and that of the holy, strong Sraosha⁵, who is the incarnate Word, a mighty-speared and lordly god; and that of Nairyô-sangha⁶.

86. And that of Rashnu Razista⁷;
That of Mithra⁸, the lord of wide pastures;
That of the Mâthra-Spenta⁹;
That of the sky;
That of the waters;
That of the earth;
That of the plants;
That of the Bull¹⁰;
That of the living man¹¹;
That of the holy creation¹².

87. We worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan¹³,

¹ The Vedic devayâna.

² Cf. Yt. XIX, 15, 17.

³ Urvâzista. As a proper name Urvâzista is the name of the fire in plants (Yasna XVII, 11 [65], and Bund. XVII, 1).

⁴ At the hearth and the altar.

⁵ See Yt. XI.

⁶ See Vend. XXII, 7.

⁷ See Yt. XII.

⁸ See Yt. X.

⁹ The Holy Word.

¹⁰ See Sîrôzah I, 12.

¹¹ Of mankind; possibly, of Gaya (Maretan).

¹² Doubtful.

¹³ The first man. On the myths of Gaya Maretan, see Ormazd et Ahriman, §§ 129-135.

who first listened unto the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda; of whom Ahura formed the race of the Aryan nations, the seed of the Aryan nations.

We worship the piety and the Fravashi of the holy Zarathustra;

88. Who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good; who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground¹; who first knew and first taught; who first possessed² and first took possession of the Bull³, of Holiness⁴, of the Word, the obedience to the Word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good Principle;

89. Who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first took the turning of the wheel⁵ from the hands of the Daêva and of the cold-hearted man; who first in the material world pronounced the praise of Asha⁶, thus bringing the Daêvas to naught, and confessed himself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura.

90. Who first in the material world said the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who

¹ As having established those three classes. His three earthly sons, *Isa-vâstra*, *Urvata-nara*, and *Hvare-kithra* (§ 98), were the chiefs of the three classes. Cf. Vend. Introd. III, 15, note 3.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yasna XXIX, 8.

⁴ The divine Order, Asha.

⁵ The wheel of sovereignty (?); cf. Yt. X, 67; this expression smacks of Buddhism.

⁶ Who first pronounced the Ashem Vohû; cf. Yt. XXI.

first in the material world declared all the creation of the Daêvas unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the Law amongst the nations;

91. In whom was heard the whole Mâthra, the word of holiness; who was the lord and master of the world¹, the praiser of the most great, most good and most fair Asha²; who had a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

92. For whom the Amesha-Speñtas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha, as having a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings;

93. In whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, Hail³!

94. 'Hail to us! for he is born, the Âthravan, Spitama Zarathustra. Zarathustra will offer us sacrifices with libations and bundles of baresma; and there will the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda come and spread through all the seven Karshvares of the earth.

95. 'There will Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles; there will the powerful Apâm-Napât⁴ increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles.'

¹ Material lord and spiritual master.

² The reciter of the Ashem Vohû.

³ Cf. Vend. XIX, 46 [143].

⁴ See Sîrôzah I, 9, note.

We worship the piety and Fravashi of Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Ârâsti¹, who first listened unto the word and teaching of Zarathustra.

XXV.

96. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asmô-hvanvant²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asan-hvanvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gavayan.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parshať-gaus³, the son of Frâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohvasti, the son of Snaoya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isvať, the son of Varâza.

97. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Saêna, the son of Ahûm-stuť⁴, who first appeared upon this earth with a hundred pupils⁵.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhi-daya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshata.

¹ Maidhyô-maungha was the cousin and first disciple of Zarathustra; Zarathustra's father, Pourushaspa, and Ârâsti were brothers (Bund. XXXII, 3); cf. Yasna LI [L], 19.

² Cf. p. 33, note 2; Yt. XXII, 37.

³ Another Parsať-gaus is mentioned § 126.

⁴ Possibly, 'the holy falcon, praiser of the lord;' thus the Law was brought to the Var of Yima by the bird Karsipta (Vend. II, 42), who recites the Avesta in the language of birds (Bund. XIX, 16): the Saêna-bird (Sîmurgh) became in later literature a mythical incarnation of Supreme wisdom (see the Mantik uttair and Dabistân I, 55).

⁵ Who was the first regular teacher, the first aêthrapaiti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-rao^hah, the son of Frânya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-rao^hah, the son of Frânya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-rao^hah, the son of Frânya.

98. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Isat-vâstra, the son of Zarathustra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvatat-nara, the son of Zarathustra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-^hithra, the son of Zarathustra¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daêvô-tbis, the son of Takhma.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrimith-want, the son of Spitâma².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daungha, the son of Zairita.

99. We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Vistâspa³; the gallant one, who was the incarnate

¹ 'By Zarâtûst were begotten three sons and three daughters; one son was Isadvâstar, one Aûrvata^h-nar, and one Khûrshê^h-kîhar; as Isadvâstar was chief of the priests he became the Môbad of Môbads, and passed away in the hundredth year of the religion; Aûrvata^h-nar was an agriculturist, and the chief of the enclosure formed by Yim, which is below the earth (see Vend. II, 43 [141]); Khûrshê^h-kîhar was a warrior, commander of the army of Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp (see Yt. XXIV, 4), and dwells in Kangdez; and of the three daughters the name of one was Frên, of one Srît, and of one Pôrukîst (see Yt. XIII, 139). Aûrvata^h-nar and Khûrshê^h-kîhar were from a serving (kakar) wife, the rest were from a privileged (pâdakhshah) wife' (Bund. XXXII, 5-6; tr. West).

² According to Anquetil, 'the threefold seed of Spitama Zarathustra;' cf. above, § 62.

³ The king of Bactra, the champion of Zoroastrism; cf. Yt. V, 98, 108.

Word, the mighty-speared, and lordly one; who, driving the Drug¹ before him, sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug¹ before him, made wide room for the holy religion, who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra.

100. Who took her², standing bound³, from the hands of the Hunus⁴, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures⁴.

101. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairivairi⁵;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtavairi;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srtraokhsan;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresaoxshan;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanâra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varâza;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgisravah⁶;

¹ Druga *paurvanâka*, possibly, 'with the spear pushed forwards' (reading *druka*).

² Daêna, the religion.

³ Cf. Yt. II, 15.

⁴ A generic name of the people called elsewhere Varedhakas (Yt. IX, 31; XVII, 51) or *Hvyaonas* (ibid. and XIX, 87). The Hunus have been compared with the Hunni; but it is not certain that this is a proper name; it may be a disparaging denomination, meaning the brood (hunu = Sansk. *sûnu*; cf. Yt. X, 113).

⁵ Zarîr, the brother of Vîstâspa and son of Aurva/-aspa (see Yt. V, 112). The ten following seem to be the names of the other sons of Aurva/-aspa (Bund. XXXI, 29).

⁶ Possibly the same with Pât-Khosrav, a brother to Vîstâspa in the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân*, as Mr. West informs me.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezyarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîzyarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Perethuarsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîzyarsti.

102. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Naptya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vazâspa;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Habâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vistauru¹, the son of Naotara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fras-hâm-vareta²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashô-kareta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarevanu;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarepâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtaredâta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtarekithra;

¹ Gustahm, the son of Nodar; see Yt. V, 76. Strangely enough, Tusa is not mentioned here, unless he is the same with one of the preceding names: possibly the words 'the son of Naotara' (Naotairyâna) refer to all the four.

² Possibly Frashîdvard فرشیدورد (misspelt from a Pahlavi form Frasânvard 𐬱𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 (?); the Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân, as Mr. West informs me, has 𐬱𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 and 𐬱𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌). Frashîdvard was a son of Gustâsp: he was killed by one of Argâsp's heroes and avenged by his brother Isfendyâr (Speñtô-dâta). The following names would belong to his brothers: most of them contain the word Âtar, in honour of the newly-adopted worship of fire.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
hvarēnah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
savah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
zantu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âtare-
danghu.

103. We worship the Fravashi of the holy
Huskyaothna ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pisk-
yaothna ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant
Spentô-dâta ¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Basta-
vairi ²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavâ-
razem ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasha-
ostra ⁴, the son of Hvôva ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa ⁵,
the son of Hvôva ;

¹ Isfendyâr, the heroic son of Gûstâsp, killed by Rustem.

² In the *Yâdkâr-i Zarîrân*, according to Mr. West, Bastvar, the son of Zairivairi, whose death he avenges on his murderer Vîdrafs. This makes Bastavairi identical with the Nastûr نستور of Firdausi (read Bastûr بستور).

³ Kavârazem is the Gurezm of later tradition (گورزم), 'the jealous brother of Isfendyâr, whom he slandered to his father and caused to be thrown into prison' (Burhân qâti'h). Firdausi (IV, 432) has only that he was a relation to Gûstâsp: شنیدم که گشتاسپ را خویش بود. See *Études Iranienes*, II, 230.

⁴ Who gave his daughter, Hvôvi, in marriage to Zarathustra (Yasna L [XLIX], 4, 17).

⁵ See Yt. V, 68.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avâraostri¹.

104. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huskyaothna, the son of Frashaostra;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâdaêna, the son of Frashaostra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hanghaurvâungh, the son of Gâmâspa²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vareshna, the son of Hanghaurvâungh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohunemah, the son of Avâraostri,

To withstand evil dreams, to withstand evil visions, to withstand evil . . .³, to withstand the evil Pairikas.

105. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâthravâka, the son of Sîmaêzi, the Aêthrapati, the Hamidhpati⁴, who was able to smite down most of the evil, unfaithful Ashemaoghas, that shout the hymns⁵, and acknowledge no lord and no master⁶, the dreadful ones whose Fravashis are to be broken⁷; to withstand the evil done by the faithful⁸.

¹ Another brother to Frashaostra (?).

² The son of Gâmâsp in the Shâh Nâmah is called Girâmî and Garâmîk-kard in the Yâd-kâr-i Zarîrân.

³ ? Aoiwra.

⁴ Aêthrapati, in Parsi hêrbad, a priest, whose special function is to teach; his pupils were called aêthrya. Aêthrapati meant literally 'the master of the hearth' (cf. hêrkodah, fire-temple). Hamidhpati is literally 'the master of the sacrificial log.'

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ No temporal lord (ahu) and no spiritual master (ratu).

⁷ Doubtful (avasasta-fravashinâm).

⁸ The evil done by Zoroastrians. This Mâthravâka ('Proclaimer

106. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashastu, the son of Maidhyô-maungha¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Avarethrabah, the son of Râstare-vaghañt.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Bûgra, the son of Dâzgarâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zbaurvant;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Karesna², the son of Zbaurvant; who was the incarnate Word, mighty-speared and lordly;

107. In whose house did walk the good, beautiful, shining Ashi Vanguhi, in the shape of a maid fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-up girded, pure, nobly born of a glorious seed³; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to make room for himself with his own arms; who, rushing to the battle, knew how to fight the foe with his own arms⁴.

108. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîrâspa, the son of Karesna;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âzâta, the son of Karesna:

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyaodha, the son of Karesna.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and good Arshya; Arshya, the chief in assemblies, the most energetic of the worshippers of Mazda.

of the Holy Word') was apparently a great doctor and confounder of heresies.

¹ See above, § 95.

² Possibly the eponym of that great Kâren family, which played so great a part in the history of the Sassanian times, and traced its origin to the time of Gûstâsp (Noeldeke, *Geschichte der Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 437).

³ Cf. Yt. V, 64.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XIII, 99.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Dârayat-ratha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyat-ratha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Skârayat-ratha.

109. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Arsvant ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vyarsvant ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paityarsvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Amru¹ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kamru¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Drâtha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-drâtha ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Paiti-vangha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frashâ-vakhsha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nemô-vanghu, the son of Vaêdhayangha.

110. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visadha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâ-vanghu, the son of Bivândangha² ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garô-danghu, the son of Pairistîra² ;

¹ Amru and Kamru are apparently the two mythical birds mentioned above under the names of Sin-amru (the Amru-falcon) and Kâmrôš (p. 173, note 1).

² Mr. West compares Ashâvanghu, the son of Bivândangha, and Garôdanghu, the son of Pairistîra, with the two high-priests of the Karshvares of Arezahi and Savahi, whose names are, in the

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nere-myazdana, the son of Âthwyôza.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Berezisnu, the son of Ara;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kasupatu, the son of Ara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-ERETA¹.

XXVI.

111. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaopivanghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Hâm-baretar vanghvâm².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-dhâkhsti, the son of Khstâvaênnya;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshoi-wrâspa, the son of Khstâvaênnya.

112. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ayô-asti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti⁴;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohv-asti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti;

Bundahis, Ashâshagahad-ê *Hvandkân* and Hoazarôdathhri-ê Parêstyarô (Bund. XXIX, 1, notes 4 and 5).

¹ Saoshyant; cf. §§ 117, 128.

² Possibly, 'the holy Hâm-baretar vanghvâm, the son of Takhma.' His name means, 'the gatherer of good things.'

³ This name means, 'the praiser of excellent holiness' (the reciter of the Ashem Vohû).

⁴ See preceding paragraph.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gayadhâsti, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-vazdah, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti ¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urûdhu, the son of Pouru-dhâkhsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Khshathrô-êinah, the son of Khshvôiwârâspa ².

113. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashâhura, the son of Gîsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâyazanta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frênah, the son of Frâyazanta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garôvanghu, the son of Frâyazanta.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Asha-vazdah and Thrita, the sons of Sâyuzdri ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohuraokah, the son of Varakasa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aregan-ghant, the Turanian ⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usinemah.

114. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yukhtâspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-skyaothna, the son of Gayadhâsti ⁵.

¹ One of the seven immortals, rulers in *Hvaniratha*; cf. Yt. V, 72, text and notes, and Yt. XIII, 120, 124.

² See preceding paragraph.

³ See Yt. V, 72. The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. Yt. V, 116, note, and Yt. XIII, 115.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XIII, 143. Possibly, the son of Tûra.

⁵ Cf. § 112.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-nemah, the son of Katu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-vazdah, the son of Katu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Asha-sairyâkê ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-saredha, the son of Zairyâkê.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kâkhshni.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Syâvâspi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pourusti, the son of Kavi.

115. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmapa, the son of Ganara.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Nanârâsti, the son of Paêshatah ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zarazdâti, the son of Paêshatah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaêvani, the son of Vohu-nemah ¹.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Arezva and Srûta-spâdha.

We worship the Fravashis ² of the holy Zrayah and Spentô-khratu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varsni, the son of Vâgereza.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâkya, the son of Taurvâti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vahmaê-dâta, the son of Mâthravâka ³.

¹ There are two men of this name ; one is the son of Katu (§ 114), the other is the son of Avâraostri (§ 104).

² The text has 'the Fravashi ;' cf. preceding page, note 3.

³ See § 105.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustra, the son of Sadhanah.

116. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-srûta;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Danghu-frâdhah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aspô-padhô-makhsti;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Payanghrô-makhsti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustâzanta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asha-savah;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-urvatha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Haomô-hvarenah.

117. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frava.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usnâka.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvanvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Daênô-vazah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aregaona.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aiwi-hvarenah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huyazata.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hare-dhaspa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pâzinah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvâkhshathra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ashô-paoirya.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVARETA¹.

XXVII.

118. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hugau.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Anghuyu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâuri ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yûsta, the son of Gâuri.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Mâzdrâvanghu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Srîrâvanghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âyûta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Sûrô-yazata.

119. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Eredhwa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Kavi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshan, the son of the great Vîdi-sravah, known afar².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vanghu-dhâta, the son of *Hvadhâta* ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzya, the son of Vanghu-dhâta ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frya.

120. We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yênhê-raokau ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yênhê-vereza ;

¹ Saoshyant ; cf. §§ 110, 128.

² Perhaps, Ukhshan, the conqueror of glory, known afar, son of Berezvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy one whose name is Ashem-yahmâi-ustâ ¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yôista ², of the Fryâna house.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usmânara, the son of Paêshatah Paitisrîra ³, to withstand the evil done by one's kindred ⁴.

121. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Spiti ⁵, the son of Uspâsnu ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Erezrâspa, the son of Uspâsnu ⁶.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usadhan, the son of Mazdayasna.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-vanghu, the son of Stivanî.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raoķas-kaêshman ⁷;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêshman ⁷.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasrûtâra ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsrûtâra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baremna.

¹ One of the immortals, rulers in *Hvaniratha* : he is said to belong to the Fryâna family (Dâdistân XC, 3); he resides in the district of the river Nâîvtâk (Bund. XXIX, 5).

² See Yt. V, 81.

³ Paitisrîra is perhaps an epithet (most beautiful?), added to distinguish Paêshatah from the hero mentioned in § 115.

⁴ An allusion to some legend of domestic feud of which Paêshatah was the hero.

⁵ The high-priest of the Fradadhafshu Karshvare (Spîtoîd-i Aûspôsinân ; Bund. XXIX, 1 ; tr. West, note 6).

⁶ The high-priest of the Vîdadhafshu Karshvare (Aîrîz-râsp Aûspôsinân ; see *ibid.*, note 7).

⁷ Cf. § 128.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîsrûta.

122. We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hvaspa*¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Kathwar-aspa*².

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Dawrâ-maêshi*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Fraora-ostra*, the son of *Kaosha*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frtnâspa*, the son of *Kaêva*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frâdat-nara*, the son of *Gravâratu*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Vohu-ustra*, the son of *Ākhnangha*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Vîvare-shvant*, the son of *Ainyu*.

123. We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Frârâzi*, the son of *Tûra*³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Stipi*, the son of *Ravant*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Parshanta*, the son of *Gandarewa*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Avahya*, the son of *Spenta*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Aêta*, the son of *Mâyû*;

¹ Probably the same with *Huvâsp*, the high-priest in the *Vouru-baresti Karshvare* (Bund. XXIX, 1; tr. West, note 8).

² Possibly the same with the high-priest in the *Vouru-garesti karshvare*, *Kakhravâk* (ibid., note 9). *Kakhravâk* is the generic name of the bird *Karshihta* (Pahl. Comm. ad II, 42 [139]); it must stand here by mistake for *Kahârâsp*.

³ Or, 'the Turanian;' cf. § 113.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yaêtus-gau, the son of Vyâtana.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Garsta, the son of Kavi.

124. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-bangha, the son of Zaosha.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-dâta, the son of Kâta.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Baungha, the son of Saungha.

We worship the Fravashis¹ of the holy Hvareza and Ankasa.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aravaostra, the son of Erezvat-danghu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâêithra, the son of Berezvant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vohu-peresa, the son of Ainyu.

125. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Parô-dasma, the son of Dâstâghni, a Mîza man of the Mîza land.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy Fratîra and Baêshatastîra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and pure Avare-gau, the son of Aoighimatastîra.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gaomant, the son of Zavan, a Raozdya man of the Raozdya land.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thrit, the son of Aêvo-saredha-fyaêsta, a Tanya man of the Tanya land.

¹ The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. §§ 113, 127.

126. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tîrô-nakathwa, of the Uspaêsta-Saêna house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Utayuti Viî-kavi, the son of Zighri, of the Saêna house¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frôhakaфра, the son of Merezîshmya, of the Saêna house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varesmô-rao~~kah~~, the son of Perethu-afzem.

127. We worship the Fravashis² of the holy Asha-nemah and Vidat-gau, of this country.

We worship the Fravashis² of the holy Par-shat-gau and Dâzgara-gau, of the Apakhshîra country.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hufra-vâkhs, of the Kahrkana house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Akayadha, of the Pîdha house¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Gâmâspa, the younger³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Maidhyô-maungha, the younger⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Urvata~~t~~-nara, the younger⁵.

128. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Rao~~kas~~-kaêsmān;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-kaêsmān;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frâdat-hvarenah;

¹ See Études Iraniennes, II, 142.

² The text has 'the Fravashi;' cf. § 113.

³ Different from Gâmâspa, the son of Hvôva (§ 103).

⁴ Different from Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Ârâsti (§ 95).

⁵ Different from Urvata~~t~~-nara, the son of Zarathustra (§ 98).

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Varedat-*hvarēnah*;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-*nemah*;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vouru-*savah*¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-*ereta*²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhshyat-*nemah*³;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy ASTVAT-*ERETA*⁴;

XXVIII.

129. Whose name will be the victorious SAOSH-*YANT* and whose name will be Astvat-*ereta*. He will be SAOSH-*YANT* (the Beneficent One), because he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be ASTVAT-*ERETA* (he who makes the bodily creatures

¹ The six foremost helpers of Saoshyant, each in one of the six Karshvares: 'It is said that in the fifty-seven years, which are the period of the raising of the dead, Rôshanô-*kashm* in Arzâh, Khôr-*kashm* in Savâh, Frâdad-gadman (Frâdat-*hvarēnô*, Increaser of Glory) in Fradadâfsh, Vâredad-gadman (Varedat-*hvarēnô*, Multiplier of Glory) in Vîdadâfsh, Kâmak-vakhshishn (Vouru-*nemô*, Prayer-loving) in Vôrûbarst, and Kâmak-sûd (Vouru-*savô*, Weal-loving) in Vôrûgarst, while Sôshâns in the illustrious and pure Khvanîras is connected with them, are immortal. The completely good sense, perfect hearing, and full glory of those seven producers of the renovation are so miraculous that they converse from region unto region, every one together with the six others' (Dâdistân XXXVI, 5-6; tr. West).

² The first brother and forerunner to Saoshyant, the Oshedar mâh of later tradition (see above, p. 196, note 2; cf. § 141, note).

³ The second brother and forerunner to Saoshyant, the Oshedar bâmî of later tradition (ibid.; cf. § 142, note).

⁴ Saoshyant; cf. following paragraph and §§ 110, 117.

rise up), because as a bodily creature and as a living creature he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Drug of the two-footed brood, to withstand the evil done by the faithful¹.

XXIX.

130. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Yima², the son of Vîvanghant; the valiant Yima, who had flocks at his wish³; to stand against the oppression caused by the Daêvas, against the drought that destroys pastures, and against death that creeps unseen⁴.

131. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thraêtaona, of the Âthwya house⁵; to stand against itch, hot fever, humours, cold fever, and incontineny⁶, to stand against the evil done by the Serpent⁷.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aoshnara, the son of Pouru-gtra⁸.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Uzava, the son of Tûmâspa⁹.

¹ He will suppress both the destructive power of the men of the Drug (idolaters and the like) and the errors of Mazdayas-nians (?).

² See above, p. 25, note 4.

³ Vouru-vâthwa; cf. *Études Iraniennes*, II, 182.

⁴ As he made waters and trees undrying, cattle and men undying.

⁵ See above, p. 61, note 1.

⁶ As the inventor of medicine; see Vend. XX, Introd.

⁷ Disease, being a poison, comes from the Serpent; see *ibid*.

⁸ Or 'Aoshnara, full of wisdom;' cf. Yt. XXIII, 2, and West, *Pahlavi Texts*, II, 171, note 3.

⁹ Called in the Shâh Nâmah Zab, son of Tahmâsp, who appears to have been a son of Nodar (Bund. XXXI, 23).

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Aghraêratha, the demi-man¹.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Manusêithra, the son of Airyu².

132. We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Kavâta³;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Aipivanghu⁴;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Usadhan⁵;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Arshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Pisanah⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Byârshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Syâvarshan⁶;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy king Husravah⁶;

133. For the well-shapeden Strength⁷, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of

¹ See above, p. 114, note 7 (Yt. IX, 18).

² Airyu, the youngest of the three sons of Thraêtaona (see p. 61, note 1), was killed by his brothers and avenged by his son Manusêithra, who succeeded Thraêtaona.

³ Kavâta, Kai Qobâd in the Shâh Nâmah, an adoptive son to Uzava, according to Bund. XXXI, 24.

⁴ Kaî-Apîveh in the Bundahis; he was the son of Kai Qobâd.

⁵ Usadhan, Arshan, Pisanah, and Byârshan were the four sons of Aipivanghu; they are called in Firdausi Kai Kaus, Kai Arish, Kai Pashîn, and Kai Armîn. Kai Kaus alone came to the throne.

⁶ Syâvakhsh and Khosrav; see above, p. 64, note 1.

⁷ To become possessed of Strength, Victory, &c., as Husravah did.

the law, for the unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

134. And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

135. For a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies; to withstand the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf; to withstand the evil done by oppressors¹.

136. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Keresâspa², the Sâma³, the club-bearer with plaited hair; to withstand the dreadful arm and the hordes with the wide battle array, with the many spears, with the straight spears, with the spears uplifted, bearing the spears of havoc; to withstand the dreadful brigand who works destruction⁴, the man-slayer who has no mercy; to withstand the evil done by the brigand.

137. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Âkhrûra⁵, the son of Husravah;

To withstand the wicked one that deceives his friend and the niggard that causes the destruction of the world⁶.

¹ Like Frangrasyan; cf. p. 64, note 1.

² See Yt. V, 37; XV, 27; XIX, 38.

³ Belonging to the Sâma family (Yasna IX, 10).

⁴ Like the nine highwaymen killed by Keresâspa, Yt. XIX, 41.

⁵ Not mentioned in the Shâh Nâmah; Khosrav was succeeded by a distant relation, Lôhrasp.

⁶ An allusion to the lost legend of Âkhrûra; see, however, West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 375.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy and gallant Haoshyangha ;

To withstand the Mâzainya Daêvas and the Varenya fiends ; to withstand the evil done by the Daêvas ¹.

138. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradhâkhsti, the son of the jar ²,

To withstand Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear, and the Daêvas that grow through Aêshma ; to withstand the evil done by Aêshma.

XXX.

139. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvôvi ³.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Thriti ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Pouru-
kêsta ⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hutaosa ⁵ ;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Huma ⁶.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Zairiêi.

¹ See Yt. V, 21-23.

² Khumbya, one of the immortals in *Hvaniratha* ; he resides in the Pêsyânsaï plain : ' he is *Hvembya* for this reason, because they brought him up in a *hvemb* (jar) for fear of *Khashm*' (Bund. XXIX, 5). He answers pretty well to the Agastya and Vasishtha of the Vedic legend (see Ormazd et Ahriman, § 177).

³ One of the three wives of Zarathustra, the daughter of Frasha-
ostra ; she is the supposed mother of Saoshyant and his brothers (see p. 195, note 2).

⁴ The three daughters of Zarathustra and sisters to Isadvâstar (see p. 204, note 1).

⁵ Vîstâspa's wife ; see Yt. IX, 26, and XVII, 46.

⁶ Vîstâspa's daughter, Humâi, in the Shâh Nâmah.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Vîspa-
taurvashi.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ustavaiti.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Tusnâ-
maiti.

140. We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni,
the wife of Usenemah¹;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of the son of Frâyazanta²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of the son of Khshôîwrâspa³;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frëni, the
wife of Gayadhâsti⁴.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Asabani,
the wife of Pourudhâkhsti⁵.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Ukhsh-
yeinti, the wife of Staotar-Vahistahê-Ashyêhê⁶.

141. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Vadhût.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Gaghrûdh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid
Franghâdh.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Urû-
dhayant.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid Paê-
sanghanu.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hvaredhi*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Hužithra*.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy *Kanuka*.

¹ See § 113.

² Of Frënah or Garô-vanghu, § 113.

³ Of Khshathrô-kinah, § 112.

⁴ See § 112.

⁵ See § 111.

⁶ Ibid.

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Srûta/-fedhri*¹.

142. We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Vanghu/-fedhri*²;

We worship the Fravashi of the holy maid *Eredat/-fedhri*³, who is called *Vîspa-taurvairi*. She is *Vîspa-taurvairi* (the all-destroying) because she will bring him forth, who will destroy the malice of *Daêvas* and men, to withstand the evil done by the *Gahi*⁴.

143. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Aryan countries;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Aryan countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries⁵;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Turanian countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sairimyan countries⁶;

¹ *Ukhshya/-ereta's* mother (see above, § 126); the *Saddar BUNDAHIS* (*Études Iraniennes*, II, 209) calls her *Bad*, from the last part of her name (*fedhri* for *padhri*), and states that, bathing in Lake *Kâsava*, she will become pregnant from the seed of *Zarathustra*, that is preserved there (see above, p. 195, note 2), and she will bring forth a son, *Oshedar bâmî*.

² *Ukhshya/-nemah's* mother, called *Vah Bad* in the *Saddar*; she will conceive in the same way as *Srûta/-fedhri*.

³ *Saoshyant's* mother.

⁴ Cf. *Vend.* XIX, 5, and *Introd.* IV, 39-40.

⁵ *Gôgôsrasp* (a commentator to the *Avesta*) says, 'There are holy men in all religions, as appears from the words *tûiryanâm dahvyunâm* [We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Turanian countries],' (*Pahl. Comm. ad Vend.* III, end; and *Vend.* V, 38 [122]); cf. above, §§ 113, 123.

⁶ The countries inherited by *Sairima* (*Selm*), the third son of

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sairimyan countries.

144. We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Sâini countries¹;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Sâini countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in the Dâhi countries²;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in the Dâhi countries.

We worship the Fravashis of the holy men in all countries;

We worship the Fravashis of the holy women in all countries.

145. We worship all the good, awful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, from Gaya Maretan down to the victorious Saoshyant³. May the Fravashis of the faithful come quickly to us! May they come to our help!

146. They protect us when in distress with manifest assistance, with the assistance of Ahura Mazda and of the holy, powerful Sraosha, and with the Mâthra-Spen̄ta, the all-knowing, who hates the Daêvas with a mighty hate, a friend of Ahura Mazda, whom Zarathustra worshipped so greatly in the material world.

147. May the good waters and the plants and

Thraêtaona, as Turan and Iran were inherited by Tûra and Airyu. Selm's heritage was Rûm, that is to say, Europa and Western Asia.

¹ China (Bund. XV, 29).

² Perhaps the Dahae (Pliny VI, 17; Aeneis VIII, 728) or Δάαι (Strabo), called Ta-hia by Chinese geographers, on the south of the Oxus.

³ From the first man to the last.

the Fravashis of the faithful abide down here! May you be rejoiced and well received in this house! Here are the Âthravans of the countries¹, thinking of good holiness. Our hands are lifted up for asking help, and for offering a sacrifice unto you, O most beneficent Fravashis!

148. We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women whose souls are worthy of sacrifice², whose Fravashis are worthy of invocation.

We worship the Fravashis of all the holy men and holy women, our sacrificing to whom makes us good in the eyes of Ahura Mazda: of all of those we have heard that Zarathustra is the first and best, as a follower of Ahura and as a performer of the law.

149. We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi³ of men of the primitive law⁴, of the first who listened to the teaching (of Ahura), holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness⁵; we worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of our next-of-kin, holy men and holy women, who struggled for holiness⁵.

150. We worship the men of the primitive law who will be in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries;

We worship the men of the primitive law who have been in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries;

We worship the men of the primitive law who are in these houses, boroughs, towns, and countries.

151. We worship the men of the primitive law

¹ Itinerant priests are received here.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. p. 198, note 1.

⁴ The Paoiryô-/kaêsas; see p. 180, note 1.

⁵ For the triumph of the Zoroastrian law.

in all houses, boroughs, towns, and countries, who obtained these houses, who obtained these boroughs, who obtained these towns, who obtained these countries, who obtained holiness, who obtained the Mâthra, who obtained the [blessedness of the] soul, who obtained all the perfections of goodness.

152. We worship Zarathustra, the lord and master of all the material world, the man of the primitive law; the wisest of all beings, the best-ruling of all beings, the brightest of all beings, the most glorious of all beings, the most worthy of sacrifice amongst all beings, the most worthy of prayer amongst all beings, the most worthy of propitiation amongst all beings, the most worthy of glorification amongst all beings, whom we call well-desired and worthy of sacrifice and prayer as much as any being can be, in the perfection of his holiness.

153. We worship this earth;

We worship those heavens;

We worship those good things that stand between (the earth and the heavens) and that are worthy of sacrifice and prayer and are to be worshipped by the faithful man.

154. We worship the souls of the wild beasts and of the tame¹.

We worship the souls of the holy men and women, born at any time, whose consciences struggle, or will struggle, or have struggled, for the good.

¹ Daitika, Persian دد; Neriosengh has 'that go by herds,' pañkti-kârin. Aidyu; the Pahlavi translation has ayyâr, 'that are of help' (domesticated?); Neriosengh has misread it as suvâr and translated açvacârin. The expression daitika aidyu answers to the Persian دد و دام, meaning all sorts of animals (see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 150).

155. We worship the spirit, conscience, perception, soul, and Fravashi of the holy men and holy women who struggle, will struggle, or have struggled, and teach the Law, and who have struggled for holiness.

Yêzhê hâtām: All those beings to whom Ahura Mazda

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

156. The Fravashis of the faithful, awful and overpowering, awful and victorious; the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; the Fravashis of the next-of-kin; may these Fravashis come satisfied into this house; may they walk satisfied through this house!

157. May they, being satisfied, bless this house with the presence of the kind Ashi Vanguhi! May they leave this house satisfied! May they carry back from here hymns and worship to the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and the Amesha-Spentas! May they not leave this house of us, the worshippers of Mazda, complaining!

158. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the awful, overpowering Fravashis of the faithful; of the Fravashis of the men of the primitive law; of the Fravashis of the next-of-kin.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man¹ brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Who shall worship the Fravashis.

XIV. BAHRÂM YAST.

Regarding Bahrâm (Verethraghna), the Genius of Victory, see Vend. Introd. V, 8.

This Yast can be divided into four parts:—

I (§§ 1-28) An enumeration of the ten incarnations in which Verethraghna appeared to Zarathustra (as a wind, § 2; as a bull, § 7; as a horse, § 9; as a camel, § 11; as a boar, § 15; as a youth, § 17; as a raven, § 19; as a ram, § 23; as a buck, § 25; and as a man, § 27).

II (§§ 30-33). The powers given by Verethraghna to his worshipper, Zarathustra.

III (§§ 34-46). The magical powers, ascribed to the raven's feather, of striking terror into an army and dispersing it (the raven being the seventh incarnation of Verethraghna).

IV (§§ 47-64). The glorification of Verethraghna.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Verethraghna, made by Mazda, and unto the crushing Ascendant¹;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

¹ Sîrôzah I, 20.

‘Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?’

Ahura Mazda answered: ‘It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!’

2. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him first, running in the shape of a strong, beautiful wind, made by Mazda; he bore the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

3. Then he, who is the strongest¹, said unto him²: ‘I am the strongest in strength; I am the most victorious in victory; I am the most glorious in Glory; I am the most favouring in favour; I am the best giver of welfare; I am the best-healing in health-giving.

4. ‘And I shall destroy the malice of all the malicious, the malice of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

5. ‘For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard; namely, unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura. We worship Verethraghna, made by Ahura, with an offering of libations, according to the primitive ordinances of Ahura; with the Haoma and meat, the baresma, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words.

‘Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

6. ‘We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.’

¹ Verethraghna.

² Zarathustra.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

7. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the second time, running in the shape of a beautiful bull, with yellow ears and golden horns ; upon whose horns floated the well-shapen Strength, and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura : thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him : ' I am the strongest in strength¹,

' And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious²'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard³

III.

8. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

' Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : ' It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

9. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the third time, running in the shape of a white, beautiful horse, with yellow ears and a golden caparison ; upon whose forehead floated the well-shapen Strength,

¹ As above, § 3.

² As above, § 4.

³ As above, § 5.

and Victory, beautiful of form, made by Ahura: thus did he come, bearing the good Glory, made by Mazda, that is both health and strength.

Then he, who is the strongest, said unto him: 'I am the strongest in strength

'And I shall destroy the malice of all malicious'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

10. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

11. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fourth time, running in the shape of a burden-bearing¹ camel, sharp-toothed², swift³, stamping forwards, long-haired, and living in the abodes of men⁴;

12. Who of all males in rut shows greatest strength and greatest fire, when he goes to his females. Of all females those are best kept whom a burden-bearing camel keeps, who has thick forelegs and large humps,⁵, quick-eyed, long-headed, bright, tall, and strong;

13. Whose piercing look goes afar⁶, even in the dark of the night; who throws white foam

¹ Doubtful (*vadharôis*).

² ? *Urvatô*; cf. § 19.

³ ? *Smarsnô*.

⁴ Doubtful (*dadâsôis*).

⁵ Tame, domesticated.

⁶ ? *Haitahê*.

along his mouth ; well-kneed, well-footed, standing with the countenance of an all-powerful master :

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

V.

14. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

15. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the fifth time, running in the shape of a boar, opposing the foes, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face¹, strong, and swift to run, and rushing all around².

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

VI.

16. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods ?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra !'

¹ Cf. Yt. X, 70.

² Or better, rushing before. Cf. Yt. X, 127.

17. Verethraghna,¹ made by Ahura, came to him the sixth time, running in the shape of a beautiful youth of fifteen, shining, clear-eyed, thin-heeled.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

VII.

18. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

19. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the seventh time, running in the shape of a raven that¹ below and¹ above, and that is the swiftest of all birds, the lightest of the flying creatures.

20. He alone of living things,—he or none,—overtakes the flight of an arrow, however well it has been shot. He flies up joyfully at the first break of dawn, wishing the night to be no more, wishing the dawn, that has not yet come, to come².

21. He grazes the hidden ways³ of the mountains, he grazes the tops of the mountains, he grazes the depths of the vales, he grazes the summits⁴ of the trees, listening to the voices of the birds.

¹ ? Urvatô, pishatô.

² The raven was sacred to Apollo. The priests of the sun in Persia are said to have been named ravens (Porphyrius). Cf. Georgica I, 45.

³ Reading vigâtavô.

⁴ Doubtful.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda¹, the Glory made by Mazda

VIII.

22. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

23. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the eighth time, running in the shape of a wild, beautiful ram, with horns bent round².

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda³, the Glory made by Mazda

IX.

24. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered : 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

¹ The royal Glory is described flying in the shape of a raven, Yt. XIX, 35.

² Doubtful.

³ While Ardashîr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, was flying from Ardavân, a beautiful wild ram ran after him and overtook him, and Ardavân understood from this that the kingly Glory had left him and had passed over to his rival (Shâh Nâmah, Ardashîr; Kâr Nâmakî Artachshîr, tr. Noeldeke, p. 45).

25. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the ninth time, running in the shape of a beautiful, fighting buck, with sharp horns.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

X.

26. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Who is the best-armed of the heavenly gods?'

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is Verethraghna, made by Ahura, O Spitama Zarathustra!'

27. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, came to him the tenth time, running in the shape of a man, bright and beautiful, made by Mazda: he held a sword with a golden blade, inlaid with all sorts of ornaments.

Thus did Verethraghna come, bearing the good Glory made by Mazda, the Glory made by Mazda

XI.

28. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

29. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the

fountains of manliness¹, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish², that lives beneath the waters and can measure³ a rippling of the water, not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha whose ends lie afar, whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man⁴.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XII.

30. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

31. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of manliness, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, in its first half⁵ and through the rain, can perceive a horse's hair lying on the ground and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail⁶.

¹ Erezi, Pahl. gond (Old Zand-Pahlavi Dictionary, p. 11).

² See Vendidad XIX, 42.

³ Possibly, perceive.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XVI, 7, and Bundahis XVIII, 6: 'those fish know the scratch of a needle's point (or better hole) by which the water shall increase, or by which it is diminishing' (tr. West).

⁵ Avakhshaityau, the night before hu-vakhsha (before the time when the light begins to grow; midnight).

⁶ Cf. Yt. XVI, 10, and Bundahis XIX, 32: 'Regarding the Arab

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIII.

32. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, who makes virility, who makes death, who makes resurrection, who possesses peace, who has a free way.

Unto him did the holy Zarathustra sacrifice, [asking] for victorious thinking, victorious speaking, victorious doing, victorious addressing, and victorious answering.

33. Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him the fountains of virility, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar¹, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh not thicker than the fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives².

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIV.

34. We sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda : ' Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One !

horse, they say that if, in a dark night, a single hair occurs on the ground, he sees it' (tr. West).

¹ Possibly the Gypaetus, the vautour doré.

² ' Even from his highest flight, he (the vulture) sees when flesh the size of a fist is on the ground' (Bund. XIX, 31 ; tr. West). Cf. Horapollon (I, 11).

‘If I have a curse thrown upon me, a spell told upon me by the many men who hate me, what is the remedy for it?’

35. Ahura Mazda answered : ‘Take thou a feather of that bird with¹ feathers, the Vârengana, O Spitama Zarathustra ! With that feather thou shalt rub thy own body², with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.

36. ‘If a man holds a bone of that strong bird, or a feather of that strong bird, no one can smite or turn to flight that fortunate man. The feather of that bird of birds brings him help ; it brings unto him the homage of men, it maintains in him his glory.

37. ‘Then the sovereign, the lord of countries, will no longer kill his³ hundreds, though he is a killer of men ; the⁴ will not kill at one stroke ; he alone smites and goes forwards.

38. ‘All tremble before him who holds the feather, they tremble therefore before me ; all my enemies tremble before me and fear my strength and victorious force and the fierceness established in my body.

39. ‘He⁵ carries the chariot of the lords ; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones, the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi

¹ Peshô-parena. The Vârengana is the same bird as the Vâraghna, the raven.

² The feather of the Vârengana plays here the same part as the Sîmurgh’s feather in the Shâh Nâmah. When Rûdâbah’s flank was opened to bring forth Rustem, her wound was healed by rubbing it with a Sîmurgh’s feather ; Rustem, wounded to death by Isfendyâr, was cured in the same manner.

³ Of him who holds that feather.

⁴ ? Vaêsaêpa.

⁵ That bird.

Usa¹; upon his wings runs the male horse², runs the burden-bearing camel, runs the water of the river.

40. 'Him rode the gallant Thraêtaona, who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses; that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle³.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XV.

41. 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

'Verethraghna confounds the glory of this house with its wealth in cattle. He is like that great bird, the Saêna⁴; he is like the big clouds, full of water, that beat the mountains.

'For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XVI.

42. 'We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.'

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'Where is it that we must invoke the name of Verethraghna, made by Ahura? Where is it that

¹ Kai Kaus; when he tried to ascend to heaven on a throne carried by eagles (*Journal Asiatique*, 1881, I, 513).

² A metaphor to express the swiftness of the wind, of the camel, and of the rivers.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 34.

⁴ The Sîmurgh; cf. p. 241, note 2.

we must praise him? That we must humbly praise him?'

43. Ahura Mazda answered: 'When armies meet together in full array, O Spitama Zarathustra! (asking) which of the two is the party that conquers¹ and is not crushed, that smites and is not smitten;

44. 'Do thou throw¹ four feathers² in the way. Whichever of the two will first worship the well-shapen Strength, and Verethraghna, beautiful of form, made by Mazda, on his side will victory stand.

45. 'I will bless Strength and Victory, the two keepers, the two good keepers, the two maintainers; the two who³, the two who³, the two who³; the two who forgive, the two who strike off, the two who forget⁴.

46. 'O Zarathustra! let not that spell be shown to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother from the same womb, or by the Âthravan to his pupil⁵. These are words that are awful and powerful, awful and assembly-ruling, awful and victorious, awful and healing; these are words that save the head that was lost and chant away the uplifted weapon.'

XVII.

47. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura: who goes along the armies arrayed, and goes here

¹ Doubtful.

² Or an arrow feathered with four Vârengana's feathers.

³ Â-dhwaozen, vî-dhwaozen, fra-dhwaozen.

⁴ Âmarezen, cf. آمرزیدن; vîmarezen, cf. Yt. I, 2; fra marezen, cf. فرموش.

⁵ Cf. Yt. IV, 10.

and there asking, along with Mithra and Rashnu : 'Who is it who lies unto Mithra ? Who is it who thrusts [his oath] against Rashnu¹ ? To whom shall I, in my might, impart illness and death² ?'

48³. Ahura Mazda said : 'If men sacrifice unto Verethraghna, made by Ahura, if the due sacrifice and prayer is offered unto him just as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness, never will a hostile horde enter the Aryan countries, nor any plague, nor leprosy, nor venomous plants, nor the chariot of a foe, nor the uplifted spear of a foe.'

49⁴. Zarathustra asked : 'What is then, O Ahura Mazda ! the sacrifice and invocation in honour of Verethraghna, made by Ahura, as it ought to be performed in the perfection of holiness ?'

50. Ahura Mazda answered : 'Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him ; let the Aryan nations tie bundles of baresma for him ; let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white, or black, or of any other colour, but all of one and the same colour.

51. 'Let not a murderer take of those offerings, nor a whore, nor a , who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

52. 'If a murderer take of those offerings, or a whore, or a , who does not sing the Gâthâs, then Verethraghna, made by Ahura, takes back his healing virtues.

¹ Against truth.

³ § 48 ; cf. Yt. VIII, 56.

² Cf. Yt. X, 108 seq.

⁴ §§ 49-53 = Yt. VIII, 57-61.

53. 'Plagues will ever pour upon the Aryan nations; hostile hordes will ever fall upon the Aryan nations; the Aryans will be smitten by their fifties and their hundreds, by their hundreds and their thousands, by their thousands and their tens of thousands, by their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

54. There Verethraghna, made by Ahura, proclaimed thus: 'The Soul of the Bull¹, the wise creature, does not receive from man due sacrifice and prayer; for now the Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas make blood flow and spill it like water;

55. 'For now the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bring to the fire the plant that is called Haperesi, the wood that is called Neme/ka³;

56. '(Therefore) when the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas bow their backs, bend their waists, and arrange all their limbs⁴, they think they will smite and smite not, they think they will kill and kill not; and then the² Daêvas and the worshippers of the Daêvas have their minds confounded and their eyes made giddy⁵.'

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ Gôsrûn or Drvâspa; see Yt. IX. The destruction of any living being is an injury to Drvâspa.

² ? Vyâmbura.

³ The Haperesi and the Neme/ka are probably some species of green wood; it is forbidden to put green wood in the fire as it kills it, and injures the Genius of Water at the same time.

⁴ In order to strike.

⁵ The general meaning of the last four clauses is that the impious are defeated.

XVIII.

57. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

I offer up Haoma, who saves one's head¹; I offer up the victorious Haoma; I offer him up, the good protector; I offer up Haoma, who is a protector to my body, as a man who shall drink² of him shall win and prevail³ over his enemies in battle;

58. That I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XIX.

59. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

The prince and his son and his sons who are chiefs of myriads⁴ offer him up a bright⁵ [saying]: 'He is strong, and Victorious is his name; he is victorious, and Strong is his name;'

60. That I may be as constantly victorious as any one of all the Aryans⁶; that I may smite this army, that I may smite down this army, that I may cut in pieces this army that is coming behind me.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ ? Sâiri-baoghem; cf. § 46.

² Nivazaiti; literally, swallow (? frôt ô bun burtan, Vend. V, 8 [26]).

³ Literally, overtake.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 85.

⁵ ? Asânem sighûirê.

⁶ Cf. Yt. V, 69.

XX.

61. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

Yathâ ahû vairiyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

In the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need¹; in the ox is our speech, in the ox is our victory; in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXI.

62. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura;

Who breaks the columns asunder, who cuts the columns to pieces, who wounds the columns, who makes the columns shake; who comes and breaks the columns asunder, who comes and cuts the columns to pieces, who comes and wounds the columns, who comes and makes the columns shake, both of Daêvas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XXII.

63. We sacrifice to Verethraghna, made by Ahura.

When Verethraghna, made by Ahura, binds the hands, confounds the eye-sight, takes the hearing

¹ From Yasna X, 20 (62), where, instead of the words, 'in the ox is our strength (amem), in the ox is our need,' the text has, 'in the ox is his need, in the ox is our need,' meaning, 'when we give him his need (water and grass), he gives us our need (milk and calves),' (Pahl. tr.).

from the ears of the Mithradrugēs¹ marching in columns, allied by cities, they can no longer move their feet, they can no longer withstand.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

64. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Verethraghna, made by Mazda; and of the crushing Ascendant.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ See p. 120, note 2.

² Who shall offer a sacrifice to Verethraghna.

XV. RÂM YAST.

This Yast bears the name of Râma *Hvâstra*, the Genius who presides over the 21st day of the month (*Sîrôzah*, § 21), and is devoted to his *Hamkâr*, *Vayu*.

Regarding Râma *Hvâstra*, the Genius that gives good abodes and good pastures, and his connection with *Vayu*, see *Vend. Introd.* IV, and *Études Iraniennes*, II, 187.

This Yast can be divided into two parts. The first part (§§ 1-140) contains an enumeration of worshippers who sacrificed to *Vayu*: *Ahura Mazda* (§ 2), *Haoshyangha* (§ 7), *Takhma Urupa* (§ 11), *Yima* (§ 15), *Azi Dahâka* (§ 19), *Thraêtaona* (§ 23), *Keresâspa* (§ 27), *Aurvasâra* (§ 31), *Hutaosa* (§ 35), and Iranian maids (§ 39). The second part (§§ 42-58) contains a special enumeration and glorification of the many names of *Vayu* (§§ 42-50).

o. May *Ahura Mazda* be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of *Mazda*, a follower of *Zarathustra*, one who hates the *Daêvas*, and obeys the laws of *Ahura*;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [*Hâvani*], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Râma *Hvâstra*, unto *Vayu* who works highly and is more powerful to afflict than all other creatures¹,

Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them². I will sacrifice to Peace, whose breath is friendly, and to Weal, both of them.

¹ Cf. *Sîrôzah* I, 21.

² *Apâm Napât* (*Yt.* VIII, 34) or *Tistrya* (*Yt.* VIII, 1).

To this Vayu do we sacrifice,* this Vayu do we invoke, for this house, for the master of this house, and for the man here who is offering libations and giving gifts. To this excellent God do we sacrifice, that he may accept our meat and our prayers, and grant us in return to crush our enemies at one stroke.

2¹. To him did the Maker, Ahura Mazda, offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah¹, on a golden throne, under golden beams² and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk]³.

3. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly⁴, that I may smite the creation of Angra Mainyu, and that nobody may smite this creation of the Good Spirit!'

4. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

5. We sacrifice to the holy Vayu: we sacrifice to Vayu, who works highly.

To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu! that belongs to Spenta Mainyu⁵.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly. We offer up a sacrifice unto the awful Vayu, who works highly, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 17.

² Fraspât, Persian فرسب.

³ Cf. p. 169, note 5.

⁴ See p. 10, note 4.

⁵ As Vayu, the atmosphere, is the place in which the conflict of the two principles takes place, one part of him belongs to the Evil Spirit (see Vend. Introd. IV, 17).

holy spells, the words, the deeds, the libations, and the well-spoken words.

Yēnhê hâtām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

II.

6. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke¹

7. To him did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice on the Taêra of the Hara, bound with iron², on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

8. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may smite two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the fiends of Varena³.'

9. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda⁴, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

10. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

¹ The rest as in clause 1.

² Cf. Yt. V, 21, p. 58, note 2.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 21-23.

⁴ Introduced from § 4 into this and all similar clauses, except the one relating to Azi Dahâka (§ 21).

11. To him did Takhma Urupa¹, the well-armed², offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

12. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may conquer all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and that I may ride Angra Mainyu, turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years.'

13. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon³, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

14. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

15. Unto him did the bright Yima, the good shep-

¹ Takhma Urupa (in later legend Tahnûrâf) was a brother to Yima. He reigned for thirty years and rode Ahriman, turned into a horse. But at last his wife, deceived by Ahriman, revealed to him the secret of her husband's power, and Tahnûrâf was swallowed up by his horse. But Yima managed to take back his brother's body from the body of Ahriman and recovered thereby the arts and civilisation which had disappeared along with Tahnûrâf (see Minokhired XXVII, 32; Ravâet apud Spiegel, *Einleitung in die traditionelle Literatur*, pp. 317 seq.; Ormazd et Ahriman, § 137 seq.; cf. above, p. 60, note 1).

² Azinavant or zaênahvant: he kept that epithet in later tradition: Zînavend, 'quod cognomen virum significat armis probe instructum' (Hamza Ispahensis, p. 20, tr. Gottwaldt).

³ As told Yt. XIX, 29.

herd, sacrifice from the height Hukairya, the all-shining and golden, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

16. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may become the most glorious of the men born to behold the sun: that I may make in my reign both animals and men undying, waters and plants undrying, and the food for eating creatures never-failing¹.'

In the reign of the valiant Yima there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas².

17. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

18. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

19. Unto him did the three-mouthed Azi Dahâka offer up a sacrifice in his accursed palace of Kvirinta³,

¹ Cf. Yasna IX, 4-5 (11-20) and Yt. XIX, 31 seq.

² This passage is interpolated from Yasna IX, 5 (17-19).

³ Or, 'his accursed palace of the Stork' (upa kvirintem duzitem). 'Azi Dahâka,' says Hamza (p. 32 in the text, p. 22 in the translation), 'used to live in Babylon (cf. Yt. V, 29), where he had built a palace in the form of a stork; he called it Kuleng Dîs (کلنگ دیس), the fortress of the Stork; the inhabitants called it Dis Het (دیس حت).' Kuleng Dîs was in Zend Kvirinta daêza and Dis Het is nothing else than Duzita. One may doubt

on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

20. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may make all the seven Karshvares of the earth empty of men¹.'

21. In vain did he sacrifice, in vain did he beg, in vain did he invoke, in vain did he give gifts, in vain did he bring libations ; Vayu did not grant him that boon.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

22. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

23. Unto him did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

24. He begged of him a boon, saying : ' Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that

whether Kvirinta is the name of a place or the Zend form of Kuleng, a stork : in any case it was a palace in Bawri (Babylon). In the Shâh Nâmah it is called Dizukht (duz-ukhta for duz-ita ; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 211).

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 30 seq.

demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world¹.

25. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

26. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

27. To him did the manly-hearted Keresâspa² offer up a sacrifice by the Gudha³, a channel of the Rangha, made by Mazda, upon a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

28. He begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that I may succeed in avenging my brother Urvâkhshaya⁴, that I may smite Hitâspa and yoke him to my chariot.'

The Gandarewa, who lives beneath the waters,

¹ Yt. V, 34; IX, 14; XVII, 34.

² Cf. Yt. V, 37 seq.

³ An unknown affluent of the Rangha (Tigris).

⁴ Sâma had two sons, Keresâspa, a warrior, and Urvâkhshaya, a judge and law-giver (Yasna IX, 10 [29 seq.]). We have no further details about Urvâkhshaya's legend than that he was killed by 'Hitâspa, the golden-crowned' (cf. Yt. XIX, 41), and avenged by Keresâspa.

is the son of Ahura in the deep, he is the only master of the deep¹.

29. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

VIII.

30. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

31. To him did Aurvasâra², the lord of the country, offer up a sacrifice, towards the White Forest³, by the White Forest, on the border of the White Forest, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of full-boiling [milk].

32. He begged of him a boon, saying : 'Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that the gallant Husravah, he who unites the Aryan nations into one kingdom⁴, may not smite us ; that I may flee from king Husravah⁵ ;

¹ A disconnected allusion to the struggle of Keresâspa with the Gandarewa (Yt. V, 38, text and notes ; XIX, 41). On the words 'the son of Ahura' cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, p. 215, note 1.

² No other mention is made of Aurvasâra in the Avesta, unless he is alluded to in Yt. V, 50. He does not appear to have been known to Firdausi.

³ Spaêtinis razûra is called 'the chief of forests' (Bund. XXIV, 16). According to the Bahman Yast (III, 9), it was the seat of the last and decisive battle between Argâsp and Gûstâsp.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 49 ; IX, 21.

⁵ Cf. Yt. V, 50.

‘That king Husravah and all the Aryans in the Forest may smite him¹.’

33. Vayu, who works highly, granted him that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

34. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

35. To him did Hutaosa, she of the many brothers², of the Naotara house³, offer up a sacrifice, on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

36. She begged of him a boon, saying : ‘Grant me this, O Vayu ! who dost work highly, that I may be dear and loved and well-received in the house of king Vîstâspa.’

37. Vayu, who works highly, granted her that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

38. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

¹ This line looks as if it should belong to a counter-prayer by Husravah, which was heard by Vayu, as appears from Yt. V, 50.

² See Yt. IX, 26.

³ See p. 77, note 1.

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

39. To him did¹ the maids, whom no man had known, offer up a sacrifice on a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy, with bundles of baresma and offerings of boiling milk.

40. They begged of him a boon, saying: 'Grant us this, O Vayu! who dost work highly, that we may find a husband, young and beautiful of body, who will treat us well, all life long, and give us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband.'

41. Vayu, who works highly, granted them that boon, as the Maker, Ahura Mazda, did pursue it.

We sacrifice to the holy Vayu

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

XI.

42. I will sacrifice to the Waters and to Him who divides them

To this Vayu do we sacrifice, this Vayu do we invoke

We sacrifice to that Vayu that belongs to the Good Spirit², the bright and glorious Vayu.

43. My name is Vayu, O holy Zarathustra! My name is Vayu, because I go through (vyêmi) the two worlds³, the one which the Good Spirit has

¹ It may be doubted whether the allusion here is to a legend of marriage en masse, following the marriage of Hutaosa with Vis-tâspa, or whether the aorist is used with an indicative meaning: 'To him do the maids who have known no man They beg of him a boon, saying' Cf. Yt. XVI, 17.

² Cf. § 5, note 5.

³ An attempt to an etymological explanation of the name Vayu. Cf. § 53.

made and the one which the Evil Spirit has made.

My name is the Overtaker (*apaêta*), O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Overtaker, because I can overtake the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

44. My name is the All-smiting, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the All-smiting, because I can smite the creatures of both worlds, the one that the Good Spirit has made and the one that the Evil Spirit has made.

My name is the Worker of Good, O holy Zarathustra! My name is the Worker of Good, because I work the good of the Maker, Ahura Mazda, and of the Amesha-Spentas¹.

45. My name is He that goes forwards.

My name is He that goes backwards.

My name is He that bends backwards.

My name is He that hurls away.

My name is He that hurls down.

My name is He that destroys.

My name is He that takes away.

My name is He that finds out.

My name is He that finds out the Glory (*Hvarenô*).

46. My name is the Valiant; my name is the Most Valiant.

My name is the Strong; my name is the Strongest.

My name is the Firm; my name is the Firmest.

My name is the Stout; my name is the Stoutest.

My name is He that crosses over easily.

My name is He that goes along hurling away.

¹ He is their agent and instrument.

My name is He that crushes at one stroke.

My name is¹

My name is He that works against the Daêvas.

My name is²

47. My name is He that prevails over malice ; my name is He that destroys malice.

My name is He that unites ; my name is He that re-unites ; my name is He that separates.

My name is the Burning ; my name is the Quick of intelligence³.

My name is Deliverance ; my name is Welfare⁴.

My name is the Burrow⁵ ; my name is He who destroys the burrows⁵ ; my name is He who spits upon the burrows⁵.

48. My name is Sharpness of spear ; my name is He of the sharp spear.

My name is Length of spear ; my name is He of the long spear.

My name is Piercingness of spear ; my name is He of the piercing spear.

My name is the Glorious ; my name is the Over-glorious.

49⁶. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra ! in the midst of the havocking hordes, in the midst of the columns moving forwards, in the strife of the conflicting nations.

¹ Âiniva (?).

² Keredharisa (?).

³ Doubtful ; *baokā*, cf. *بوز*.

⁴ Reading *sudhis*.

⁵ *Geredha* is the burrow of an Ahrimanian creature (see Vend. III, 10 [33] ; VII, 24 [61]) : *Vayu*, in that half of him that belongs to the Evil Spirit, is the seat (the burrow) of Ahriman ; but with his better half, he struggles against the fiend and destroys him.

⁶ Cf. Yt. I, 11, 16.

50. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the all-powerful tyrant of a country falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee¹ of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

51. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when the unholy Ashemaogha falls upon thee, rushes upon thee, deals wounds upon thee, or hurls his chariot against thee, to rob thee of thy strength, to rob thee of thy wealth, to rob thee of thy health.

52. Invoke these names of mine, O holy Zarathustra! when a man stands in bonds, when a man is being thrown into bonds, or when a man is being dragged in bonds: thus the prisoners flee from the hands of those who carry them, they flee away out of the prison².

53. O thou Vayu! who strikest fear upon all men and horses, who in all creatures workest against the Daêvas, both into the lowest places and into those a thousand times deep dost thou enter with equal power³.

54. 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice shall I forward and worship thee? With what manner of sacrifice will be achieved thy adoration, O great Vayu! thou who art high-up girded, firm, swift-moving, high-footed, wide-breasted, wide-thighed, with untrembling eyes, as powerful in sovereignty as any absolute sovereign in the world?'

¹ Literally, coveting.

² The translation of this clause is doubtful; the text is corrupt.

³ Cf. § 42.

55. 'Take thou a baresma, O holy Zarathustra ! turn it upwards or downwards, according as it is full day or dawning ; upwards during the day, downwards at the dawn¹.

56. 'If thou makest me worshipped with a sacrifice, then I shall say unto thee with my own voice things of health, made by Mazda and full of glory, so that Angra Mainyu may never do harm unto thee, nor the Yâtus, nor those addicted to the works of the Yâtu, whether Daêvas or men.'

57. We sacrifice unto thee, O great Vayu ! we sacrifice unto thee, O strong Vayu !

We sacrifice unto Vayu, the greatest of the great ; we sacrifice unto Vayu, the strongest of the strong.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden helm.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden crown.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden necklace.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden chariot.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden wheel.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden weapons.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden garment.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden shoe.

We sacrifice unto Vayu, of the golden girdle.

We sacrifice unto the holy Vayu ; we sacrifice unto Vayu, who works highly.

To this part of thee do we sacrifice, O Vayu ! that belongs to the Good Spirit.

For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful Vayu, who works highly

58. Yathâ ahû vairyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and invocation unto, and the

¹ Études Iraniennes, II, 110.

strength and vigour of Râma *Hvâstra*, and Vayu, who works highly, more powerful to afflict than all the other creatures: this part of thee that belongs to the Good Spirit.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

XVI. DÎN YAST.

Dîn (Daêna) presides over the 24th day of the month (Sîrôzah 24) and gives it her name; she is invoked in company with *Kîsta*, and in fact this Yast, though it bears the name of Daêna, is consecrated to *Kîsta* (§§ 2, 7). These two Genii are, however, very closely connected in their nature, as Daêna is the impersonation of the Zoroastrian Law or Religion, and *Kîsta* is religious knowledge, the knowledge of what leads to bliss (*fargânak*, *nirvânagñâna*; the same as *Kîsti*).

The description of *Kîsta* is rather pallid, and does not rise above abstractions (see, however, *Mihir Yast*, § 126). She was not worshipped by the old epic heroes as Anâhita was, but by Zarathustra and his wife, because she must have been, from her very name and nature, a goddess of Zoroastrian origin and growth.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

To the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy, and to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda,

Be propitiation from me, for sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda, the supplier of good

stores, who runs quickly to the goal and frees one best from dangers¹, who brings libations, who is holy, clever, and renowned, speedy to work and quick of work; who goes quickly and cleanses well; the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda;

2. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice, saying: 'Rise up from thy seat, come forward from the Abode², thou most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy. If thou art before me, stay for me; if thou art behind me, overtake me.

3. 'Let everything be as friendly to us as anything can be: may we go smoothly along the roads, find good pathways in the mountains, run easily through the forests, and cross happily the rivers!'

4. For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy. I will offer up a sacrifice unto the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy, with the libations, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words and deeds, with the libations, with the well-spoken words.

Yēzhê hātām: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

5. We sacrifice to the most right *Kīsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda³

¹ Reading *nimarezista*; cf. *vimarezistem*, Yt. I, 2.

² The heavenly abode, the Garôthmân.

³ The rest as in § 1.

6. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

7. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the Kara fish, that lives beneath the waters, and can measure a rippling of the waters not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha, whose ends lie afar and whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man¹.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

III.

8. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

9. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

10. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the male horse, that, in the dark of the night, through the rain, the snow, the hail, or the sleet, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a horse's hair, mingled with the earth, and knows whether it is from the head or from the tail².

¹ Cf. Yt. XIV, 29.

² Cf. Yt. XIV, 31.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

IV.

11. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

12. To whom Zarathustra did sacrifice for righteousness of thought, for righteousness of speech, for righteousness of deed, and for this boon,

13. That the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy, would give him the swiftness of the feet, the quick hearing of the ears, the strength of the arms, the health of the whole body, the sturdiness of the whole body, and the eye-sight of the vulture with a golden collar, that, from as far as nine districts, can perceive a piece of flesh, not thicker than a fist, giving just as much light as a needle gives, as the point of a needle gives¹.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

V.

14. We sacrifice to the most right *Kista*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

15. To whom the holy Hvôvi² did sacrifice with full knowledge, wishing that the holy Zarathustra would give her his good narcotic³, that she might

¹ Cf. Yt. XIV, 33.

² Zarathustra's wife.

³ *Bangha*; the so-called *Bang* of Zoroaster (Vend. XV, 14 [44]; Phl. tr.). What must have been its virtue may be gathered from the legends of *Gûstâsp* and *Ardâ Virâf*, who are said to have been transported in soul to the heavens, and to have had the higher

think according to the law, speak according to the law, and do according to the law.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

VI.

16. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

17. To whom the *Âthravans*, sent afar¹, did sacrifice², wishing a good memory to preach the law, and wishing strength for their own body.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

VII.

18. We sacrifice to the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy: we sacrifice to the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda

19. To whom the king of the country, the lord of the country does sacrifice, wishing peace for his country, wishing strength for his own body.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer unto her a sacrifice worth being heard

20. *Yathâ ahû vairyô*: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength

mysteries revealed to them, on drinking from a cup prepared by the prophet (*Zardust Nâmah*), or from a cup of *Gûstâsp-bang* (*Ardâ Virâf*, II, 29).

¹ The itinerant priests, the ancestors of the modern dervishes.

² Or better, do sacrifice; cf. *Yt.* XIV, 39.

and vigour of the most right *Kîsta*, made by Mazda and holy, and of the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him long, long life, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

XVII. ASHI YAST.

Ashi Vanguhi or 'the good Ashi'¹ is a feminine impersonation of piety², and she is, at the same time, the source of all the good and riches that are connected with piety³. She is described, therefore, as a goddess of Fortune and Wealth, and is invoked in company with Pârendi, the goddess of Treasures (Sîrôzah 25)

She appears in the latter character in the first part of the Yast (§§ 1-14); she praises and loves Zarathustra (§§ 15-21). She is worshipped by Haosyangha (§ 26), Yima (§ 28), Thraêtaona (§ 33), Haoma (§ 37), Husravah (§ 41), Zarathustra (§ 45), and Vîstâspa (§ 49)⁴. She rejects the offerings of all sterile people (old men, courtezans, and children, §§ 53-61).

I.

1. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect⁵, and powerful;

2. The daughter of Ahura Mazda, the sister of the Amesha-Spentas, who endows all the Sao-

¹ In Parsi Ardisvang or Ard (Ardis from Artis, the Persian form of Ashis); she presides over the 25th day of the month; cf. Sîrôzah 25.

² Ashi is not the feminine adjective of Asha, as the i was originally short (genitive ashôis, not ashyau); ashi is ar-ti, and means bhakti, piety (Neriosengh).

³ The so-called Ashi's remedies (ashôis baêshaza; cf. Yt. XIII, 32).

⁴ This enumeration is the same as in the Gôsr Yast (§§ 3, 8, 14, 17, 21, 26, 29).

⁵ Perethu-vîra; see *Études Iranienes*, II, 183.

shyants¹ with the enlivening intelligence; she also brings heavenly wisdom at her wish, and comes to help him who invokes her from near and him who invokes her from afar, and worships her with offerings of libations.

3². For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer up unto Ashi Vanguhi a good sacrifice with an offering of libations. We sacrifice unto Ashi Vanguhi with the libations; with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

II.

4. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect, and powerful.

5. Homage unto Haoma, and unto the Māthra³, and unto the holy Zarathustra!

Homage unto Haoma, because all other drinks are attended with Aêshma⁴, the fiend of the wounding spear: but the drinking of Haoma is attended with Asha and with Ashi Vanguhi herself⁵.

6. Ashi is fair; Ashi is radiant with joy; she is far-piercing with her rays. Ashi gives good Glory

¹ The allies of Saoshyant, who are to be active in the restoration of the world to eternal life (frashô-kereti). Cf. p. 165, note 1. Ashi gives them the 'intelligence of life' (frasha khratu), through which they will be enabled to perform their task.

² Cf. Yt. V, 10.

³ The Holy Word.

⁴ The Daêva of anger.

⁵ As drinking Haoma is an act of religion (cf. Yasna XI, 12 [31] seq.).

unto those men whom thou dost follow, O Ashi! Full of perfumes is the house in which the good, powerful Ashi Vanguhi puts her¹ feet, for long friendship.

7. Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi! are kings of kingdoms, that are rich in horses, with large tributes, with snorting horses, sounding chariots, flashing swords, rich in aliments and in stores of food²; well-scented where the beds are spread and full of all the other riches that may be wished for. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

8. Those men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have houses that stand well laid up, rich in cattle, foremost in Asha, and long-supported. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

9. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have beds that stand well-spread, well-adorned, well-made, provided with cushions and with feet inlaid with gold. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

10. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have their ladies that sit on their beds, waiting for them: they lie on the cushions, adorning themselves,³, with square bored ear-rings and a necklace of gold: 'When will our lord come? when shall we enjoy in our bodies the joys of love?'

¹ ? Âgairimaitis.

² Cf. Yt. V, 130.

³ ? Ankupasmanau.

Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

11. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have daughters that sit¹; thin is their waist, beautiful is their body, long are their fingers; they are as fair of shape as those who look on can wish. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

12. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have horses swift and loud-neighing; they drive the chariot lightly, they take it to the battle², they bear a gallant praiser (of the gods), who has many horses, a solid chariot, a sharp spear, a long spear, and swift arrows, who hits his aim, pursuing after his enemies, and smiting his foes. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

13. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have large-humped, burden-bearing camels, flying from the ground or fighting with holy fierceness³. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

14. The men whom thou dost attend, O Ashi Vanguhi! have hoards of silver and gold brought together from far distant regions; and garments of splendid make. Happy the man whom thou dost attend! Do thou attend me, thou rich in all sorts of desirable things and strong!

¹ ? Āgamô-paidhisa.

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Yt. XIV, 11.

15. Do not turn thy look from me! turn thy mercy towards me, O great Ashi! thou art well-made and of a noble seed¹; thou art sovereign at thy wish; thou art Glory in a bodily form.

16. Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the greatest of all gods, the best of all gods; thy mother is Ârmaiti Spenta; thy brothers are Sraosha², a god of Asha, and Rashnu³, tall and strong, and Mithra⁴, the lord of wide pastures, who has ten thousand spies and a thousand ears; thy sister is the Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

17. Praised of the gods, unoffended by the righteous⁵, the great Ashi Vanguhi stood up on her chariot, thus speaking: 'Who art thou who dost invoke me, whose voice is to my ear the sweetest of all that invoked me most?'

18. And he⁶ said aloud: 'I am Spitama Zarathustra, who, first of mortals, recited the praise of the excellent Asha⁷ and offered up sacrifice unto Ahura Mazda and the Amesha-Spentas; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creation cried out, Hail⁸!'

19. 'In whose birth and growth Angra Mainyu rushed away from this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, and he, the evil-doing Angra Mainyu, who is all death, said: "All the gods together

¹ Born from the gods; cf. Yt. XXII, 9.

² See Yt. XI.

³ See Yt. XII.

⁴ See Yt. X.

⁵ Or, 'doing no harm to the righteous.'

⁶ Zarathustra.

⁷ The Ahuna Vairya.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIII, 93.

have not been able to smite me down in spite of myself, and Zarathustra alone can reach me in spite of myself.

20. "He smites me with the Ahuna Vairya, as strong a weapon as a stone big as a house¹; he burns me with Asha-Vahista, as if it were melting brass². He makes it better for me that I should leave this earth, he, Spitama Zarathustra, the only one who can daunt me."

21. And the great Ashi Vanguhi exclaimed: 'Come nearer unto me, thou pure, holy Spitama! lean against my chariot!'

Spitama Zarathustra came nearer unto her, he leant against her chariot.

22. And she caressed him with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, thus speaking: 'Thou art beautiful, O Zarathustra! thou art well-shapen, O Spitama! strong are thy legs and long are thy arms: Glory is given to thy body and long cheerfulness³ to thy soul, as sure as I proclaim it unto thee.'

III.

23⁴. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high, tall-formed, well worthy of sacrifice, with a loud-sounding chariot, strong, welfare-giving, healing, with fulness of intellect and powerful.

24⁵. To her did Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, offer up a sacrifice, upon the enclosure of the Hara, the beautiful height, made by Mazda.

25. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant

¹ Cf. Vend. XIX, 4 (13).

² Cf. Yt. III.

³ Bliss after death.

⁴ As § 1.

⁵ For §§ 24-26, cf. Yt. IX, 3-6.

me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may overcome all the Daêvas of Mâzana ; that I may never fear and bow through terror before the Daêvas, but that all the Daêvas may fear and bow in spite of themselves before me, that they may fear and flee down to darkness.'

26. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side : Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

IV.

27. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

28¹. To her did Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, offer up a sacrifice from the height Hukairya.

29. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may bring fatness and flocks down to the world created by Mazda ; that I may bring immortality down to the world created by Mazda ;

30. 'That I may take away both hunger and thirst, from the world created by Mazda ; that I may take away both old age and death, from the world created by Mazda ; that I may take away both hot wind and cold wind, from the world created by Mazda, for a thousand years.'

31. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side : Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

¹ For §§ 28-31, cf. Yt. IX, 8-11.

V.

32. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

33¹. To her did Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, offer up a sacrifice in the four-cornered Varena.

34. He begged of her a boon, saying : 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi ! that I may overcome Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle ; and that I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavâk and Erenavâk, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world.'

35. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Thraêtaona, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VI.

36. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

37². To her did Haoma offer up a sacrifice, Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, upon the highest height of the Haraiti Bareza.

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 34 ; IX, 14 ; XV, 24.

² For §§ 37-39, cf. Yt. IX, 17-19.

38. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bind the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, that I may drag him bound, that I may bring him bound unto king Husravah, that king Husravah may kill him, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

39. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. Haoma, the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice

VII.

40. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high and powerful.

41¹. To her did the gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, offer up a sacrifice, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters.

42. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may kill the Turanian murderer, Franghrasyan, behind the *Kaêkasta* lake, the deep lake of salt waters, to avenge the murder of my father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man.'

43. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side. The gallant Husravah, he who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom, obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ For §§ 41-43, cf. Yt. IX, 21-23.

VIII.

44. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

45¹. To her did the holy Zarathustra offer up a sacrifice in the Airyana Vaêgah, by the good river Dâitya, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the speech, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

46. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may bring the good and noble Hutaosa to think according to the law, to speak according to the law, to do according to the law, that she may spread my law and make it known, that she may bestow beautiful praises upon my deeds.'

47. The great Ashi Vanguhi ran and came to his side: the holy Zarathustra obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

IX.

48. We sacrifice to Ashi Vanguhi, who is shining, high . . . and powerful.

49. To her did the tall Kavi Vîstâspa offer up a sacrifice behind the waters of the river Dâitya.

50. He begged of her a boon, saying: 'Grant me this, O great Ashi Vanguhi! that I may put to flight Asta-aurvant, the son of Vîspô-thaurvô-asti, the all-afflicting, of the brazen helmet, of the brazen armour, of the thick neck, behind whom seven

¹ For §§ 45-47, cf. Yt. IX, 25-27.

hundred camels . . . ; that I may put to flight the *Hvyaona* murderer, *Aregat-aspa*; that I may put to flight *Darsinika*, the worshipper of the *Daêvas*;

51. 'And that I may smite *Tâthravant* of the bad law; that I may smite *Spingauruska*, the worshipper of the *Daêvas*; and that I may bring unto the good law the nations of the *Varedhakas* and of the *Hvyaonas*; and that I may smite of the *Hvyaona* nations their fifties and their hundreds, their hundreds and their thousands, their thousands and their tens of thousands, their tens of thousands and their myriads of myriads.'

52. The great *Ashi Vanguhi* ran and came to his side: the tall *Kavi Vistâspa* obtained that boon.

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

X.

53. We sacrifice to *Ashi Vanguhi*, who is shining, high and powerful.

54. And the great *Ashi Vanguhi* said: 'None of those libations will be accepted by me, which are sent to me either by a man whose seed is dried out¹, or by the courtesan who produces untimely issues², or by young boys, or by girls who have known no man³.

'When the Turanians and the swift-horsed *Naotaras*⁴, clapping their hands, ran after me,

¹ See Vend. III, 20 [63], note.

² By procuring abortion.

³ She refuses the offerings of all barren beings.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 98. The following clauses allude to some myth of *Ashi Vanguhi* connected with the conflict between the Turanians and the *Naotaras* (either *Tusa* and *Vistauru*; cf. p. 71, note 7, or more likely *Vistâspa* himself, to whom the preceding chapter

55. 'I hid myself under the foot of a bull walking under his burden; then young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.

56. 'Even I hid myself under the throat of a ram of hundredfold energy: then again young boys, and girls who had known no man, discovered me, even while the Turanians and the swift-horsed Naotaras, clapping their hands, were running after me.'

57. The first wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtesan who destroys her fruit: 'Stand thou not near her, sit thou not on her bed!'—'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

58. The second wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi is her wailing about the courtesan who brings forth a child conceived of a stranger and presents it to her husband: 'What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

59. This is the third wailing of the great Ashi Vanguhi: 'This is the worst deed that men and tyrants do, namely, when they deprive maids, that have been barren for a long time, of marrying and bringing forth children. What shall I do? Shall I go back to the heavens? Shall I sink into the earth?'

60. Ahura Mazda answered: 'O fair and wise Ashi, go not back to the heavens, sink not into the

[§§ 48-52] and the last but one clause of the Yast refer). She tried to flee in the way practised by Ulysses in the Cyclops' cavern; both parties were pursuing the animal that bore her, though they knew not what it bore, till children discovered her.

earth! Stay here and walk inside the fine kingly palace.'

61. I shall worship thee with such a sacrifice, I shall worship and forward thee with such a sacrifice as Vîstâspa offered unto thee, behind the river Dâitya¹. The Zoatar lifted up a loud voice, with baresma before him. With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship thee? With that sort of sacrifice shall I worship and forward thee, O fair and wise Ashi?

For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard

62. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Ashi Vanguhi; of the good *Kîsti*; of the good *Erethe*; of the good *Rasâstât*; of the Glory and Weal, made by Mazda².

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Cf. §§ 49 seq.

² Cf. *Sîrôzah*, § 25.

XVIII. ÂSTÂD YAST.

Arstât is Truthfulness: she is invoked in company with the Genius of Truth, Rashnu Razista (Sîrôzah, § 18), on the day Rashn. On the day especially dedicated to her, the 26th day of the month, she is invoked in company with Mount Ushi-darena, which accounts for the singular fact that her Yast is wholly devoted to the *Hvarenô*, and thus is hardly distinguishable from the *Zamyâd Yast*, as Mount Ushi-darena is the actual seat of the *Hvarenô* (Yt. I, 31, text and note; cf. Yt. XIX, 66). Whence comes this particular connection of Arstât with Mount Ushi-darena is uncertain, unless it alludes to the fact that the possession of the *Hvarenô* can be secured only through truthfulness: as soon as Yima 'began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth,' the *Hvarenô* flew away from him (Yt. XIX, 34).

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the Glory of the Aryans, made by Mazda,
Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation,
and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'I made the Aryan Glory, rich in food, rich in flocks, rich in wealth¹, rich in Glory; provided with full store of intelligence, with full store of money, to withstand Need, and to withstand enemies.

¹ As it gives food, flocks, and wealth to those who get possessed of it.

2. 'It destroys Angra Mainyu, who is all death ; it destroys Aêshma, the fiend of the wounding spear¹; it destroys the yellow Bûshyâsta²; it destroys the contagion³ of Aêkha⁴; it destroys the fiend of death, Apaosha⁵; it destroys the non-Aryan nations.

3. 'And I made the great Ashi Vanguhi; she comes in, amid the family; she comes in, inside the fine royal palace⁶.

4. 'Let Ashi, with fulness of welfare, follow the man who gladdens the faithful with his gifts⁷! she comes in, inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

'With all sorts of flocks, with all victory, with all intelligence, with all Glory, the great Ashi Vanguhi puts one foot⁸ inside his family; she comes in, inside his fine royal palace.

5. 'Horses multiply a thousandfold, flocks multiply a thousandfold; and so does his virtuous offspring, (as) the bright, glorious star Tistrya moves on equally⁹, and so does the strong wind made by Mazda, and so does the Glory of the Aryas.

6. 'And they bring increase on the tops of all mountains, down the depths of all vales; they bring increase to all the growing plants¹⁰, the fair, the golden-hued. And they bring (away)¹¹ the contagion

¹ See Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 22.

² Ibid. Introd. IV, 24.

³ Doubtful.

⁴ ? A daêva or a disease.

⁵ See Yt. VIII, 22.

⁶ See Yt. XVII.

⁷ Who gives alms to the poor Mazdayasnians.

⁸ Even one foot (?), when she stays not there 'for long friendship' (Yt. XVII, 6).

⁹ So that the rain falls in due time (Yt. VIII, 11).

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. VIII, 29.

¹¹ Cf. § 2.

of Aêkha, they bring (away) the fiend of death, Apaosha.

7. 'Hail to the bright and glorious star Tistrya! Hail to the strong wind, made by Mazda! Hail to the Glory of the Aryas!

'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

8. 'We worship the Ahuna Vairya.

'We worship Asha-Vahista, the fairest Amesha-Spenta.

'We worship the rightly-spoken Words¹, fiend-smiting and healing.

'We worship the healing, well-spoken Words, the fiend-smiting.

'We worship the Mâthra Spenta and the Law of Mazda, and (piety) that delights in Haoma².

'We worship the Glory of the Aryas.

'Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

9. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda.

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

'[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

¹ Arshukhdha vaêô, the words conformable to the rites.

² Haomakinem; see *Études Iraniennes*, II, 148.

³ Who shall have sacrificed to the Aryan Glory.

XIX. ZAMYÂD YAST.

This Yast, inscribed to the Genius of the Earth, is devoted to a description of the mountains and the kingly Glory (*kavaêm Hvarenô*), which are invoked, together with the Earth, in the corresponding formula of the *Sîrôzah* (§ 28): there is no Yast devoted to the Earth itself.

The mountains are simply enumerated (§§ 1-8). The rest of the Yast is devoted to the praise of the *Hvarenô*, or, more precisely, to that of those who possessed it, whose powers or feats are described. The list begins with Ahura Mazda (§ 10), and closes with Saoshyant (§ 89); that is to say, it begins with the beginning of the world, and closes with its end. It includes the Amesha-Spentas (§ 15), Haoshyangha (§ 26), Takhma Urupa (§ 28), Yima (§ 31), Mithra (§ 35), Thraêtaona (§ 36), Keresâspa (§ 38), the kings of the Kaianyan dynasty (§§ 66-72), Kavi Husravah (§ 74), Zarathustra (§ 79), Vistâspa (§ 84). The unsuccessful efforts of Franghrasyan to take possession of it are described at length (§§ 56-64).

This Yast would serve as a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged *Shâh Nâmah*.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura ;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; unto the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; unto that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda ¹,

¹ *Sîrôzah* I, 28.

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I.

1. The first mountain that rose up out of the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! was the Haraiti Barez¹. That mountain stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters² towards the east.

The second mountain was Mount Zeredhô, outside³ Mount Manusha⁴: this mountain too stretches all along the shores of the land washed by waters towards the east.

2. From there grew up Mount Ushi-dhau Ushi-darena⁵, Mount Erezifya⁶, and Mount Fraorepa.

The sixth was Mount Erezura⁷.

The seventh was Mount Bumya⁸.

The eighth was Mount Raoidhita⁹.

¹ The same as the Hara Berezaiti, the later Albôrz; see p. 58, note 3.

² The Caspian sea.

³ Doubtful: pârentarem aredhô; possibly beyond.

⁴ According to the Bundahis, Manusha is another name of Mount Zeredhô (XII, 2). It is the mountain on which Mânûskîhar was born (ibid. 10).

⁵ 'The mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding,' the later Mount Ôrdâstâr; see p. 33, note 1.

⁶ See p. 65, note 2.

⁷ Mount Arzûr 'is a summit at the gate of hell' (Bundahis XII, 8; cf. Vend. III, 7 (23); XIX, 140).

⁸ The Arzûr Bûm of Bundahis XII, 2, which 'is in the direction of Arûm' (Asia Minor, Bundahis XII, 16).

⁹ The Rôyisn-ômand mountain of Bundahis XII, 27; its name

The ninth was Mount Mazisisvau.

The tenth was Mount Antare-danghu.

The eleventh was Mount Erezisha.

The twelfth was Mount Vâiti-gaêsa¹.

3. And Mount Âdarana, Mount Bayana, Mount Iskata Upairi-saêna², with the . . .³ snows; the two Hamankuna mountains, the eight Vasma mountains, the eight powerful Frâvanku, the four Vidhvana summits;

4. Mount Aêzakha, Mount Maênakha, Mount Vâkhedrakaê, Mount Asaya, Mount Tudhaskaê, Mount Isavaê, Mount Draoshisvau, Mount Sâirivau, Mount Nanghusmau, Mount Kakahyu, Mount Antare-Kangha⁴;

5. Mount Siêidava⁵, Mount Ahuna, Mount Raêmana, Mount Asha-stembana, Mount Urunyô-vâidhkaê, Mount Âsnavant⁶, Mount Ushaoma, Mount Usta-hvarenah, Mount Syâmaka⁷, Mount Vafrayau, Mount Vourusha;

means 'the mountain on which vegetation has grown' (ibid. tr. West).

¹ The Bâdghês mountain near Herât, بادغیس.

² Or 'Mount Iskata ("rugged"), belonging to the Upairi-saêna ridge.' The Upairi-saêna ridge or Aparsên ridge is 'the mountain of Persia, and its beginning is in Seistân and its end in Susiana' (Bund. XII, 9).

³ ? Kâsô-tafedhra; possibly the name of a mountain: Mount Kâsô-tafedhra Vafra.

⁴ See p. 67, note 4.

⁵ 'Siêidâv, a mountain among those which are in Kangdez' (Bund. XII, 2, tr. West).

⁶ See p. 7, note 5.

⁷ The Mount Siyâk-ômand ('the black mountain') and Mount Vafar-ômand ('the snowy mountain') of Bundahis XII, 22, which are said to have grown out of the Aparsên ridge and to extend towards China.

6. Amongst which stand Mount *Gatara*, Mount *Adhutavau*, Mount *Spitavarena*, Mount *Spentô-dâta*¹, Mount *Kadrva-aspa*², Mount *Kaoirisa*³, Mount *Taêra*⁴, Mount *Barô-srayana*, Mount *Barana*, Mount *Frâpayau*, Mount *Udria*, and Mount *Raêvant*⁵, and all those heights to which men have given the name of mount,

7. To the number of two thousand mountains, and two hundred and forty and four⁶, O *Spitama Zarathustra*!

8. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto the awful kingly Glory. Unto the awful kingly Glory we offer up the libations, the *Haoma* and meat, the *baresma*, the wisdom of the tongue, the holy spells, the speech, the deeds, the libations, and the rightly-spoken words⁷.

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom *Ahura Mazda*⁷

II.

9. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by *Mazda*; most conquering, highly working, that possesses health, wisdom, and happiness, and is more powerful to destroy than all other creatures;

¹ The *Spendyâd* mountain, near Mount *Rêvand* (*Bundahis* XII, 23).

² The *Kôndrâsp* mountain, by the town of *Tûs* (in *Khorasan*, *Bund.* XII, 24).

³ The *Kôîrâs* mountain in *Îrân-Vêg* (*Bund.* XII, 25).

⁴ Cf. *Yt.* XV, 7, and p. 58, note 2.

⁵ See p. 8, notes 1 and 2.

⁶ 'The other mountains have grown out of *Albûrs*, in number 2244 mountains' (*Bund.* XII, 2).

⁷ See notes to *Yt.* III, 17 (p. 47).

10. That belongs to Ahura Mazda, as (through it) Ahura Mazda made the creatures, many and good, many and fair, many and wonderful, many and prosperous, many and bright ;

11¹. So that they may restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

12. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug² shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord².

13. For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice . . .

III.

14. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda³

15⁴. That belongs to the Amesha-Spentas, the bright ones, whose looks perform their wish, tall, quickly coming to do, strong, lordly, who are undecaying and holy ;

16. Who are all seven of one thought, who are all seven of one speech, who are all seven of one deed ; whose thought is the same, whose speech is the same, whose deed is the same, whose father and commander is the same, namely, the Maker, Ahura Mazda.

¹ §§ 11-12=§§ 19-20, 23-24, 89-90.

² Doubtful.

³ As above, § 9.

⁴ §§ 15-17=Yt. XIII, 82-84.

17. Who see one another's soul thinking of good thoughts, thinking of good words, thinking of good deeds, thinking of Garô-nmâna, and whose ways are shining as they go down to the libations ;

18. Who are the makers and governors, the shapers and overseers, the keepers and preservers of these creations of Ahura Mazda.

19¹. It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

20. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

IV.

21. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

22. That belongs to the gods in the heavens and to those in the material world, and to the blessed ones, born or not yet born, who are to perform the restoration of the world ².

23³. It is they who shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and

¹ §§ 19-20 = §§ 11-12.

² The Saoshyants ; see p. 165, note 1.

³ §§ 23-24 = §§ 19-20.

ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

24. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

V.

25. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

26. That clave unto Haoshyangha, the Paradhâta, for a long time¹, when he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, over the Yâtus and the Pairikas, over the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf ; he who smote two-thirds of the Daêvas of Mâzana and of the Varenya fiends².

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VI.

27. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

28. That clave unto Takhma Urupa, the well-armed, while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf ;

29. When he conquered all Daêvas and men, all the Yâtus and Pairikas, and rode Angra Mainyu,

¹ For forty years, according to the Bundahis (XXXIV, 4) ; for thirty years, according to Firdausi.

² See Yt. V, 22.

turned into the shape of a horse, all around the earth from one end to the other, for thirty years¹.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VII.

30. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

31. That clave unto the bright Yima, the good shepherd, for a long time², while he ruled over the seven Karshvares of the earth, over the Daêvas and men, the Yâtus and Pairikas, the oppressors, the blind, and the deaf;

32. He who took from the Daêvas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and Glory³;

In whose reign both aliments⁴ were never failing for feeding creatures, flocks and men were undying, waters and plants were undrying;

33. In whose reign there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Daêvas⁵, in the times before his lie, before he began to have delight in words of falsehood and untruth.

34. But when he began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth⁶, the Glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird. When his Glory had disappeared, then the great⁷ Yima

¹ Cf. Yt. XV, 12, and notes.

² For six hundred and sixteen years and six months (Bundahis XXXIV, 4).

³ See Yt. V, 26, text and note.

⁴ Food and drink.

⁵ Cf. Yt. XV, 16.

⁶ He pretended to be a god (Firdausi).

⁷ Doubtful: fraêsta.

Khshaêta, the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes¹; he was confounded, and laid him down on the ground.

35. The first time² when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird³.

Then Mithra seized that Glory, Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, whose ear is quick to hear, who has a thousand senses. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda has created the most glorious of all the gods in the heavens.

36. The second time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, the Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird.

Then Thraêtaona seized that Glory, he, the heir of the valiant Âthwya clan, who was the most victorious of all victorious men next to Zarathustra;

37. Who smote Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who had a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Drug, that demon baleful to the world, the strongest Drug that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle⁴.

¹ Azi Dahâka and his followers.

² The Glory is described as departing three times, because it is threefold, according as it belongs to the king considered as a priest, a warrior, or a husbandman. In that threefold character it is identical with Âdar Frobâ, Âdar Gushasp, and Âdar Bûrzîn Mihr (p. 7, notes).

³ A raven, one of the incarnations of the Genius of Victory (Yt. XIV, 18-21; cf. *ibid.* § 35).

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 34.

38. The third time when the Glory departed from the bright Yima, that Glory went from Yima, the son of Vîvanghant, in the shape of a Vâraghna bird.

Then the manly-hearted Keresâspa¹ seized that Glory; he who was the sturdiest of the men of strength, next to Zarathustra, for his manly courage.

39. For Manly Courage clave unto him. We worship Manly Courage, firm of foot, unsleeping, quick to rise, and fully awake, that clave unto Keresâspa;

40. Who killed the snake Srvara, the horse-devouring, men-devouring, yellow, poisonous snake, over which yellow poison flowed a thumb's breadth thick. Upon him Keresâspa was cooking his food in a brass vessel: at the time of noon, the fiend felt the heat, and stood upon his feet: he rushed from under the brass vessel and upset the boiling water: the manly-hearted Keresâspa fell back affrighted²;

41. Who killed the golden-heeled Gandarewa, that was rushing with open jaws, eager to destroy the living world of the good principle³;

Who killed the brood of Pathana, all the nine⁴;

¹ See V, 37 (pp. 62-63, and notes); XIII, 136; XV, 27.

² Cf. Yasna IX, 11 (34-39). This tale belongs to the widespread cyclis of the island-whale (a whale whose back is mistaken by sailors for an island; they land upon it, cook their food there, and the monster, awaked by the heat, flies off and carries them away: see Arabian Nights, Seventy-first Night; Babâ Bathrâ, 5).

³ See Yt. V, 38.

⁴ Known in the Minokhired (XXVII, 50) as 'the wolf Kapôd' (perhaps 'the blue wolf,' as Mr. West suggests), 'which they also call Pēhan.' Those nine sons of Pathana were nine highwaymen (the very word Pathana seems to have that meaning): their defeat is told by Keresâspa in a Pahlavi Rivâyat as follows: 'I have slain the highwaymen who were so big in body that, when they were

and the brood of Nivika, and the brood of Dâstanya;

Who killed the golden-crowned Hitâspa¹, and Vareshava, the son of Dâna², and Pitaona, attended by many Pairikas³;

42. Who killed Arezô-shamana, him of the manly courage, who was strong, well-beloved⁴, hail, energetically rushing, fully awake, never falling back....⁵;

43. Who killed Snâvidhaka, him who killed with his nails, the stone-handed : thus did he exclaim to all around : 'I am an infant still, I am not yet of age : if I ever grow of age, I shall make the earth a wheel, I shall make the heavens a chariot ;

44. 'I shall bring down the Good Spirit from the shining Garô-nmâna ; I shall make the Evil Spirit rush up from the dreary Hell. They will carry my

walking, people considered in this way, that "below them are the stars and moon, and below them moves the sun at dawn, and the water of the sea reaches up to their knees." And I reached up to their legs, and they were smitten on the legs by me ; they fell, and the hills on the earth were shattered by them' (West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 376). Keresâspa's Fravashi, accordingly, is invoked against thieves (Yt. XIII, 136). Perhaps the assimilation of the wolf Kapôz with Pzhan is merely a guess of the author of the Minokhired.

¹ The murderer of Keresâspa's brother, Urvâkhshaya (Yt. XV, 28).

² Doubtful: dânayana. Vâresha is the Pahlavi name of a bird of prey (Bund. XIV, 30), which might induce us to identify Vareshava with the gigantic bird Kamak, 'which overshadowed the earth and kept off the rain till the rivers dried up' (West, l.l. 378), and whose destruction was one of the feats of Keresâspa.

³ Like the Pairika Knâthaiti, who clave to Keresâspa (Vend. I, 10 [36]).

⁴ Doubtful: frâzustem.

⁵ The rest of the sentence is obscure, and the text seems to be corrupt.

chariot, both the Good Spirit and the Evil One, unless the manly-hearted Keresâspa kill me.'

The manly-hearted Keresâspa killed him, his life went away, his spirit vanished ¹.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

VIII.

45. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized², made by Mazda

46. For which the Good Spirit and the Evil One did struggle with one another³: for that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized² they flung each of them their darts most swift.

The Good Spirit flung a dart, and so did Vohu-Manô, and Asha-Vahista and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

The Evil Spirit flung a dart, and so did Akem-Manô⁴, and Aêshma of the wounding spear, and Azî Dahâka and Spityura, he who sawed Yima in twain⁵.

¹ Snâvidhaka reminds one vividly of the Titanic Otus and Ephialtes (Odyssea XI, 308):

'Such were they youths! Had they to manhood grown,
Almighty Jove had trembled on his throne:
But ere the harvest of the beard began
To bristle on the chin, and promise man,
His shafts Apollo aim'd.' (Pope.)

² The sacerdotal Glory; see p. 11, note 6, cf. § 53.

³ When it had departed from Yima.

⁴ Bad Thought, the demoniac counterpart of Vohu-Manô (Vend. Introd. IV, 34).

⁵ Spityura was a brother of Yima's (Bund. XXXI, 3: 'Spîtûr was he who, with Dahâk, cut up Yim,' *ibid.* 5, tr. West). Nothing more is known of him, though he appears to have played a great part in the original Yima legend, and to have stood to his brother in the same relation as Barmâyûn and Katâyûn to Ferîdûn, or

47. Then forward came Âtar¹, the son of Ahura Mazda, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.'

But Azi Dahâka, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed on his back, thinking of extinguishing it:

48. 'Here give it up to me², O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda: if thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, I shall rush upon thee, so that thou mayest never more blaze on the earth made by Ahura and protect the world of the good principle.'

And Âtar took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Azi affrighted him.

49. Then Azi, the three-mouthed, he of the evil law, rushed forward, thinking thus in his heart: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized.'

But Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, advanced behind him, speaking in these words:

50. 'There give it up to me², thou three-mouthed Azi Dahâka. If thou seizest that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, then I will enter thy hinder part, I will blaze up in thy jaws, so that thou mayest never more rush upon the earth made by Mazda and destroy the world of the good principle.'

Then Azi took back his hands, as the instinct of life prevailed, so much had Âtar affrighted him.

51. That Glory swells up and goes to the sea

Shagâd to Rustam. Firdausi does not mention him, and makes Dahâk himself saw Gemshîd.

¹ Âdar Frobâ (the Glory of the Priest) is meant here: 'when they sawed Yim, Âdar Frobâ saved his Glory from the hand of Dahâk' (Bund. XVII, 5; Études Iraniennes, II, 70, 84).

² Doubtful.

Vouru-Kasha. The swift-horsed Son of the Waters¹ seizes it at once: this is the wish of the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed: 'I want to seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, down to the bottom of the sea Vouru-Kasha, in the bottom of the deep rivers.'

52. We sacrifice unto the Son of the Waters, the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord, the lord of females; the male god, who helps one at his appeal; who made man, who shaped man², a god who lives beneath waters, and whose ear is the quickest to hear when he is worshipped.

53. 'And whosoever of you, O men,'—thus said Ahura Mazda,—'O holy Zarathustra! shall seize that Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, he has the gifts³ of an Âthravan⁴; whosoever shall long for the illumination of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan; whosoever shall long for fulness of knowledge, he has the gifts of an Âthravan;

54. 'And Riches will cleave unto him, giving him full welfare, holding a shield before him, powerful, rich of cattle and garments; and Victory will cleave unto him, day after day; and likewise Strength, that smites more than a year. Attended by that Victory, he will conquer the havocking hordes; attended by that Victory, he will conquer all those who hate him.'

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

¹ Apām Napât; see p. 6, note 1.

² An allusion to old myths on the igneous origin of life (Ormazd et Ahriman, § 78).

³ Doubtful.

⁴ As that Glory is the one that belongs to the Âthravan.

IX.

55. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory, that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda

56. Which the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize in the sea Vouru-Kasha. He stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra¹. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Husravah².

57³. Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '. . . .⁴ I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

58. 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors⁵, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.'

—'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures⁶.'

Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra!

¹ See *Études Iraniennes*, II, 227; cf. § 82.

² 'Lake Husravah is within fifty leagues (parasang) of Lake Kêkêst' (Lake Urumiah, Bund. XXII, 8, tr. West).

³ Cf. §§ 60, 63.

⁴ Itha itha yathana ahmâi.

⁵ Tarshuḥa khshudraḥa, translated dhânâyâni madhûniḥa (Sansk. tr. to *Âfrîgân Gâhambâr*, § 12). Afrâsyâb was charged with having laid Iran waste by filling up or conducting away rivers (Hamzah Ispahensis, p. 34; cf. Bund. XXI, 6).

⁶ This looks like an answer to Afrâsyâb's threats.

59. A second time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize that Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm of the sea Vouru-Kasha was produced, namely, that lake that is called Lake Vanghazdau¹.

60². Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '...³ I have not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

61. 'Then I will defile all corn and liquors, as to greatness, goodness, and fairness.'

—'Ahura Mazda will come against thee, ever eager to create new creatures.'

Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed down into the sea Vouru-Kasha.

62. A third time he stripped himself naked, wishing to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. But the Glory escaped, the Glory fled away, the Glory changed its seat, and an arm was produced in the sea Vouru-Kasha, namely, the water that is called Awz-dânva.

63⁴. Then the most crafty Turanian Frangrasyan rushed out of the sea Vouru-Kasha, O Spitama Zarathustra! thinking evil thoughts: '...⁵ I have

¹ The situation of that lake is not stated. ² Cf. §§ 57, 63.

³ Itha itha yathana ahmâi avatha itha yathana ahmâi.

⁴ Cf. §§ 57, 60.

⁵ Itha itha yathana ahmâi avatha itha yathana ahmâi âvoya itha yathana ahmâi.

not been able to conquer the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra !'

64. He was not able to seize the Glory that belongs to the Aryan nations, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

X.

65. We sacrifice unto the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda

66. That cleaves unto him¹ who grows up there, where lies Lake Kāsava², along with the Haêtumant³ river; there where stands Mount Ushidhau⁴, surrounded by waters, that run from the mountain.

67. It⁵ runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bringing good pastures and fine horses, bringing plenty, full of glory; with beauty and weal; powerful and friendly, rich of pastures, prolific and golden. It runs unto him, it flows and swells unto him, bright and glorious, making the white⁶ grow, smiting away all plagues.

68. And there comes with him a horse's strength, there comes with him a camel's strength, there

¹ That is to say, to any one who The Kavis or Kings of Iran are meant: Lake Kāsava was supposed to be 'the home of the Kayân race' (Bund. XXI, 7). The Kavis are enumerated in the following clauses (§§ 71 seq.).

² The present Zarah or Hamûn sea in Seistan.

³ The Helمند ('Ερύμανδρος; cf. Vend. I, 14).

⁴ The seat of the Hvarenô; see p. 33, note 1, p. 287, note 5, and Introduction to Yt. XVIII.

⁵ The water of the rivers in which the Glory lies, and in the midst of which the Kavi has been nourished.

⁶ ? Varemis.

comes with him a man's strength, there comes with him the kingly Glory: and there is in him, O holy Zarathustra! so much of kingly Glory as might extinguish at once all the non-Aryan nations.

69. And then (through it) living creatures may keep away¹ hunger and death, living creatures (may keep away) cold and heat¹. Such is the kingly Glory, the keeper of the Aryan nations and of the five kinds of animals², made to help the faithful and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XI.

70. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

71. That clave unto Kavi Kavâta, and unto Kavi Aipivôhu, and unto Kavi Usadha, and unto Kavi Arshan, and unto Kavi Pisina, and unto Kavi Byârshan, and unto Kavi Syâvarshan³;

72. So that they were all of them brave, all of them strong, all of them healthful, all of them wise, all of them happy in their wishes, all of them powerful kings.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XII.

73. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

74⁴. That clave unto Kavi Husravah for the well-shapen Strength, for the Victory made by Ahura, for the crushing Ascendant; for the righteousness of the law, for the innocence of the law, for the

¹ Doubtful.

² See p. 182, note 2.

³ See Yt. XIII, § 132.

⁴ §§ 74-76=Yt. XIII, 133-135.

unconquerable power of the law; for the extermination of the enemies at one stroke;

75. And for the vigour of health, for the Glory made by Mazda, for the health of the body, and for a good, virtuous offspring, wise, chief in assemblies, bright, and clear-eyed, that frees [their father] from the pangs [of hell], of good intellect; and for that part in the blessed world that falls to wisdom and to those who do not follow impiety;

76. And for a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies;

77. So that king Husravah [had the lead] all along the long race, and he could not pass through the forest, he¹, the murderer, who was fiercely striving against him on horseback; the lord Kavi Husravah prevailed over all; he put in bonds Frangrasyan and Keresavazda², to avenge the murder of his father Syâvarshâna, a man, and of Aghraêratha, a semi-man³.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XIII.

78. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

79. That clave unto the holy Zarathustra, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according

¹ Aurvasâra; see Yt. XV, 32; cf. Yt. V, 50 (where the words all along the long race have been omitted in the translation). The words have the lead here have been supplied from Yt. V, 50: the text here has two words, tãm keresem, of which both the reading and the meaning are doubtful.

² Keresavazda, the Karsîvaz of Firdausi, the brother of Afrâsyâb and the murderer of Syâvarshâna: he was put to death by Husravah in company with his brother (Études Iraniennes, II, 227).

³ See p. 114, note 7.

to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he was the holiest in holiness in all the living world, the best-ruling in exercising rule, the brightest in brightness, the most glorious in glory, the most victorious in victory.

80. At his sight the Daêvas rushed away; at his sight the (demoniac) malices were extinguished; at his sight the Gainis¹ drew back their ways from the mortals and, lamenting² and wailing, laid violent hands on the Daêvas.

81. And that one prayer, the Ahuna Vairya, which the holy Zarathustra sang and repeated four times, with a song that waxed louder and louder, drove back all the Daêvas beneath the earth, and took off from them sacrifice and prayer³.

82. It was it, the Glory of Zarathustra, that the Turanian ruffian Frangrasyan tried to seize to rule over all the Karshvares; round about the seven Karshvares did that ruffian Frangrasyan rush, trying to seize the Glory of Zarathustra⁴. But that Glory escaped to hidden inlets of the sea⁵; and there those two⁶ made my will⁷ roll on⁸; they entered my will, as it was my wish, Ahura Mazda's, and as it was the wish of the Law of Mazda.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

¹ See Vend. XX, 10.

² Doubtful. Perhaps: and lamenting and wailing the Daêvas left off injuring.

³ Cf. Yt. XIII, 90.

⁴ See above, §§ 56-64.

⁵ Cf. §§ 56, 59, 62.

⁶ Zarathustra and Vîstâspa (?); cf. §§ 84-87.

⁷ Meaning my law.

⁸ Cf. Yt. XIII, 89, note 5.

XIV.

83. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

84. That clave unto king Vistâspa, so that he thought according to the Law, spake according to the Law, and did according to the Law; so that he professed that Law, destroying his foes and causing the Daêvas to retire.

85¹. Who, driving the Drug before him², sought wide room for the holy religion; who, driving the Drug before him, made wide room for the holy religion; who made himself the arm and support of this law of Ahura, of this law of Zarathustra;

86. Who took her, standing bound, from the hands of the Hunus, and established her to sit in the middle [of the world], high ruling, never falling back, holy, nourished with plenty of cattle and pastures, blessed with plenty of cattle and pastures.

87. The valiant king Vistâspa conquered all enemies, Tâthrvant of the evil law, Peshana, the worshipper of the Daêvas, and the fiendish wicked Aregat-aspa and the other wicked Hvyaonas³.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XV.

88. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

89⁴. That will cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant and his helpers⁵, when he shall restore the

¹ §§ 85-86=Yt. XIII, 99-100.

² Or 'with his spear pushed forwards;' see p. 205, note 1.

³ Cf. Yt. V, 109.

⁴ §§ 89-90=§§ 11-12.

⁵ See p. 117, note 6.

world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish ;

90. When the creation will grow deathless,—the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit,—and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings ; she and her hundred-fold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

XVI.

91. We sacrifice unto the awful kingly Glory, made by Mazda

92. When Astvat-ereta¹ shall rise up from Lake Kâsava², a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vîspataurvairi³, knowing the victorious knowledge.

It was that Glory that Thraêtaona bore with him when Azi Dahâka was killed⁴;

93. That Frangrasyan, the Turanian, bore when Drvau⁵ was killed, when the Bull was killed⁶ ;

That king Husravah bore when Frangrasyan, the Turanian, was killed⁷ ;

¹ Saoshyant; cf. Yt. XIII, 129.

² Cf. § 66 and Vend. XIX, 5 (18).

³ See Yt. XIII, 142.

⁴ Cf. § 36.

⁵ Or 'the demon.'

⁶ This line is in contradiction with what we know of the Frangrasyan legend, unless the text is corrupt and the name of Frangrasyan has been introduced here by mistake (for Keresâspa?). Yet it may allude to brighter sides, unknown to us, of the Turanian hero : the Bull (*gaus*) may be his brother Aghraêratha, the Bull-man (Gôpatishâh); see p. 114, note 7.

⁷ See § 77.

That king Vîstâspa bore, when he victoriously maintained Holiness against the host of the fiends and took off the Drug from the world of the good principle ¹.

94. He ², with the eye of intelligence ³, shall look down upon all the creatures of the Paêsis ⁴, her of the evil seed: he shall look upon the whole living world with the eye of plenty, and his look shall deliver to immortality the whole of the living creatures.

95. And there shall his friends ⁵ come forward, the friends of Astvat-ereta, who are fiend-smiting, well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, following the good law, and whose tongues have never uttered a word of falsehood.

Before them shall Aêshma of the wounding spear, who has no Glory, bow and flee; he shall smite the most wicked Drug, her of the evil seed, born of darkness.

96. Akem-Manô ⁶ smites, but Vohu-Manô shall smite him; the Word of falsehood smites, but the Word of truth shall smite it. Haurvatât and Ameretât ⁷ shall smite both hunger and thirst: Haurvatât and Ameretât shall smite the evil hunger and the evil thirst. The evil-doing Angra Mainyu bows and flees, becoming powerless.

For its brightness and glory, I will offer it a sacrifice

97. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

¹ Cf. § 84.

² Saoshyant.

³ Cf. Yt. I, 28.

⁴ A name of the Drug.

⁵ See p. 220, note 1.

⁶ See p. 297, note 4.

⁷ The Genii of the waters and of the plants (cf. Vend. Introd. IV, 34).

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mount Ushi-darena, made by Mazda, the seat of holy happiness; of the kingly Glory, made by Mazda; of the Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda¹.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man² brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ Cf. § o.

² Who sacrifices to the kingly Glory.

XX. VANANT YAST.

This Yast ought to follow immediately after the Tîr Yast, as it is derived from the same Sîrôzah formula; the one in which Tistrya is invoked along with Vanant and Haptôiringa (Sîrôzah, § 13). It is a mere supplement to that Yast. On Vanant, see p. 97, note 6.

o. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas and obeys the laws of Ahura;

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification unto [Hâvani], the holy and master of holiness

Unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda,

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

1. We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda, the holy and master of holiness.

I will sacrifice unto Vanant, strong, invoked by his own name¹, healing, in order to withstand the accursed and most foul Khrafstras² of the most abominable Angra Mainyu.

2. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the star Vanant, made by Mazda.

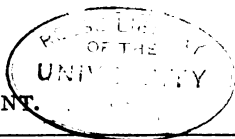
Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man³ brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

¹ See p. 13, note 2.

² The reptiles and other Ahrimanian creatures (Vendidad, Intro. V, 11) which are destroyed by the rain (Bund. VII, 7).

³ Who sacrifices to Vanant.



XXI AND XXII. YAST FRAGMENTS.

These two Yasts or Yast fragments are known among the Parsis as the Hâdhôkht Nask, though their context does not correspond to any part of the description of that Nask as given in the Dînkart (West, Pahlavi Texts, I, 224, note 8). A Pahlavi translation of these Yasts has been edited by Haug and West (The Book of Ardâ Virâf, p. 269 seq.).

XXI. YAST FRAGMENT.

Yast XXI is a eulogy of the Ashem Vohû prayer, the value of which rises higher and higher, according as the circumstances under which it is being recited are of greater importance.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'What is the only word in which is contained the glorification of all good things, of all the things that are the offspring of the good principle?'

2. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is the praise of Holiness¹, O Spitama Zarathustra!

3. 'He who recites the praise of Holiness¹, in the fulness of faith and with a devoted heart, praises me, Ahura Mazda; he praises the waters, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the plants, he praises all good things made by Mazda, all the things that are the offspring of the good principle.

4. 'For the reciting of that word of truth, O Zarathustra! the pronouncing of that formula, the Ahuna Vairya, increases strength and victory in one's soul and piety.

¹ Asha: the Ashem Vohû.

5. 'For that only recital of the praise of Holiness is worth a hundred khshnaothras of the beings of Holiness¹, when delivered while going to sleep, a thousand when delivered after eating, ten thousand when delivered during cohabitation, or any number when delivered in departing this life.'

6. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

7. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when eating the gifts of Haurvatât and Ameretât², at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

8. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a hundred others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

9. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers while drinking of the Haoma strained for the sacrifice, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

10. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth a thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

11. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when starting

¹ A hundred times the formula: 'Be propitiation (khshnaothra) unto N. . . , the holy and master of holiness' (cf. p. 1, note 2).

² Eating or drinking (see Vendîdâd, Introd. IV, 33).

up from his bed or going to sleep again, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

12. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth ten thousand others in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

13. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers when waking up and rising from sleep, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

14. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth this Karshvare of ours, *Hvaniratha*¹, with its cattle and its chariots, without its men, in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

15. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers in the last moments of his life, at the same time professing good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, and rejecting evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds.'

16. 'What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth all that is between the earth and the heavens, and this earth, and that luminous space, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good principle in greatness, goodness, and fairness?'

17. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers to renounce evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds².'

¹ See p. 123, note 5.

² In a conversion, or in the recital of the penitential prayers.

YAST XXII.

This Yast is a description of the fate that attends the soul of the righteous (§§ 1-18) and the soul of the wicked (§§ 19-37) after death. They spend the first three nights (the *sadis* or *sidôs*; cf. *Commentaire du Vendîdâd*, XIII, 55) amongst the highest enjoyments or pains; they are then met by their own conscience in the shape of a beautiful heavenly maiden (or a fiendish old woman¹), and are brought in four steps up to heaven or down to hell, through the three paradises of Good-Thought, Good-Word, and Good-Deed, or the three hells of Evil-Thought, Evil-Word, and Evil-Deed: there they are praised and glorified by Ahura, or rebuked and insulted by Angra Mainyu, and fed with ambrosia or poison.

Similar developments are to be found in Yast XXIV, 53-65; Ardâ Virâf XVII; Minokhired II, 123-194.

I.

1. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'When one of the faithful departs this life, where does his soul abide on that night?'

Ahura Mazda answered:

2. 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the *Ustavaiti Gâtha*² and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes³ as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

¹ See p. 319, note 1.

² The name of the second Gâtha, which begins with the word *usta*: the words in the text, 'Happy the man . . .', are its opening line (*Yasna* XLII, 1).

³ Literally, sees, perceives.

3. — 'On the second night where does his soul abide?'

4. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

5. — 'On the third night where does his soul abide?'

6. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!" On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste.'

7. At the end¹ of the third night, when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south, a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world.

8. And it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nostrils?'

9. And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-

¹ Thraosta: in Pahlavi rôisman.

formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed¹, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

10. And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: 'What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?'

11. And she, being his own conscience, answers him: 'O thou youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion, I am thy own conscience!

'Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength and freedom from sorrow, in which thou dost appear to me;

12. 'And so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.

13. 'When thou wouldst see a man making derision² and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting³ (the poor) and shutting his door⁴, then thou wouldst sit singing the Gâthas and worshipping the good waters and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing⁵ the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

¹ 'That is to say, from the gods' (Pahl. Comm.).

² Of holy things.

³ Doubtful. The Pahlavi commentary has the following gloss: 'He would not give his friends what they begged for.'

⁴ To the poor:—Urvarô-straya: urvar babâi kart (Pahl. Comm.): âighshân babâ barâ asrûnast (star, to tie, as in frastaretem baresma). Cf. Yt. XXIV, 37, 59.

⁵ With alms to the poor Mazdayasnians (ashô-dâd).

14. 'I was lovely and thou madest me still lovelier; I was fair and thou madest me still fairer; I was desirable and thou madest me still more desirable; I was sitting in a forward place and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda.

15. 'The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought¹ Paradise;

'The second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word² Paradise;

'The third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed³ Paradise;

'The fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Lights⁴.'

16. Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked him, saying: 'How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man? How didst thou come, thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the spirit? From the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?'

17. And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary

¹ The so-called Hûmat Paradise (cf. Yt. III, 3).

² The so-called Hûkht Paradise.

³ The so-called Hvarsht Paradise.

⁴ The seat of the Garôthmân.

way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

18. '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya¹: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

II.

19. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

'When one of the wicked perishes, where does his soul abide on that night?'

20. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima² Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra!

"To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

21. —'On the second night, where does his soul abide?'

22. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy

¹ Zaremaya is the spring: the word translated oil (raoghna, Persian روغن) might perhaps be better translated 'butter;' the milk made in the middle of spring was said to be the best (Vispêrad I, 2; Pahl. Comm.; cf. Dâdistân XXXI, 14).

² The Gâtha of lamenting, beginning with the word Kām (Kām nemê zām: 'To what land shall I turn?'); Yasna XLVI (XLV).

Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

23. —'On the third night, where does his soul abide?'

24. Ahura Mazda answered: 'It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâtha, O holy Zarathustra! "To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying?"'

'On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste.'

25. At the end of the third night, O holy Zarathustra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst snow and stench, and as if a wind were blowing from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, a foul-scented wind, the foulest-scented of all the winds in the world.

26-32. And it seems to the soul of the wicked man as if he were inhaling that wind with the nostrils, and he thinks: 'Whence does that wind blow, the foulest-scented wind that I ever inhaled with my nostrils¹?'

¹ A development similar to that in §§ 9-14 is to be supplied here: in the *Ardâ Virâf* and the *Minokhired* the soul of the wicked is met by a horrid old woman, who is his own conscience: 'And in that wind he saw his own religion and deeds, as a profligate woman, naked, decayed, gaping, bandy-legged, lean-hipped, and unlimitedly spotted, so that spot was joined to spot, like the most hideous noxious creatures (*khrafstar*), most filthy and most stinking' (cf. § 9).

Then that wicked soul spoke thus: 'Who art thou? than whom I never saw any one of the creatures of *Aûharmazd* and *Akharman* uglier, or filthier or more stinking' (cf. § 10).

To him she spoke thus: 'I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion! It

33. The first step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Thought Hell ;

The second step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Word Hell ;

The third step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Evil-Deed Hell ;

The fourth step that the soul of the wicked man made laid him in the Endless Darkness.

34. Then one of the wicked who departed before him addressed him, saying: 'How didst thou perish, O wicked man? How didst thou come, O fiend! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? From the material world into the world of the Spirit? From the decaying

is on account of thy will and actions that I am hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and foul-smelling, unfortunate and distressed, as appears to thee (cf. §§ 11-12).

'When thou sawest any one who performed the Yazishn and Drôn ceremonies, and praise and prayer and the service of God, and preserved and protected water and fire, cattle and trees, and other good creations, thou practisedst the will of Akharman and the demons, and improper actions. And when thou sawest one who provided hospitable reception, and gave something deservedly in gifts and charity, for the advantage of the good and worthy who came from far, and who were from near, thou wast avaricious, and shuttedst up thy door (cf. § 13).

'And though I have been unholy (that is, I have been considered bad), I am made more unholy through thee; and though I have been frightful, I am made more frightful through thee; though I have been tremulous, I am made more tremulous through thee; though I am settled in the northern region of the demons, I am settled further north through thee; through these evil thoughts, through these evil words, and through these evil deeds, which thou practisedst. They curse me, a long time, in the long execration and evil communion of the Evil Spirit (cf. § 14).

'Afterwards that soul of the wicked advanced the first footstep on Dûsh-hûmat (the place of evil thoughts), &c.' (The Book of Ardâ Virâf, XVII, 12-27, as translated by Haug).

world into the undecaying one? How long did thy suffering last?’

35. Angra Mainyu, the lying one, said: ‘Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, where the body and the soul part from one another.

36. ‘Let him eat of the food brought unto him, of poison and poisonous stench¹: this is the food, after he has perished, for the youth of evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, evil religion after he has perished; this is the food for the fiendish woman, rich in evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds, evil religion, ill-principled, and disobedient to her husband.

37². ‘We worship the Fravashi of the holy man, whose name is Asmô-*hvanvant*³; then I will worship the Fravashis of the other holy Ones who were strong of faith⁴.

38². ‘We worship the memory of Ahura Mazda, to keep the Holy Word.

‘We worship the understanding of Ahura Mazda, to study the Holy Word.

‘We worship the tongue of Ahura Mazda, to speak forth the Holy Word.

‘We worship the mountain that gives understanding, that preserves understanding; [we worship

¹ Cf. Yasna XXXI, 20: ‘He who would deceive the holy One, to him afterwards (will be) a long weeping in the dark place, bad food and words of insult. O wicked! this is the place down which your own conscience will bring you through your own deeds.’

² §§ 37-38, 39-40, 41-42 are separate fragments.

³ One of the first disciples of Zoroaster; cf. Yt. XIII, 96.

⁴ Cf. p. 33, note 2.

it] by day and by night, with offerings of libations well-accepted¹.

39². 'O Maker! how do the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the holy Ones, manifest³ themselves⁴?'

40. Ahura Mazda answered: 'They manifest themselves from goodness of spirit and excellence of mind⁵.'

41⁶. Then towards the dawning of the dawn⁷, that bird Parôdars⁸, that bird Karetô-dâsu⁹ hears the voice of the Fire.

¹ § 38=Yt. I, 31.

² A Pahlavi translation of the following two fragments is found in MS. 33, Paris, Supplément Persan (edited in *Études Iraniennes*, II).

³ *Kithra* (Paris MS. p. 255).

⁴ 'How do they manifest their assistance?' (Pahl. tr. *ibid.*); that is to say, when do they assist their relations and countrymen? (see Yt. XIII, 49 seq.)

⁵ When men are instinct with good spirit and good thought.

⁶ The Pahlavi translation of this fragment has here §§ 14-16 of the *Âtash Nyâyis*, then §§ 18-19 of *Vendîdâd* XVIII. Therefore the whole passage is to be restored as follows:

Âtar looks at the hands of all those who pass by: 'What does the friend bring to his friend . . . ?' (*Âtash N.* 14.)

And if that passer-by brings him wood holily brought, or bundles of baresma holily tied up . . . , then Âtar . . . will bless him thus:

May herds of oxen grow for thee . . . (*Âtash N.* 15-16).

In the first part of the night, Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, calls the master of the house for help, saying:

'Up! arise, thou master of the house' (*Vend.* XVIII, 18-19).

'Then towards the dawning of the dawn' (see the text).

⁷ Cf. *Vend.* XVIII, 23.

⁸ 'He who has knowledge made,' or 'He who has the knowledge of what is made' (*kartak dânishn*); his other name Parôdars is 'He who foresees.'

⁹ Here again a large passage is omitted: it can only partly be

42. Here the fiendish Bûshyâsta, the long-handed, rushes from the region of the north, from the regions of the north, speaking thus, lying thus: 'Sleep on, O men! Sleep on, O sinners! Sleep on and live in sin.'

supplied from the Pahlavi translation; the words in brackets refer to Zend texts lost to us:

'Then he flaps his wings and lifts up his voice, saying: "Arise, O men! [and also women, grown-up people, and children, &c. . . . Put on well your girdle and shirt, wash your hands, put your girdle around your body, go and give food to the cattle and recite aloud the five holy Gâthas of Spitama Zarathustra.]"

'Here the fiendish Bûshyâsta' (see the text). Then the Pahlavi translation has: 'Never care for the three excellent things, good thoughts, good words, good deeds' (cf. Vend. XVIII, 25).

XXIII-XXIV. ÂFRÎN PAIGHAMBAR ZARTÛST AND VÎSTÂSP YAST.

'God taught the Zendávasta to Zartusht—a sublime work God said to Zartusht, "Go and before Sháh Gushtásp read this book, that he may come into the faith keep all my counsel and repeat it word by word to Sháh Gushtásp¹.'

Zartusht, in obedience to God, went to the court of Gushtásp: 'He came forward and called down a blessing on the Sháh².' Then he read to him the Zandávasta and said: 'Learn its statutes and walk therein. If your desire is towards its laws, your abode shall be in the paradise of heaven. But if you turn away from its commandments, you shall bring down your crowned head to the dust. Your God will be displeased with you, and will overthrow your prosperous condition. At the last you shall descend into hell, if you hear not the counsel of the Almighty³.'

These lines of the Zartusht-Namah are a summary of the following two Yasts. The first, entitled 'The blessing of the prophet Zartûst,' contains the words of blessing addressed by Zarathustra when appearing before the king. These words seem to have followed a similar blessing pronounced by Gâmâspa⁴, the prime minister of Vîstâspa⁵.

Yast XXIV contains the exhortations of the prophet to the king to follow and closely adhere to the Law of Mazda. It is a counterpart to the XIXth Fargard of the Vendîdâd, as Zarathustra plays here the same part to Vîstâspa as Ahura does there to Zarathustra. It is, therefore, a summary of the Law, of the duties it

¹ The Zartusht-Namah, translated by E. B. Eastwick, in Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, p. 495.

² *Ibid.* p. 499.

³ *Ibid.* p. 501.

⁴ See Yt. XXIII, 2; whether Anquetil's statement to that effect (*Zend-Avesta* II, 623) rests on independent tradition or only on the text of our Yast is not clear.

⁵ See above, p. 70, note 1.

enforces and of the rewards it promises. This accounts for the strange disconnection apparent in it, which makes it a crux interpretum, as, besides the very corrupt state of the text, the chief difficulty of this Yast arises from the fact that many passages in it are incomplete quotations from the Vendîdâd, or allusions to statements therein¹, which, when supplied, help a good deal to relieve this Yast from its apparent state of utter incoherence.

For this translation I was able to avail myself of a Pahlavi translation, of which a copy was kindly lent to me by Mr. West. That translation is apparently of late date and often manifestly wrong; yet it was very useful to me in several passages, besides its giving a Zend text generally more correct and more correctly divided than the text in Westergaard's edition².

Yast XXIII was originally no independent Yast, being nothing more than the beginning of Yast XXIV, detached from it, with some slight alterations and inversions.

XXIII. ÂFRÎN PAIGHAMBAR ZARTÛST.

1. 'I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing.'

—'Thou appearest unto me full of Glory.'

And Zarathustra spake unto king Vîstâspa, saying: 'I bless thee, O man! O lord of the country! with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body!

2. 'Mayest thou have a son like Gâmâspa, and may he bless thee as (Gâmâspa blessed) Vîstâspa (the lord) of the country³!

¹ For instance, §§ 28, 30, 31, 39, &c.

² The various readings in Mr. West's manuscript are indicated by the letter W. in the notes.

³ See the introduction to this Yast and Yt. XXIV, 3, text and note.

'Mayest thou be most beneficent, like Mazda !

'Mayest thou be fiend-smiting, like Thraêtaona ¹!

'Mayest thou be strong, like Gâmâspa ²!

'Mayest thou be well-armed, like Takhma-Urupa ³!

3. 'Mayest thou be glorious, like Yima Khshaêta, the good shepherd !

'Mayest thou be instructed with a thousand senses, like Azi Dahâka, of the evil law ⁴!

'Mayest thou be awful and most strong, like Keresâspa ⁵!

'Mayest thou be a wise chief of assemblies, like Urvâkhshaya ⁶!

'Mayest thou be beautiful of body and without fault, like Syâvarshâna ⁷!

4. 'Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwya-nide ⁸!

'Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa ⁹!

'Mayest thou be holy, like Zarathustra Spitama !

'Mayest thou be able to reach the Rangha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navâza was ¹⁰!

'Mayest thou be beloved by the gods and revered by men ¹¹!

¹ Cf. Yt. V, 33.

³ Cf. Yt. XV, 11.

⁴ Cf. Yt. V, 29.

⁶ See Yt. XV, 28.

² Cf. Yt. V, 68.

⁵ Cf. Yt. V, 37.

⁷ See p. 64, note 1.

⁸ One belonging to the Âthwya family, of which Thraêtaona was a member. All of them bore names that show them to have been rich in cattle: Pûr-tôrâ, Sôk-tôrâ, Bôr-tôrâ, &c. ('one with abundant oxen, with useful oxen, with the brown ox, &c.,' Bundahis, tr. West, XXXI, 7, note 8).

⁹ Pourus-aspa was the father of Zarathustra. His name means, 'He who possesses many horses,' πολὺ-ἵππος.

¹⁰ Cf. Yt. V, 61.

¹¹ Cf. Yt. XXIV, 4.

5. 'May ten sons be born of you ¹! In three of them mayest thou be an Âthravan! In three of them mayest thou be a warrior! In three of them mayest thou be a tiller of the ground ²! And may one be like thyself, O Vistâspa!

6. 'Mayest thou be swift-horsed, like the Sun ³!

'Mayest thou be resplendent, like the moon!

'Mayest thou be hot-burning, like fire!

'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra!

'Mayest thou be tall-formed and victorious, like the devout Sraosha ⁴!

7. 'Mayest thou follow a law of truth, like Rashnu ⁵!

'Mayest thou be a conqueror of thy foes, like Verethraghna ⁶, made by Ahura!

'Mayest thou have fulness of welfare, like Râma Hvâstra ⁷!

'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like king Husravah ⁸!

8. 'Then the blessing goes for the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones ⁹.

'May it happen unto thee according to my blessing!

¹⁰ Let us embrace and propagate the good thoughts, good words, and good deeds that have been done and that will be done here and elsewhere, that we may be in the number of the good.

¹ Of Vistâspa and his wife Hutaosa.

² Cf. Yt. XXIV, 4.

³ Cf. Sîrôzah, § 11.

⁴ Cf. Yt. XI.

⁵ Cf. Yt. XII, Introduction.

⁶ Cf. Yt. XIV.

⁷ Cf. Yt. XV.

⁸ Kai Khosrav went alive to Paradise (Firdausi).

⁹ He closes his blessing by wishing him bliss in heaven.

¹⁰ Yasna XXXV, 2 (4-5).

‘Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

‘[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.’

XXIV. VÎSTÂSP YAST.

I.

1. ‘I am a pious man, who speaks words of blessing,’ thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa¹.—‘She² appears to me full of Glory, O Zarathustra!’—‘O young king Vîstâspa! [I bless thee³] with the living of a good life, of an exalted life, of a long life. May thy men live long! May thy women live long! May sons be born unto thee of thy own body⁴!’

2. ‘Mayest thou thyself⁵ be holy, like Zarathustra!

‘Mayest thou be rich in cattle, like an Âthwya-nide⁶!’

‘Mayest thou be rich in horses, like Pourus-aspa⁷!’

‘Mayest thou have a good share of bliss⁸, like king Husravah!

‘Mayest thou have strength to reach the Rangha, whose way lies afar, as Vafra Navâza did⁹.

¹ Literally, O young king Vîstâspa! (or, O my son, king Vîstâspa!)

² The law of Mazda (Pahl.).

³ Understood in âfri-va^kau (who speaks blessing).

⁴ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 1.

⁵ Khayeus (=nafsman) belongs to § 2 (W.).

⁶ See p. 326, note 8.

⁷ See p. 326, note 9.

⁸ Immortality (cf. Yt. XXIII, 7). W. has ashem merezô= ahlâyih patmânîk, amargîg (Pahl.).

⁹ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 4.

3. 'May ten sons be born of thy own body ¹! three as Âthravans ², three as warriors ³, three as tillers of the ground ⁴! May one of them be like Gâmâspa ⁵, that he may bless thee with great and ever greater happiness ⁶!

4. 'Mayest thou be freed from sickness and death, like Peshô-tanu ⁷.

'Mayest thou have piercing rays, like Mithra!

'Mayest thou be warm, like the moon!

'Mayest thou be ⁸ resplendent, like fire!

'Mayest thou be long-lived, as long-lived as an old man can be ⁹!

5. 'And when thou hast fulfilled a duration of a thousand years, [mayest thou obtain] the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

¹ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 5.

² 'Like Âturpât, the son of Mâhraspand' (Pahl. Comm.).

³ 'Like Spenddât (Isfendyâr), the son of Gûstâsp' (ibid.).

⁴ 'Like Zav' (Uzava; 'Zav urbes et castella, quae Afrasiab deleverat, refici jussis, aperuit fluvios, quos ille operuerat, agros denuo coluit, qui in optimam, qua antehac floruerant, conditionem redierunt,' Hamzah Ispahensis, p. 24 of the Gottwaldt translation).

⁵ Cf. Yt. XXIII, 2.

⁶ W. has the same text as Yt. XXIII, 2: yatha dangheus Vistâspâi, which is interpreted âfrîn patas obdûnât kīgûn Gâmâsp kart madam matâpat Gûstâsp.

⁷ Peshôtanu was a son of Vîstâspa: Zarathustra made him drink of a certain sort of milk, and 'he forgot death.' He is one of the seven immortals, and reigns in Kangdez (Zartusht-Namah and Bundahis XXIX, 5).

⁸ Bavâhi (W.).

⁹ Doubtful. The Pahlavi translation follows Yt. XXIII, 4, though the text is the same as in Westergaard (only bavâi and zarumatô instead of bavâhi, zaranumatô).

II.

6¹. 'Give² him strength and victory! Give him welfare in cattle and bread³!' thus said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa! 'Give him a great number⁴ of male children, praisers⁵ [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

7. 'Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest!'

8. Zarathustra addressed him, saying: 'O young king Vîstâspa! May their greatness become manifest as it is called for!

'Ye Waters, impart and give your Glory to the man who offers you a sacrifice!

'This is the boon we beg (for thee) of Ashi Vanguhi⁶, of Râta⁷, with eyes of love.'

9. Pârendi⁸, of the light chariot, follows: 'Mayest thou⁹ become manifest unto him, the young king Vîstâspa!

'May plenty dwell in this house, standing upon high columns and rich in food¹⁰! Thou wilt never

¹ For §§ 6-7, cf. Mâh Nyâvis, 10-11.

² The prayer is addressed to Waters.

³ *Hvâthrô-nahîm*: âsânîh lahmâk.

⁴ *Paourvatâtem*: kebad farzand.

⁵ *Stâhyanâm*: kebad stâyîâtâr.

⁶ See Yt. XVI.

⁷ See Vend. Introd. IV, 30.

⁸ See p. 11, note 5.

⁹ Pârendi.

¹⁰ Plenty will reign in thy house, if thou wilt be liberal to the priest.

offer and give bad food to a priest: for a priest must be to thee like the brightest¹ offspring of thy own blood.'

10. Zarathustra spake unto him: 'O young king Vīstāspa!

'He who supports the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, as a brother or as a friend, he who treats her friendly in any way, looks to keep off want of food from her².'

11. The holy Zarathustra preached that law to Frashaostra³ and Gāmāspa: 'May ye practise holiness and thrive, O young Frashaostra (and Gāmāspa)!'

12. Thus said Ahura Mazda unto the holy Zarathustra, and thus again did Zarathustra say unto the young king Vīstāspa: 'Have no bad priests or unfriendly priests; for bad priests or unfriendly priests will bring about much harm, and, though thou wish to sacrifice, it will be to the Amesha-Spentas as if no sacrifice had been offered⁴.

'Ashem Vohūt: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

III.

13. 'When I teach thee, that thou mayest do the same to thy son⁵, O Vīstāspa! receive thou well that teaching; that will make thee rich in children and rich in milk; rich in seed, in fat, in milk⁶.

¹ Raêvatām ka (not rashvatām ka) belongs to § 9 (W.).

² W. has, hanairê vaêm aiwi vaina/ (vaêm=Sansk. vayas?).

³ See Yt. XIII, 103. Frashaostra and Gāmāspa were brothers.

⁴ Cf. Vend. XVIII, 1-13. Perhaps, 'Be not bad to the priests! Be not unfriendly to the priest! For he who is bad to the priest, he who is unfriendly to the priest . . .'

⁵ Doubtful.

⁶ Cf. Vend. XXI, 6-7.

14. 'Thus do we announce unto thee, Ahura Mazda, and Sraosha, and Ashi, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda, with the whole of all her hymns, with the whole of all her deeds, with the whole of her performances; the Law of Mazda, who obtains her wishes, who makes the world grow, who listens to the songs and rejoices the faithful man at his wish; who protects the faithful man, who maintains the faithful man;

15. 'From whom come the knowledge of holiness and the increase in holiness of the world of the holy Principle, and without whom¹ no faithful man² can know holiness.

'To thee³ come every Hâvanan, every Âtarevakhsha, every Frabaretar, every Âberet, every Âsnâtar, every Rathwiskar, every Sraoshâ-varez⁴;

16. 'Every priest, every warrior, every husbandman; every master of a house, every lord of a borough, every lord of a town, every lord of a province;

17. 'Every youth of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and good religion; every youth who speaks the right words; every one who performs the next-of-kin marriage⁵; every itinerant priest; every mistress of a house; every wandering priest, obedient to the Law.

18. 'To thee come all the performers⁶ (of holiness), all the masters of holiness, who, to the

¹ Doubtful.

² Saoshyantem. W. has srashyantem.

³ To the Law.

⁴ The seven priests engaged in the sacrifice (Vendîdâd, p. 64, note 1).

⁵ The *hvaêtvôdatha* (Vend. Introd. p. xlv, note 7; see West, Pahlavi Texts, II, 389 seq.).

⁶ Thâtus: kêr kartâr (Pahl.).

number of three and thirty¹, stand next to Hâvani, being masters of holiness.

19. 'May they be fully protected² in thee, O young king Vîstâspa! While thou smitest thy adversaries, thy foes, those who hate thee, a hundred times a hundred for a hundred³, a thousand times a thousand for a thousand, ten thousand times ten thousand for ten thousand, myriads of myriads for a myriad.

20. 'Proclaim thou that word, as we did proclaim it unto thee!

'O Maker of the good world! Ahura Mazda, I worship thee with a sacrifice, I worship and forward thee with a sacrifice, I worship this creation of Ahura Mazda.'

21⁴. The young king Vîstâspa asked Zarathustra: 'With what manner of sacrifice shall I worship, with what manner of sacrifice shall I worship and forward this creation of Ahura Mazda?'

22. Zarathustra answered: 'We will make it known unto thee, O young king Vîstâspa!

'Go towards that tree that is beautiful, high-growing, and mighty amongst the high-growing trees, and say thou these words: "Hail to thee! O good, holy tree, made by Mazda! Ashem Vohû!"

23. 'Let the faithful man cut off twigs of baresma, either one, or two, or three: let him bind them and

¹ See Yasna I, 10 (33).

² Thrâtôtēmô belongs to § 19 (W.).

³ He kills a hundred times a hundred of them, while they kill a hundred of his people.

⁴ For this clause and the following two, cf. Vend. XIX, 17 seq., text and notes.

tie them up according to the rites, being bound and unbound according to the rites.

‘The smallest twig of Haoma, pounded according to the rules, the smallest twig prepared for sacrifice, gives royalty to the man (who does it).’

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

IV.

24¹. Zarathustra said : ‘O young king Vîstâspa !

‘Invoke Ahura Mazda, who is full of Glory, Ahura Mazda, and the sovereign Heaven, the boundless Time, and Vayu who works highly.

25. ‘Invoke the powerful Wind, made by Mazda, and Fate.

‘Repeat thou those words, that the god invoked may give thee the boon wished for ; that thou, strong, and belonging to the creation of the good Spirit, mayest smite and take away the Drug and watch with full success those who hate thee ; smite down thy foes, and destroy at one stroke thy adversaries, thy enemies, and those who hate thee².

26. ‘Proclaim thou those prayers : they will cleanse thy body from deeds of lust³, O young king Vîstâspa !

‘I will worship thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, who art a valiant warrior. He falls upon the fiend Kuzda⁴, who is drunken without drinking, upon the men of the Drug, the slothful ones⁵, the wicked Daêva-worshippers, who live in sin.

¹ Cf. Vend. XIX, 13.

² Cf. Yt. V, 53.

³ Paourvô vasta saota : read skyaothna (cf. § 40), as in Vend. XVI, 14 (paourvô-vasna skynothna).

⁴ Cf. Vend. XI, 9 and Bundahis XXVIII, 42.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XIX, 41 ; better : ‘on the Drugaskân’ (the sons of the Drug ? see Bund. XXXI, 6).

27. 'He¹ trembles at the way² made by Time and open both to the wicked and to the righteous.

'They³ tremble at the perfume of his soul⁴, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.

28. 'Reciting the whole collection of the Staota Yēsnya⁵ prayers brings one up all the way to the blessed Garô-nmâna, the palace beautifully made. That indeed is the way.

29. 'That man does not follow the way of the Law, O Zarathustra⁶! who commits the Baodhô-(varsta) crime⁷ with a damsel and an old woman⁸,' said Zarathustra to the young king Vîstâspa.

'Let him⁹ praise the Law, O Spitama Zarathustra! and long for it and embrace the whole of the Law, as an excellent horse turns back from the wrong way and goes along the right one, smiting the many Druges¹⁰.

30. 'Go forward with praises, go forward the way of the good Mazdean law and of all those who walk in her ways, men and women.

¹ The dead man.

² The *Kinvat*-bridge (Vend. XIX, 29).

³ The fiends (Vend. XIX, 33).

⁴ The soul of the righteous.

⁵ See page 152, note 1.

⁶ The Pahlavi has, 'the way of Zarathustra' (lâ Zartûhstîg râs yakhsûnît).

⁷ Wilful murder (Vend. p. 84, note 1).

⁸ To procure miscarriage (see Vend. XV, 12-14).

⁹ The sinner.

¹⁰ 'As a horseman on the back of a good horse, when he has gone the wrong way, perceiving that he has lost his way, turns back his horse from that direction and makes him go the right way; so thou, turn back thy horse to the right way; that is to say, turn him to the way of the Law of Mazda; that is to say, receive the Law' (Pahl. Comm.).

‘He who wishes to seize the heavenly reward¹, will seize it by giving gifts to him who holds up (the Law) to us² in this world here below³

31. ‘Let him⁴ give (the Law) to him who is unfriendly to her, that he may become friendly.

‘Wash thy hands with water, not with gômêz⁵, and let thy son, who will be born of thy wife⁶, do the same.

‘Thus thy thought will be powerful to smite him⁷, who is not so⁸; thy speech will be powerful to smite him, who is not so; thy deed will be powerful to smite him.

32. ‘“Hear me! Forgive me⁹!”—We, the Ame-sha-Spêntas, will come and show thee, O Zarathustra! the way to that world¹⁰, to long glory in the spiritual world, to long happiness of the soul in Paradise;

33. ‘To bliss and Paradise, to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda, beautifully made and fully adorned,

¹ Bliss, eternal life.

² Yô nô nidârô anghê: lanman dîn barâ dâstâr (Pahl.).

³ Naêdhka vanghê paiti usta vanghê buyât; saoshyâs dîs verethraga. I cannot make anything of these words, nor reconcile them with the Pahlavi translation: ‘It is not fair when he wishes weal for his own person; that is to say, when, being satisfied himself, he does not satisfy other people and wishes comfort for himself. (Make the Law of Mazda current, till the time when) the victorious Sôshyôsh will make it current.’ The last three Zend words appear to be abridged from a longer passage.

⁴ The faithful man.

⁵ This is an allusion to the Bareshnûm purification (Vend. VIII, 39). The unclean man washes himself with gômêz first and with water last.

⁶ Doubtful.

⁷ The sinner.

⁸ Friendly to the Law.

⁹ He recites the prayer Sraotâ mê, merezdâta mê (Yasna XXXIII, 11).

¹⁰ The world above.

when his soul goes out of his body through the will of fate, when I, Ahura Mazda, when I, Ahura Mazda, gently show him his way as he asks for it.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

V.

34. ‘They¹ will impart to thee full brightness and Glory.

‘They will give him² quick³ and swift horses, and good sons.

‘He wishes to go to the Law, the young king Vîstâspa.’

Zarathustra said: ‘Let him who is unfriendly to her become a follower of the Law of Mazda, such as we proclaim it.

35. ‘Proclaim thou ever (unto the poor): “Ever mayest thou wait here for the refuse that is brought unto thee, brought by those who have profusion of wealth⁴!” Thus the Drug will not fall upon thee and throw thee away; thou wilt wield kingly power there⁵.

36. ‘The Law of Mazda will not deliver thee unto pain⁶. Thou art entreated (for charity) by the whole of the living world, and she⁷ is ever standing at thy door in the person of thy brethren in the faith: beggars are ever standing at the door of the stranger, amongst those who beg for bread.

¹ The Amesha-Spentas (see § 46).

² To Vîstâspa.

³ Hathwadhêa: Pahl. tîzêi.

⁴ Cf. Vend. III, 29.

⁵ If he practises charity he will be a king even in Garôthmân.

⁶ Aspahê, from a-spa (no comfort, anâsânîh tangîh, Pahl. Comm.).

⁷ The Law.

‘Ever will that bread be burning coal upon thy head¹.

‘The good, holy Râta², made by Mazda, goes and nurses thy bright offspring³.’

37. Zarathustra addressed Vistâspa, saying: ‘O young king Vistâspa! The Law of Mazda, O my son! will give thy offspring the victorious strength that destroys the fiends.

‘Let no thought of Angra Mainyu ever infect thee, so that thou shouldst indulge in evil lusts, make derision and idolatry, and shut (to the poor) the door of thy house⁴.

38⁵. ‘Âtar thus blesses the man who brings incense to him, being pleased with him and not angry, and fed as he required: “May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons! May fate and its decrees bring thee the boons thou wishest for! Therefore do thou invoke and praise (me) excellently in this glorious world! That I may have unceasing food, full of the glory of Mazda⁶ and with which I am well pleased.”

39. ‘O Mazda! take for thyself the words of our praise: of these words I speak and speak again, the strength and victorious vigour, the power of health and healing, the fulness, increase, and growth.

‘Bring it together with the words of hymns up to the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda. He will⁷ first

¹ Hvarishnî dâgh pun rôismanî lak yahvûnât (Pahl. Comm.).

² Charity.

³ If thou art charitable, thy children will thrive.

⁴ See Yt. XXII, 13.

⁵ Cf. Vend. XVIII, 27.

⁶ *Hv*arnamazdau (W.).

⁷ He who will pronounce all prayers and hymns: the full formula is found in the Âbân Nyâyis, § 8.

enter there. Therefore do thou pronounce these prayers.

‘Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

VI.

40. ‘Converse ye with the Amesha-Spentas,’ said Zarathustra unto the young king Vīstāspa, ‘and with the devout Sraosha, and Nairyô-sangha, the tall-formed, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and the well-desired kingly Glory.

41. ‘Men with lustful deeds address the body¹; but thou, all the night long, address the heavenly Wisdom²; but thou, all night long, call for the Wisdom that will keep thee awake.

‘Three times a day raise thyself up and go to take care of the beneficent cattle.

42. ‘Of these men may the lordship³ belong to the wisest of all beings, O Zarathustra! May their lord belong to the wisest, O Zarathustra! Let him show them the way of holiness, let him show them at once the way thereto, which the Law of the worshippers of Mazda enters victoriously. Thus the soul of man, in the joy of perfect holiness, walks over the bridge, known afar, the powerful *Kinvat*-bridge⁴, the well-kept, and kept by virtue.

43. ‘How the worlds were arranged was said to thee first, O Zarathustra! Zarathustra said it again to the young king Vīstāspa; therefore do thou⁵ praise him⁶ who keeps and maintains the moon and the sun.

¹ Cf. § 26.

² Cf. Vend. IV, 45; XVIII, 6.

³ The supervision and care.

⁴ See § 27.

⁵ Thou Vīstāspa.

⁶ Ahura Mazda.

‘He who has little friendship for the Law, I have placed him down below to suffer.’

44. Thus said Angra Mainyu, he who has no Glory in him, who is full of death: ‘This is an unbeliever, let us throw him down below; this is a liar, or a traitor to his relatives, and like a mad dog who wounds cattle and men; but the dog who inflicts wounds pays for it as for wilful murder¹.

‘The first time he shall smite a faithful man, the first time he shall wound a faithful man, he shall pay for it as for wilful murder.

‘Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

VII.

45. ‘Mayest thou receive², O holy young king Vistâspa! (a house) with a hundred³, ten thousand large windows, ten thousand small windows, all the year long⁴, O holy Vistâspa! never growing old, never dying, never decaying, never rotting, giving plenty of meat, plenty of food, plenty of clothes to the other worshippers of Mazda.

46. ‘May all boons be bestowed upon thee, as I proclaim it unto thee! May the Amesha-Speñtas impart to thee their brightness and glory and plenty⁵! May they give him quick and swift horses and good sons, strong, great in all things, powerful to sing the hymns.

¹ See Vend. XIII, 31.

² In Paradise; see Vend. XVIII, 28, text and note.

³ Satayâre: that stands a hundred years (?). The Vend. XVIII, 28 has ‘with a hundred columns.’

⁴ Uninjured by the changes of temperature.

⁵ Cf. § 34.

47. 'He wields his power according to the wish of Ahura Mazda, the Good Spirit, and for the destruction of the Evil Spirit, whichever of two men goes quicker to perform a sacrifice (to Ahura); but if he chooses to perform the sacrifice and prayer to us not in the right way, he does not wield the right power, he will not reign ¹.

48. 'He will receive bad treatment in the next world, though he has been the sovereign of a country, with good horses to ride and good chariots to drive. Give royalty to that man, O Zarathustra! who gives royalty unto thee with good will ².

49 ³. 'Thou shalt keep away the evil by this holy spell: "Of thee [O child!] I will cleanse the birth and growth; of thee [O woman!] I will make the body and the strength pure; I make thee a woman rich in children and rich in milk; a woman rich in seed, in milk, and in offspring. For thee I shall make springs run and flow towards the pastures that will give food to the child."

50. 'Do not deliver me ⁴ into the hands of the fiend ⁵; if the fiend take hold of me, then fever with loss of all joy will dry up the milk of the good Spenta-Ârmaiti ⁶. The fiend is powerful to distress, and to dry up the milk of the woman who indulges in lust and of all females.

51. 'The perfume of fire, pleasant to the Maker,

¹ In Paradise (Pahl. Comm.).

² Doubtful.

³ Cf. Vend. XXI, 6-7.

⁴ The Law.

⁵ That is to say, let not impiety prevail.

⁶ If impiety prevails, the earth will grow barren (cf. Vend. XVIII, 64).

Ahura Mazda, takes them¹ away from afar;²; and all those that harm the creation of the Good Spirit are destroyed³;

52. 'Whom Mithra, and Rashnu Razista, and the Law of the worshippers of Mazda wish to be taken far away, longing for a man who is eager to perform and does perform the ceremonies he has been taught; . . .⁴

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

VIII^b.

53. 'The words of the Vahistôisti⁶ Gâtha are to be sung: "Happy is he, O holy Vîstâspa! happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes."

'Where does his soul abide on that night⁷?'

54. Ahura Mazda answered: 'O my son, Frashaostra! It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâtha and proclaiming happiness: "Happy is he, happy the man whoever he be!"

'On the first night, his soul sits in Good Words⁸;

¹ The demons (see Vend. VIII, 80).

² Nôi/ ta/ paiti vohu manô katha sîsraya ayaka. The Pahlavi Commentary has: 'That is to say, good will happen to thee through the good will of Âtar (fire).'

³ Te kinashanya (W.;—read taêka nashanya?); âigh harvaspîn bêshîtârân min spinâk mînôî dâmân lvît apêtâk avîn yahvûnit (Pahl. Comm.).

⁴ Yatha ya/ tê fravaokâmi (fravaokâma, W.) puthrô berethyâ/ sairimananâm (sairi mananâm, W.) bakhedhrâi (translated as hakhedhrâi: dôstîh, friendship).

⁵ This chapter is borrowed, though slightly altered, from Yt. XXII.

⁶ Read ustavaiti (? cf. § 54 and Yt. XXII, 2): the Vahistôisti Gâtha is the fifth and last Gâtha.

⁷ On the night of his departing.

⁸ Not in the Good-Word Paradise, to which he will go later

on the second night, it sits in Good Deeds; on the third night, it goes along the ways (to Garô-nmâna).

55. 'At the end of the third night, O my son, Frashaostra! when the dawn appears, it seems to the soul of the faithful one as if it were brought amidst plants [and scents: it seems as if a wind were blowing from the region of the south, from the regions of the south]¹, a sweet-scented wind, sweeter-scented than any other wind in the world, and it seems to his soul as if he were inhaling that wind with the nose, and it asks, saying: "Whence does that wind blow, the sweetest-scented wind I ever inhaled with my nose?"

56. 'And it seems to him as if his own conscience were advancing to him in that wind, in the shape of a maiden fair, bright, white-armed, strong, tall-formed, high-standing, thick-breasted, beautiful of body, noble, of a glorious seed, of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world.

57. 'And the soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: "What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?"

58. 'And she, being his own conscience, answers him: "O thou youth, of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion! I am thy own conscience.

"Everybody did love thee for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which thou

(§ 61), but in the thought and delightful remembrance of his good words (cf. Yt. XXII, 2).

¹ Supplied from Yt. XXII, 7.

dost appear to me ; [and so thou, O youth of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, of good religion ! didst love me for that greatness, goodness, fairness, sweet-scentedness, victorious strength, and freedom from sorrow, in which I appear to thee.

59. “ “When thou wouldst see a man¹] making derision and deeds of idolatry, or rejecting (the poor) and shutting (his door), then, thou wouldst sit, singing the Gâthas, and worshipping the good waters, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and rejoicing the faithful that would come from near or from afar.

60. “ “I was lovely, and thou madest me still lovelier ; I was fair, and thou madest me still fairer ; I was desirable, and thou madest me still more desirable ; I was sitting in a forward place, and thou madest me sit in the foremost place, through this good thought, through this good speech, through this good deed of thine ; and so henceforth men worship me for my having long sacrificed unto and conversed with Ahura Mazda.”

61. ‘The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Thought Paradise ; the second step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Word Paradise ; the third step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-Deed Paradise ; the fourth step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Endless Light.

62. ‘Then one of the faithful, who had departed before him, asked, saying : “ How didst thou depart this life, thou holy man ? How didst thou come,

¹ From Yt. XXII, 12-13.

thou holy man! from the abodes full of cattle and full of the wishes and enjoyments of love? from the material world into the world of the spirit? from the decaying world into the undecaying one? How long did thy felicity last?"

63. And Ahura Mazda answered: 'Ask him not what thou askest him, who has just gone the dreary way, full of fear and distress, when the body and the soul part from one another.

64. '[Let him eat] of the food brought to him, of the oil of Zaremaya: this is the food for the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, well-principled, and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life.'

65. Spitama Zarathustra said to the young king Vistâspa: 'To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda? To whom shall I go with praying¹?'

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

¹ This clause, taken from Yt. XXII, 20, shows that the second part of Yt. XXII (§§ 19-36), describing the fate of the wicked, should be inserted here.

NYÂYIS.

NYÂYIS.

A Nyâyis is properly a begging prayer, as opposed to Sitâyis, a prayer of praise. It is a term particularly applied to five prayers addressed to the Sun, to Mithra, to the Moon, to Waters, and to Fire. Every layman over eight years old is bound to recite the Nyâyis: he recites it standing and girded with his Kôstî.

The Sun Nyâyis is recited three times a day, at the rising of the sun (Gâh Hâvan), at noon (Gâh Rapihvîn), and at three o'clock in the afternoon (Gâh Uzîren). The Mithra Nyâyis is recited with the Sun Nyâyis, as Mithra follows the sun in its course (see Yt. X, 13).

The Moon Nyâyis is recited three times a month: first, at the time when it begins to be seen; second, when it is at the full; third, when it is on the wane.

The Waters Nyâyis and the Fire Nyâyis are recited every day, when one finds oneself in the proximity of those elements. The Fire Nyâyis is recited with the Penôm on (see Vend. p. 168, 7).

The first four Nyâyis must be recited especially on the days over which the Izads invoked preside; that is to say, on the Khôrshêd, Mihir, Mâh, and Âbân days (the eleventh, sixteenth, twelfth, and tenth days of the month)¹.

I. KHÔRSHÊD NYÂYIS.

1. [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed! May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced ²!]

¹ Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta* II, pp. 6, 22, 565-566.

² This clause is wanting in most manuscripts.

Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way ¹! [Hail unto thee] before all other creatures!

Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun!

May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the Sovereign Vayu of the long Period ²!

2. [Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed !]

May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God).

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness' ³.

3. I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words, and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words, and evil deeds ⁴.

4. I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fulness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds, and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life.

I recite the 'Praise of Holiness' ³ :'

'Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness ⁴!'

5⁵. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Amesha-Spentas!

Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures!

Hail to the Sun, the swift-horsed!

Hail to the two eyes of Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Bull!

Hail to Gaya ⁶!

¹ In thought, speech, and deed (Pers. and Sansk. transl.).

² Vayu, as being the same with Fate (Vend. Intro. IV, 17), became identified with Time.

³ The Ashem Vohû.

⁴ See p. 22.

⁵ § 5=Yasna LXVIII (22-23 [LXVII, 58-67]).

⁶ Gaya Maretan, the first man.

Hail to the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra!

Hail to the whole of the holy creation that was, is, or will be!

May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things¹, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu! has come to an end!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good . . .

6. We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake².

7. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the gods in the world unseen³.

So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help!

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound⁴.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya; we sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya⁵.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice unto the star Vanant⁶, made by Mazda.

¹ The sun: 'May my soul arrive at the sun-region!' (Pahl. transl.)

² Yt. X, 7. ³ In heaven.

⁴ See Yt. VIII, 12, note 7.

⁵ See Yt. VIII, 12, note 2.

⁶ See Yt. XX.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign sky.

We sacrifice unto the boundless Time.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

We sacrifice unto the beneficent, well-doing Wind.

We sacrifice unto the most upright *Kista*¹, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

We sacrifice unto the way of content².

We sacrifice unto the golden instrument³.

We sacrifice unto Mount *Saokanta*, made by Mazda³.

9. We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen.

We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the material world.

We sacrifice unto our own soul.

We sacrifice unto our own *Fravashi*.

We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent *Fravashis* of the holy Ones.

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

10. I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra

¹ See Yt. XVI.

² Or, of pleasure.

³ 'On Mount *Saokanta* there is a golden tube coming from the root of the earth; the water that is on the surface of the earth goes up through the hole of that tube to the heavens, and being driven by the wind, spreads everywhere, and thus the dew is produced' (Sansk. transl.).

Unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification¹

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[We sacrifice] unto the Ahurian waters², the waters of Ahura, with excellent libations, with finest libations, with libations piously strained³.

Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

II. MIHIR NYÂYIS.

1⁴. Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way!
[Hail unto thee] before all other creatures!

Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun!

May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the sovereign Vayu of the long Period!

2. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

3. I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words, and deeds

4. I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas!

5. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu, has come to an end!

6⁵. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand

¹ The whole of the Khôrshêd Yast is inserted here.

² Rivers considered as Ahura's wives (cf. Ormazd et Ahriman, § 32).

³ From Yasna LXVIII, 10 (LXVII, 30); cf. p. 34.

⁴ §§ 1-5 = Khôrshêd Nyâyis, §§ 1-5.

⁵ §§ 6-7 = Khôrshêd Nyâyis, §§ 6-7.

eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

7. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the heavenly gods.

So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help!

We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

8¹. We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound

9. We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen

10². I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra

11³. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with a thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

We sacrifice unto the Mithra around countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra within countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra in this country ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra above countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra under countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra before countries ;

We sacrifice unto the Mithra behind countries.

12. We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods ; and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

13⁴. For his brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard

¹ §§ 8-9 = Khôrshêd Nyâvis, §§ 8-9.

² Yt. X, o.

³ §§ 11-12 = Yt. X, 144-145.

⁴ §§ 13-15 = Yt. X, 4-6.

We offer up libations unto Mithra

14. May he come to us for help! May he come to us for ease!

15. I will offer up libations unto him, the strong Yazatâ, the powerful Mithra

Yênhê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda

16¹. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Mithra

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

III. MÂH NYÂYIS.

1². Hail to Ahura Mazda! Hail to the Amesha-Spentas! Hail to the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull! Hail to thee when we look at thee! Hail to thee when thou lookest at us!

2³. Unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull; unto the only-created Bull and unto the Bull of many species;

Be propitiation

3. Hail to Ahura Mazda!

4. How does the moon wax? How does the moon wane?

5. We sacrifice unto the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull

6. And when the light of the moon waxes warmer

7. I will sacrifice unto the Moon

8. For its brightness and glory

9. Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

10⁴. Give us strength and victory! Give us welfare in cattle and in bread! Give us a great number of male children, praisers [of God] and chiefs in assemblies, who smite and are not smitten, who smite at one stroke their enemies, who smite at one stroke their foes, ever in joy and ready to help.

¹ Yt. X, 146. ² § 1=Mâh Yast, § 1. ³ §§ 2-9=Mâh Yast.

⁴ §§ 10-11; cf. Yt. XXIV, 6-8.

11. Ye gods of full Glory, ye gods of full healing, let your greatness become manifest! let your assistance become manifest as soon as you are called for! and ye, Waters, manifest your Glory, and impart it to the man who offers you a sacrifice.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

IV. ÂBÂN NYÂYIS.

1. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced!

Unto the good Waters, made by Mazda; unto the holy water-spring ARDVI ANÂHITA; unto all waters, made by Mazda; unto all plants, made by Mazda,
Be propitiation¹

2². Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying: 'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathustra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sûra Anâhita

3. 'Who makes the seed of all males pure, who makes the womb of all females pure for bringing forth

4. 'The large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth

5. 'All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there

6. 'From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares;

7. 'I, Ahura Mazda, brought it down with mighty vigour, for the increase of the house, of the borough, of the town, of the country³.

8. 'He from whom she will hear the staota yêsnya⁴; he from whom she will hear the Ahuna

¹ As Âbân Yast, o.

³ Cf. Âbân Yast, § 6.

² §§ 2-6 = Âbân Yast, §§ 1-5.

⁴ See above, p. 152, note 1.

vairya¹; he from whom she will hear the Asha-vahista²; he by whom the good waters will be made pure; with the words of the holy hymns³, he will enter first the Garô-nmâna of Ahura Mazda: she will give him the boons asked for⁴.

9⁵. 'For her brightness and glory, I will offer her a sacrifice worth being heard; I will offer her a sacrifice well-performed. Thus mayest thou advise us when thou art appealed to! Mayest thou be most fully worshipped.

'We sacrifice unto the holy Ardvi Sûra Anâhita with libations. We sacrifice unto Ardvi Sûra Anâhita, the holy and master of holiness, with the Haoma and meat, with the baresma, with the wisdom of the tongue, with the holy spells, with the words, with the deeds, with the libations, and with the rightly-spoken words.

'Yênê hâtâm: All those beings of whom Ahura Mazda . . .

10. 'Yathâ ahû vairyô: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness . . .

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of the holy water-spring Anâhita.

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.'

V. ÂTAS NYÂYIS.

1⁶. Take me out⁷, O Ahura! give me perfect piety and strength . . .

4⁸. May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! . . .

¹ The Yathâ ahû vairyô prayer.

² The Ashem Vohû prayer.

³ Cf. Yt. XXII, 2, and Yt. XXIV, 39.

⁴ Cf. Âbân Yast, §§ 19, 23, 27, 35, 39, 47, &c.

⁵ Cf. Âbân Yast, § 9.

⁶ §§ 1-3 = Yasna XXXIII, 12-14.

⁷ 'Deliver me from Ahriman' (Pahl. Comm.).

⁸ As in Ormazd Yast, o.

Hail unto thee, O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, thou beneficent and most great Yazata!

¹ Ashem Vohû : Holiness is the best of all good

I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda

For sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto thee Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda !

5². Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto the Glory and the Weal, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Aryas, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto king Husravah ; unto the lake of Husravah ; unto Mount Âsnavant, made by Mazda ; unto Lake Kaêkasta, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

6. Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda ; unto Mount Raêvant, made by Mazda ; unto the Glory of the Kavis, made by Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda.

Unto Âtar, the beneficent, the warrior ; the God who is a full source of Glory, the God who is a full source of healing.

Unto Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, with all Âtars ; unto the God Nairyô-sangha, who dwells in the navel of kings ;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation, and glorification.

Yathâ ahû vairiyô : The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

7³. I bless the sacrifice and invocation, and the

¹ As in Ormazd Yast, o.

² Cf. Sirôzah, § 9.

³ §§ 7-16 = Yasna LXII, 1-10 (LXI). See the Sanskrit translation in Études Iraniennes, II.

good offering, the beneficent offering, the offering of assistance offered unto thee, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda !

Thou art worthy of sacrifice and invocation ; mayest thou receive the sacrifice and the invocation in the houses of men.

Well may it be unto the man who ever worships thee with a sacrifice, holding the sacred wood in his hand, the baresma in his hand, the meat in his hand, the mortar ¹ in his hand.

8. Mayest thou have the right ² wood ! Mayest thou have the right incense ! Mayest thou have the right food ! Mayest thou have the right fuel ³ !

Mayest thou be full-grown for protecting (this house) ! Mayest thou grow excellent for protecting !

9. Mayest thou burn in this house ! Mayest thou ever burn in this house ! Mayest thou blaze in this house ! Mayest thou increase in this house ! Even for a long time, till the powerful restoration of the world, till the time of the good, powerful restoration of the world !

10. Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda ! lively welfare, lively maintenance, lively living ; fulness of welfare, fulness of maintenance, fulness of life ;

Knowledge, sagacity ; quickness of tongue ; (holiness of) soul ; a good memory ; and then the understanding that goes on growing and the one that is not acquired through learning ⁴ ;

¹ The mortar for pounding the Haoma.

² In quality and quantity.

³ Upasayêni : what is added to keep up the fire when lighted (Pers. transl.).

⁴ The gaoshô-srûta khratu and the âsna khratu (see p. 7, note 1).

And then the manly courage,

11. Firm-footed, unsleeping, (sleeping only) for a third part of the day and of the night, quick to rise up from bed, ever awake ;

And a protecting, virtuous offspring, able to rule countries and assemblies of men, well growing up, good, freeing us from the pangs (of hell), endowed with a good intellect, that may increase my house, my borough, my town, my country, my empire.

12. Give me, O Âtar, son of Ahura Mazda! however unworthy I am¹, now and for ever, a seat in the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones.

May I obtain the good reward, a good renown², and long cheerfulness for my soul³!

13. Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, lifts up his voice to all those for whom he cooks their evening meal and their morning meal⁴. From all those he wishes a good offering, a beneficent offering, an offering of assistance, O Spitama !

14. Âtar looks at the hands of all those who pass by: 'What does the friend bring to his friend? What does he who comes and goes bring to him⁵ who stays motionless?'

We sacrifice unto Âtar, the valiant warrior⁶.

15. And if the passer-by brings him wood holily brought, or bundles of baresma holily tied up, or

¹ Yâ mê afrasæunghæu anghaʔ: yâ me abhût ayogyatâ (Sansk. transl.).

² Here.

³ Above.

⁴ Khshafnîm, sîirîm (Études Iraniennes, II, 161).

⁵ Âtar.

⁶ 'Bodily he is infirm (armêst, motionless); spiritually he is a warrior' (Pahl. Comm.).

twigs of Hadhânaêpata¹, then Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, well pleased with him and not angry, and fed as required, will thus bless him :

16. 'May herds of oxen grow for thee, and increase of sons; may thy mind be master of its vow, may thy soul be master of its vow, and mayest thou live on in the joy of the soul all the nights of thy life.'

This is the blessing which Âtar speaks unto him who brings him dry wood, well-examined by the light of the day, well-cleansed with godly intent².

17. Yathâ ahû vairyo: The will of the Lord is the law of holiness

I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigour of Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda³

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good

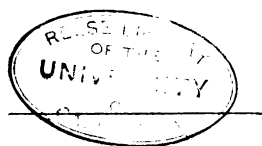
18³. We gladden by our virtue thy mighty Fire, O Ahura! thy most quick and powerful Fire, who shows his assistance⁴ to him who has ever comforted him, but delights in taking vengeance with his hands on the man who has harmed him.

¹ See Vend. p. 94, note 1.

² Cf. Vend. XVIII, 26-27.

³ From Yasna XXXIV, 4.

⁴ 'In the var nîrang' (Pahl. Comm.), that is to say, in the fire ordeal; see above, p. 170, note 3.



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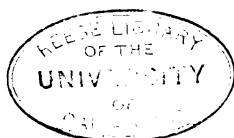
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CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
Gutturales.										
1 Tenuis	k	. . .	. . . . .	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k
2 " aspirata	kh	. . .	. . . . .	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh
3 Media	g	. . .	. . . . .	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	. . .
4 " aspirata	gh	. . .	. . . . .	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	. . .
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
6 Nasalis	ñ (ng)	. . .	. . . . .	ङ	{ 𐬙 (ng) } { 𐬛 (N) }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬚 (hv)	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	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	kh
15 Media		g	. . . . .	ज	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	. . .
16 " aspirata		gh	. . . . .	झ	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	. . .
17 " Nasalis		ñ	. . . . .	ञ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	. . .

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.							
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.														
18 Semivocalis	y			य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y							
19 Spiritus asper					𐬨	𐬨											
20 " lenis		(y)			𐬨	𐬨											
21 " asper assibilatus		(y)		य	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز		z							
22 " lenis assibilatus		s			𐬨	𐬨											
23 Tenuis	t			त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t							
24 " aspirata	th			थ	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	th							
25 " assibilata	d		TH	द	𐬨	𐬨	د	د	ד								
26 Media	dh			ध	𐬨	𐬨	د	د	ד								
27 " aspirata			DH		𐬨	𐬨											
28 " assibilata	n			न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n							
29 Nasalis	l			ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	ל	l							
30 Semivocalis					𐬨	𐬨											
31 " mollis 1		l			𐬨	𐬨											
32 " mollis 2			L		𐬨	𐬨											
33 Spiritus asper 1	s			स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s							
34 " asper 2			s (f)		𐬨	𐬨											
35 " lenis	z			ज	𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z							
36 " asperimus 1			z (k)		𐬨	𐬨											
37 " asperimus 2			z (3)		𐬨	𐬨											

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 Tenuis	ph
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	b
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	bh
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	m
45 " diacritica		54 Semivocalis	w
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	hw
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	f
		57 " lenis	v
		58 Anusvāra	m
		59 Visarga	h

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	II Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.									
1 Neutralis	0									ə
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē									...
3 " labialis	ō					fin.				...
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	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	ē			ए				هـ		...
9 " longa	ē			ऐ				هـ		...
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि						...
11 " longa	rī			री						...
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	و	ו	ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	هـ		...
15 " longa	é (ai)	(e)		ऐ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆	هـ		...
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(ai)		औ	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇	هـ		ei, éi
17 " "	ei (ēi)			इ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈	هـ		...
18 " "	oi (ōu)			उ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉	و		o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊	و		...
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		औ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋	هـ		...
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		औ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌	هـ		āu
22 " "	eu (ēu)			इ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍	هـ		...
23 " "	ou (ōu)			उ	𐬎	𐬎	𐬎	و		...
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						...
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						...
26 Labialis fracta	ü			उ						...
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ऊ						...



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PAHLAVI TEXTS

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PART III

DĪNĀ-Ī MAĪNŌG-Ī KHIRAD

SIKAND-GŪMĀNĪK VIGĀR

SAD DAR



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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THE Pahlavi phrase *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' is a name applied to sixty-two enquiries, or series of enquiries, on subjects connected with the religion of the Mazda-worshippers, made by an anonymous wise man and answered by the Spirit of Wisdom. But, as this name is only found prefixed to a manuscript, written in A. D. 1569, in which the first part of the work is missing¹, it is doubtful whether it be the original name of the book, or not, although it is very suitable to the general character of the work.

Regarding the reading of this name, here adopted, it must be observed that the correct pronunciation of the Pahlavi word *maînôg*, 'spirit,' is uncertain; the traditional reading is *madônad*, which is a possible pronunciation of its letters, but is otherwise inexplicable; Haug proposed to read *maînivad* or *mînavad*, but, in that case, the word ought to end with *d=t*, or with *nd*; some of the present *Dastûrs* read *mînôê*, but this would be written *mînôêk* in Pahlavi; the Pâzand writers have *mainyô*, but this is evidently an imitation of Av. *mainyavô*, and does not correspond with the Pahlavi letters. As the word is *manû* or *mînô* in the Sasanian inscriptions, and *mînû* in Persian, to which words a final *k* would be added in Pahlavi, it seems probable that the final letter of the Pahlavi word is not *d* or *ê*, but *g*, a corruption of *k*, and that we ought to read *mînôg* or *maînôg*. At the same time it should be noticed that a very old copy of the Pahlavi Farhang, in the library of *Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji* in Bombay, has the word written with an extra medial stroke, so that it might be

¹ See p. 3, note 1.

read *mînavand*, as required by Haug's hypothesis, although this copy of the *Farhang* gives *madonend* as the traditional reading.

The subjects discussed by the Spirit of Wisdom are of a very miscellaneous character, and their discussion is evidently intended to furnish an outline of the tenets, legends, and morality of the religion with which they deal; but it forms by no means a complete, or systematic, treatise on these subjects, and it is remarkably silent with regard to all details of religious rites and ceremonies, which are only occasionally mentioned. This silence may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the author was a layman, as seems clear from the account he gives of his doubts and enquiries in Chap. I, 14-56. Any incompleteness of the treatise may also be explained by the apparent loss of the latter end of the work, as the sixty-second reply (Chap. LXIII) terminates the extant text of the treatise abruptly, and without any trace of peroration.

By the Spirit of Wisdom the author means the innate wisdom of *Aûharmazd* (Chap. LVII, 4), the *âsna khratu* of Yas. XXII, 29, XXV, 18, through which the spiritual and worldly creations were produced (Chaps. I, 49, 51, LVII, 5). It was originally created by *Aûharmazd* (Chap. VIII, 3, 8), and is superior to the archangels (Chap. I, 53); it can appear in a personal form, and undertake to be an instructor (Chap. I, 57, 60, 61); and it can likewise be used as a defence (Chap. XLIII, 6).

With regard to the author of this treatise, and the age in which he lived, we have no further information than can be gathered from the contents of the book itself. The author was evidently a devoted Mazda-worshipper, and probably a layman, as has been already remarked, but he has given us no further hints about himself. Whether he wrote before or after the Arab conquest of Persia is doubtful. There are only two passages that might be strained into allusions to Muhammadanism: one in Chap. I, 18, which alludes to some heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith, but the author has just been talking of many sects, and the grievance here mentioned is much too

X common to be considered as applicable only to the Arabs; the other passage is Chap. XVI, 37-48, which describes the advantages of 'the moderate drinking of wine,' and might be supposed to be written in indirect opposition to the Muhammadan prohibition of such indulgence. In either case the allusion is certainly far too obscure to form a fair basis for argument. On the other hand, Chap. XIII, 13, 14, speaks of the sovereignty of Vistâsp existing in connection with the most powerful sect or form of devotion, which statement might be strained to imply that the government was still orthodox; and the definitions of good and bad government in Chap. XV, 12-39 could hardly have been written after the Arab conquest. The allusion to the continued conflict of the Arûmans and Tûrânians with the Irânians, in Chap. XXI, 23-26, may possibly refer to some troublesome wars carried on by the Greeks and Turks against the Persians in the time of the author, and the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann has suggested A. D. 580-590 as a probable period for such remarks, but, here again, the allusion is too obscure to be relied on.

Very few of the author's quotations can be identified, but this is no argument for a greater age than eight or ten centuries, as we know, from passages quoted in the Shâyast Lâ-shâyast, Dâdistân-i Dînik, and other works, that some of the lost Nasks must have been still extant as recently as that. The Avesta is quoted only twice by name, in Chaps. I, 27, XVI, 15; the former passage has not been identified, but the latter may perhaps be from the Pâzag Nask. Several quotations, however, are made from the dînô or 'revelation,' a term which, when it refers to writings, is often applied by Pahlavi writers to the Avesta only. Of these passages Chap. XLIV, 18-23 is from the Vendîdâd, Chap. XXI, 24-26 may be from the Kîdrast Nask, and six other quotations have not been identified. In other cases the quotations are merely prefaced by the phrase '*it is declared.*' And of these the passage in Chap. LVII, 24-28 appears to be derived from the Vendîdâd, and that in Chap. II, 155, 156 from the so-called Hâdôkht Nask, while eight other passages are unidentified. In this last class the quota-

tions seem to be rather paraphrases than accurate translations of the original texts.

Of the original Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* only two manuscripts are yet known to exist; one of these (K43) is contained in No. 43 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen, and the other (TD2) belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria of Bombay.

The manuscript K43 is a small quarto volume of 178 folios, of which the *Dînâ* occupies fols. 2-37, written fifteen lines to the page. The first and second folios also contain the conclusion of the larger *Bundahis*, of which the first 129 folios are missing from this codex, as described in SBE, vol. v, introd. pp. xxxix-xli. And the latter part of the codex contains about one-fifth of the *Dinkard*, in several detached fragments, and four-fifths of the *Bahman Yast*. This manuscript was brought from Persia by the late Professor Westergaard in 1843¹, and the Pahlavi text of the *Dînâ*, which it contains, was published in facsimile by Andreas in 1882².

In this codex the text of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28; but, as the copyist has prefixed an introductory heading to this imperfect text, it is evident that he, or some predecessor of his, must have copied the work, in this imperfect state, from some manuscript whose first folio had been lost. Besides this deficiency, ten folios of the text have been lost from this particular codex; nine of these were occupied by Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49, and the tenth contained Chaps. XXXIX, 31-XL, 17. At the end of the work, Chap. LXIII is followed by a colophon to the following effect:—‘Completed in peace and pleasure and joy on the day *Shatvairô* of the month *Âvân* of the year 938 of *Yazdakard*, king of kings, [26th May 1569]. I, *Mitrô-âpân Anôshak-rûbân Rûstâm Shatrô-îyâr*, wrote *it* for my own possession. From the copy

¹ See *Zend-Avesta*, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited by N. L. Westergaard (Kopenhagen, 1852-54), vol. i, introd. p. 8, note 3.

² The Book of the *Mainyô-i-Khard*, also an old fragment of the *Bundehesh*, edited by F. C. Andreas (Kiel, 1882).

of Dastûr Gadman-pîrûg Aspendiyâr Gadman-pîrûg, and that from the copy of Dastûr Shatrô-aiyyâr Vêgan Khûsrôishah, and that, as regards these several sayings, was written from the copy of the heavenly-destined Mâh-vindâd Nare-mâhân *with* the righteous soul, and comes unto us from the realm of the Hindûs. May even our writing be in accordance with the will of the sacred beings.' In addition to the date, the chief matter of interest in this colophon is its acknowledgment of the fact that the work had come from India, where the original Pahlavi text appears to have since become extinct. We have, therefore, in this text, merely so much of the work as had reached India, on which the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang, described below, was undoubtedly based; and the possibility of hereafter finding the latter part of the work in Persia should not be overlooked. It is, however, upon the text contained in K43, so far as it is preserved, that the translation of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad in this volume is founded.

Of the other Pahlavi manuscript, TD2, nothing further is known to the translator than a copy of the passages corresponding to those contained in the ten folios lost from K43, upon which copy the translation of those passages has been based.

Besides these manuscripts of the original Pahlavi text, there exist other copies, in which the text has been merely reproduced from the Pâzand version described below; and, of these copies, K22 (No. 22 in the University Library at Copenhagen) may be cited as a typical example. This manuscript is a large octavo volume of 56 folios of glazed Indian paper, probably about a century old, but without a date. The first 48 folios contain a corrupt Pahlavi text of the Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad, alternating with the usual Sanskrit version described below, written nineteen lines to the page, and extending as far as Chap. XXVII, 41. The corruptions in the text consist of misuse of Huzvâr equivalents, and errors in orthography which no old writer of Pahlavi would be likely to commit, such as writing *ko lâvist* for *harvist*, *nafsmanîdârik* for *khvêsinîdârih*, *barâ-gûmân* for a *vîgûmân*, *hamê* for *hamâi*, *avas* for *âbas*,

lâ and mâ for a/, denman instead of hanâ for Pâz. e, the constant use of the adjective suffix -îk for the abstract suffix -îh, and the frequent omission of the final k in such words as dâânâk, a vîstâk. It can be seen at once, by any one really acquainted with Pahlavi, that a text of this description is merely a modern transliteration of the Pâzand version by some one whose knowledge of Pahlavi was rather limited and artificial.

Most of the Indian manuscripts of this work contain only the Pâzand version written in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. This Pâzand-Sanskrit version of the Mainyô-i Khard (as it is called in Pâzand) was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, a Parsi priest who is supposed to have lived some time in the fifteenth century, and evidently possessed a very good knowledge of Pahlavi, though not sufficient to avoid some few mistakes, especially in reading foreign names. His authorship is attested by a Sanskrit introduction, prefixed to most manuscripts of this version, to the following effect:—‘Through the name and almighty power and assistance of the lord Ahura-mazda, the greatly wise, may the achievement be auspicious, *and be* the progress and success of the good Mazda-worshipping religion, and energy in body and long life for all the good *and* right-minded. This Pahlavi heavenly wisdom, called the Mainyô-i Khard, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters¹ with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded. Salutation to the good, the pure-thinking, the true-speaking, the just-acting.’

Of this Pâzand-Sanskrit version the oldest manuscript that has been examined is L19, No. 19 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, one of the manuscripts brought from India by Dr. Samuel

¹ That is, from the ambiguous Pahlavi characters, used in all Persian writings before the Arab conquest.

Guise who was head surgeon of the general hospital at Surat from 1788 to 1795, and obtained several manuscripts from the widow of Dastūr Dārābji, the instructor of Anquetil Duperron. It is a small octavo volume, containing 148 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 132 are occupied by the Pāzand-Sanskrit Mainyô-i Khard, written fifteen lines to the page. At the beginning of the text the folio containing Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction (described above) has been lost, but the text itself is complete. At the end of the work is a Pāzand-Sanskrit postscript which may be reasonably attributed to Nêryôsang himself, and can be translated as follows :—‘ Completed for the peace and pleasure, happiness and dominion of all the good who are virtuous. To him for whom *it is* written may it be well-resulting and well-omened, *and*, after a hundred and fifty years, may he be a transmitter *of it* to his own religious children's children, through the will of the sacred beings. Of whomsoever the best ability is not wisdom, that best ability of his is *even* then owing to it. Wisdom which is without learning is poor, and learning which is without wisdom is helpless.’ After this postscript a Pahlavi colophon has been copied from some older manuscript to the following effect :—‘ Completed in peace, pleasure, and joy, and ended ; written by me, a servant of the religion, the priest Shatrô-âiyyâr, contemporary (?) of Nêryôsang.’ And this is followed by a colophon in very corrupt Sanskrit, which states that this manuscript was completed, in the district of Nāga-mandala¹, at a date corresponding to Friday, the 19th October 1520, by the teacher Mihrvân, son of Mahyâr and grandson of Padama, for the priest Bahrâm, son of Pālhan. This manuscript of the Pāzand text is, therefore, nearly 49 years older than that of the original Pahlavi text (K43) upon which the present translation is based. It corresponds very closely with that Pahlavi text, and where it differs the variation is nearly always due to some mistake, or attempt at improvement, on the part of Nêryôsang. It must, however, be acknowledged that very few translators adhere so

¹ Probably an old name of Nausârî.

closely to their original texts as this learned Parsi priest has done to his.

Other manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are PA10 and PB6. The former is No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, and was brought from Surat by Anquetil Duperron in 1761. It is an octavo volume, in which the Mainyô-i Khard occupies the first 211 folios, and commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, translated above, but does not contain the postscript. The date of its colophon appears to correspond to the 7th December 1649, new style. The latter manuscript, PB6, is No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library, and is probably about a century old.

The Pâzand version also occurs alternating with a Gugarâti translation in K23, No. 23 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. It is an octavo volume of 168 folios of glazed Indian paper, of which the first 162 contain the Pâzand-Gugarâti text, written fifteen lines to the page, and the remaining six folios contain an index stating the contents of each chapter. A colophon, at the end of the text, has a date corresponding to the 25th August 1663, new style; and another, at the end of the index, states that the manuscript was written by the priest Yazad-yâr, son of Vikaji, of Sangân, and finished at a date corresponding to the 17th October of the same year.

In another class of Pâzand manuscripts of the Mainyô-i Khard the Pâzand text is written in the Perso-Arabic character, and accompanied by a Persian translation, forming what may be conveniently termed a Pârsî-Persian version. One example of this version is contained in MH7, No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich, of which it occupies the first 70 folios, written fifteen lines to the page. Most of the Persian translation is written in sentences alternating with those of the Pârsî text, in which case the translation is merely a paraphrase of the Pârsî; but some of the translation is interlined, and this is much more literal, each Pârsî word having its Persian equivalent written below it. This manuscript contains several other texts, and from two colophons, one near the middle, and the other near

the end of the volume, it appears that it was written by Dârâshâh, son of Mihrbânji, and the first half of the volume was completed at a date corresponding to Wednesday the 9th August 1809.

Another example of the Pârsî-Persian version is found in No. 2769 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, in which manuscript it occupies 75 folios, written eleven lines to the page, and is not dated, though probably written early this century. In this copy the Pârsî text is tolerably complete, but long passages of the Persian translation are omitted; when given, the Persian is usually identical with that in MH7, though some instances of independent translation occur.

In addition to the Pahlavi, Pâzand, Sanskrit, Gugarâti, Pârsî, and Persian texts of the prose Dînâ-î Maînôg-i Khirad, the popularity of the work is further evinced by the existence of two versions in Persian verse. One of these was described by Professor Sachau in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283, from a manuscript in the library of that Society in London, written probably near the end of last century. The author of this metrical Persian paraphrase appears to have been a native of Râvar in Sindh, named Marzubân, who composed it from a Pârsî version of the original text, bequeathed to him by his teacher while he was studying the old traditions at Yazd; and the date of his composition seems to have been A.D. 1612. His verses contain only fifty-four questions and answers, but these contain the substance of the greater part of the Mînôkhirad, as the work is called in Persian, with some few additions from other sources.

A copy of the other metrical Persian Mînôkhirad occupied fols. 527-550 in the second volume of B29, a two-volume quarto Rivâyat, No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. It is doubtful whether the original number of folios were twenty-four or twenty-six, but only twenty-two now remain. These contain 497 couplets of introductory matter, 1060 representing the text of the work, and 190 of epilogue; and from 160 to 330 further couplets of the text are missing. According to statements in the introduction and

epilogue the verses appear to have been composed, from Nêryôsang's Pâzand-Sanskrit text, by the priest Hôrmazyâr and his son Dârâb, the latter being the actual writer, and the former being a son of Farâmrûz¹, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kai-Qubâd, son of Hamkârapadam¹ of Sangân, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval. The work was commenced on the 7th November 1676, new style, and completed in thirty-five days; and the copy in B29 was finished on the 21st November 1679, new style. The order of the subjects discussed in this metrical version differs, in some respects, from that followed in the prose texts, and the 1060 couplets of extant text represent only forty chapters of the work, though several of the others were, no doubt, represented in the missing couplets. Another copy of this later metrical version appears to exist in pp. 231-248 of No. 12 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

Of the Pâzand text of the Mainyô-i Khard, Chaps. LVII, XXVII, LXII, I, 51-61, VII, 9-12 have been published, with German translations, by Professor Spiegel, in his 'Grammatik der pârsi Sprache,' pp. 128-155, 161-173, 185, 186, 188, 189. He has also published German translations of Chaps. II, 110-193, VIII, XXXVII, XLII in his 'Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen,' pp. 138-144, 147-150. And the complete Pâzand-Sanskrit texts, with an English translation, Pâzand glossary and grammar, were published by the present translator in 1871. Since that date the original Pahlavi text of the Dinâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad has been discovered, from which the present translation has been made.

In connection with this account of the various versions of the 'Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom,' it should be noticed that an abridgement of the work also exists in Persian prose, and is called the 'Other Mînôkhirad.' A copy of this abridgement is contained in fols. 71-78 of MH7 (described above), and consists of a very free Persian translation of the Pâzand texts of Chaps. I, 14-II, 64, III-VII, XIV, XV,

¹ A variation of this pedigree is quoted in p. xlii.

XXI, XXV, followed by a variety of short statements about thankfulness towards the sacred beings, the supreme heaven, male and female angels and demons, wealth and poverty, &c., and concluding with the names of the first sovereigns of the world, the descent of mankind from Gayômar, and of the 292¹ species of animals from the primeval ox. Another copy of this abridgement appears to be contained in fols. 80-84 of No. 15 of Anquetil's Collection in the National Library at Paris.

2. THE SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

The term *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, 'doubt-dispelling explanation,' is the Pahlavi name applied to a controversial work by its author. The chief object of the work is to prove the correctness of the fundamental doctrine of the Mazda-worshipping religion, that good and evil do not proceed from the same source, and to show that other religions, while professing to believe in the unity of creation, can only account for the origin of evil, either by degrading the character of the sacred being, or by attributing evil to a corrupting influence which is really a second being. In other words, the author's object is to show that all people, who believe in an all-good and omnipotent creator, must logically admit the existence of an independent origin of evil, whatever they may say to the contrary. In the course of his arguments, he naturally finds it easier to attack the inconsistencies of other beliefs than to defend his own, and much of his attention is, therefore, given to pointing out apparent inconsistencies and seemingly delusive statements in the scriptures of the Muhammadans, Jews, Christians, and Mânichaeans.

The author's name was *Mardân-farukh*, son of *Aûhar-mazd-dâd* (Chap. I, 35), and his account of his enquiries (§§ 36, 37) bears much resemblance to what is said of the wise man's proceedings in *Mkh. I*, 34-36. He determines to

¹ Bd. X, 3, XIV, 13 mention 282 (or 272 in some copies).

write a treatise for removing religious doubt, and calls it the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* (Chap. I, 38). He is also careful in stating that he has selected many of his facts and arguments from older writings, such as those of *Âtûr-pâdiyâvand*¹, which he had found in the *Dînkard*² compiled by *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of *Farukh-zâd*. In this statement he must be referring to the first two books of the *Dînkard*, which have not yet been discovered, as the other seven books, which are extant, do not contain the matters to which he alludes. He also mentions the *Rôshan* manuscript compiled by *Rôshan*³, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, a writer who is often quoted in the Pahlavi commentaries on the *Avesta*⁴. And he begins his religious discussion by replying to some difficulties that had been suggested to him, in a friendly manner, for solution by *Mitrô-aîyyâr*, son of *Mahmâd*, of *Ispahân*⁵.

His allusions to Muhammadanism are of a very guarded character, though sufficiently clear to leave no doubt as to the religion he means. Like all Pahlavi writers, he never mentions that religion by name, but when, in the position of a Zoroastrian in Persia, he states that he did not admire the religion that was then in supremacy⁶, there can be little doubt that he refers to Muhammadanism. And any such doubt would be dispelled, not only by such vague references to passages in the *Qur'ân* as occur in Chap. XI, 4, 5, 269-271, but also by the distinct quotation of a striking legend, from the same source, regarding the fallen angel in §§ 52-60, 248 of the same chapter, and by the use of the term *Mûtaزالik* (Ar. *mu'htazil*) with reference to a certain sect in § 280.

With regard, therefore, to the age of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, we may be quite certain that it was written long after the Arab conquest of Persia; and from the names mentioned by the author, as stated above, it is evident that he lived after the time of *Rôshan*, son of *Âtûr-frôbag*, son of

¹ See Chaps. I, 38, IV, 106, IX, 2, X, 52.

² See Chaps. IV, 107, IX, 1, 4, X, 57.

³ See Chap. X, 53, 54.

⁴ See Chap. II, 1, 2.

⁵ See Sls. I, 4 n.

⁶ See Chap. X, 45.

Farukh-zâd. Now, according to a Pahlavi tale¹, the accursed Abâlis², the Zandîk, had a religious disputation with Âtûr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, in the presence of the Khalîfah Al-Mâmûn who reigned A.D. 813-833; it is, therefore, hardly possible that Rôshan, son of Âtûr-frôbag, could have written his commentary before the middle of the ninth century. We also know, from the last chapter of the third book of the *Dînkard*, that Âtûr-frôbag was not the last editor of that work, but was succeeded by his son Zarâtûst, and, later still, by Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmid, who appears to have given the book its final revision. Of Âtûrpâd's work the author of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* does not speak, and it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it had not been completed in his time. But, according to Bd. XXXIII, 10, 11, this Âtûrpâd was a contemporary of Zâd-spâram who was living in A.D. 881³, and his revision of the *Dînkard* was, therefore, probably in progress by the end of the ninth century. From these facts we may conclude that the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* was written after the middle, but before the end, of the ninth century; unless we were to suppose that, although its author consulted only the first two books of the *Dînkard* (as mentioned above), the remaining seven books may have existed as a separate work unknown to him. Considering, however, that Âtûrpâd, son of Hêmid, was so important a personage as 'the leader of those of the good religion' of his time, this supposition would not be very probable.

There is probably nothing new to defenders of Christianity in *Mardân-farukh's* attacks upon the apparent inconsistencies of their scriptures, with regard to the origin of evil and the existence of unity in trinity, subjects that are more usually admitted without investigation than seriously discussed. This is not, however, the mode in which such subjects are likely to be treated by outsiders, and missionaries will no doubt find among *Mardân-farukh's* arguments many that they must become accustomed to hear from educated

¹ A copy of which is contained in the very old codex No. 20 in the University Library at Copenhagen, fols. 148-152.

² The reading of this name is uncertain, but this is the Pâzand form.

³ See Ep. III, 2, 17, 21.

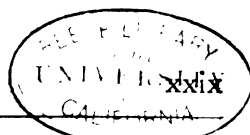
men of other faiths. And, if they engage in controversy, as they ought to do, they must expect to hear them stated in less considerate language than this author uses.

An interesting question, for any one who possesses special information on the subject, would be to ascertain from what version of the Old and New Testaments *Mardân-farukh* drew his quotations. There seems every probability that his translation of the passages, though it may not be altogether literal, is yet sufficiently so to admit of the particular version being identified, if its peculiarities of wording were carefully considered. The peculiar Pahlavi spelling of the name Isaac in Chap. XIV, 42, as deduced from its corruption in *Pâzand*, points to a Syriac version of one of the legendary works consulted by the author.

In his discussion of the tenets of the *Mânichæans* *Mardân-farukh* is dealing with a subject that is far less known than the other faiths he attacks, and the information he gives may be valuable. Unfortunately the latter part of this discussion is missing, although the loss of text is probably not very extensive.

The original Pahlavi text of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not yet been discovered, although there are several existing copies of a Pahlavi version of the earlier part of the work, which are evidently reproductions from the *Pâzand* text. These pseudo-Pahlavi manuscripts usually end with the fifth chapter, and are certainly superior to the similiar reproductions of the *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad*, represented by K22 (see p. xix). Yet they generally use the adjective suffix *-îk* for the abstract suffix *-îh*, because both these suffixes become *-î* in *Pâzand*; they often have *kabed*, 'much,' for *afas*, 'and by him,' when the *Pâzand* has *vas* by mistake for *vas*; they also substitute the *Pâzand* misreading *aînâ* for the true Pahlavi *a dînas*; besides adopting other occasional miswritings for which the *Pâzand* version alone is responsible. Such manuscripts could be of no critical value, unless they had descended from some family of *Pâzand* manuscripts which had left no surviving representatives in *Pâzand*, and this does not appear to be the case.

A specimen of these Pahlavi reproductions is contained



in the last 36 folios of L15, No. 15 of the Avesta and Pahlavi manuscripts in the India Office Library in London. It commences with the words 'all the angels' in Chap. I, 4, and ends with Chap. V, 71; the handwriting being the same as that in L26, a manuscript that contains a date corresponding to A. D. 1737.

In fols. 9-16 of BM. No. 22,378 of the Additional Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum Library, there is a modern fragment of this reproduced Pahlavi text, interlined with a transliteration in the Persian character, and alternating with a Persian paraphrase. This fragment contains only Chap. I, 1-31.

The reproduced Pahlavi text also occurs, in parallel columns with the usual Pâzand and Sanskrit versions and a Persian paraphrase, in R, an imperfect polyglot manuscript given to the late Mr. J. Romer by a Dastûr in Surat. Of this foolscap-folio manuscript Mr. Romer sent pp. 16-31 (with the first fifteen pages of a Pahlavi-Persian Bundahis) to the late Professor M. J. Müller, through Mr. Poley; he also sent pp. 32-63, 82-93 to the late Professor H. H. Wilson on 3rd December 1836, who afterwards transferred them to Professor Max Müller; and he gave pp. 64-81, 99-143 to the late Mr. Norris. The first of these fragments, together with that of the Bundahis now constitute No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich; the next two fragments were presented to the India Office Library, and the two last mentioned were acquired by it, in 1876. It is most probable that the first fifteen pages of this polyglot manuscript were not given to Mr. Romer, but the first fifteen pages of the Bundahis were substituted for them. The portion extant (pp. 16-143) contains all four versions of Chaps. I, 28-V, 57, with the Sanskrit and Persian versions of Chap. I, 25-27, and the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of Chap. V, 58-62; and the latter two versions are everywhere interlined with a transliteration in Persian characters. This manuscript is modern and of no particular critical value; but, as the combination of the four versions is rare, if not unique, it would be very desirable to discover the rest of the manuscript.

In another manuscript, No. 18 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris, the reproduced Pahlavi text has the usual Pâzand version written above it. This manuscript, which is in the form of a roll, begins at the same point as L15 (see p. xxix) and ends with Chap. V, 95, which is said to be the usual extent of other manuscripts of this class in India. A copy of this manuscript is No. 23 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich.

An extension of the same reproduced Pahlavi text, with the Pâzand version written above it, and alternating with the Sanskrit version, is contained in K28, No. 28 of the Irânian manuscripts in the University Library at Copenhagen. It is an imperfect octavo manuscript, of which only 66 folios remain, written eleven lines to the page, and, in its present state, it is undated, but seems to be fully 150 years old. The portions of the text that it still contains are only Chaps. I, 1-II, 8; III, 1-25; III, 36-IV, 106; VIII, 103-IX, 16; IX, 30-X, 13; X, 71-XI, 28; XI, 55-61; so that more than half the text that ought to be included within its extreme limits is missing; but its original extent, within the same limits, was more than double the usual length of the reproduced Pahlavi text, as stated above. In this particular, of unusual length, only one other manuscript of that text seems to be known in India that resembles it, in addition to the imperfect copy next described. K28 contains Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction (see p. xxxiii), and differs from the oldest Pâzand manuscript AK in only two or three instances, and these variations can be explained as corrections made on the authority of the Sanskrit version.

An imperfect and modern copy of the Pahlavi-Pâzand-Sanskrit texts is also contained in twenty-two folios prefixed to AK (described below). This copy commences with Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction, and includes only Chaps. I, 1-IV, 100 and X, 71-XI, 47. Its writer has intended to give the three versions in successive sentences, but, after Chap. I, 23, the Pâzand and Sanskrit sentences are less and less frequently written, till they cease altogether after I, 43, with the exception of one or two isolated sections. In

several cases he has also substituted the correct abstract suffix -îh for the usual incorrect -îk, but this correction is generally confined to abstract nouns in common use.

As none of these Pahlavi manuscripts can be considered otherwise than as reproductions from the Pâzand, it is to the Pâzand-Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang that we must still look for the nearest approach to the original text of the work. It is in this version, too, that we find the greatest extent of text still extant, although the Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr seems to possess the peculiarity of wearying out all its copyists at some point or other, so that not only is there no complete copy of the work known, but also nearly every copyist has stopped his work at a different place.

The oldest known manuscript of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona, and is called AK, because it is supposed to have been written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ. In its present state this manuscript consists of seventy-seven small quarto folios of very old, discoloured, Indian paper, written sixteen lines to the page, and containing the Pâzand version in short sentences, alternating with a word-for-word Sanskrit translation of each sentence; the Sanskrit being written upside down, for the sake of forming a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta characters of the Pâzand. From other manuscripts it is known that this Pâzand-Sanskrit version was compiled by Nêryôsang, son of Dhaval, but in this manuscript his usual Sanskrit introduction is lost with the first three folios of the text, and the existing seventy-seven folios contain only Chaps. I, 16–XI, 145. As this extends only one folio beyond the middle of the whole of the text that is extant, it is supposed that this old manuscript was divided into two nearly equal moieties on the occasion of some division of property, of which the earlier moiety has been preserved, and the later one either lost, or destroyed, or buried in some inaccessible library.

In consequence of the imperfect state of this manuscript it bears no date, but an old Sanskrit colophon has been copied by the writer of JE (one of the more modern manuscripts that are evidently derived from AK through one or

more intermediate copies), and this may be fairly assumed to be the colophon of AK. This colophon may be translated as follows:—‘In the *Samvat* year 1625, in the current *Sāka year* 1490, on the present day (?), the fourth day *Shahrivar* of the eleventh month *Bahman*, in the district of *Nāga-maṇḍala*¹, in the royal reign of king *Sulṭān Muthaffar-shāh*, the book named *Sikand-gūmānik Vigār* is written, for the use of *Amalshāh Kāngashāh*², by the priest *Āsadīn*³, son of the priest *Kākā*. May it become auspicious! may it be beneficial!’

The date indicated by this colophon seems to correspond to the 23rd September 1568⁴, but it may, of course, be doubted whether it originally belonged to AK, because the text to which it is appended in JE is incomplete. If it were attached to AK, the text in that manuscript must either have been originally incomplete, or some of the later folios must have been lost, while the last one, containing the colophon, was still preserved. If it did not belong to AK, it must have belonged to some later manuscript, because there is no doubt that JE has descended from AK, and could not, therefore, contain the colophon of an older manuscript than AK, unless it had been written in AK itself, or obtained in an irregular manner from some unrecorded source. For these reasons there seems little doubt that AK was written either in 1568, or earlier; and the general appearance of its folios favours this assumption. So far as it extends this is the best manuscript of the *Sikand-gūmānik Vigār* that is known to exist, and the present translation has, therefore, been based upon its texts,

¹ Probably an old name of *Nausārī*.

² This *Kāngashāh* was probably a grandson of the *Kāngashāh* at whose instigation the Parsis in India carried on a correspondence with those in Persia in A.D. 1478–81, which is still preserved in the Persian *Rivāyats*. And his father may have been the *Mānekshāh Kāngashāh* who was the head of the Parsi laymen in *Nausārī* in 1531, when he was 70 years old, as appears from the *Hādesā Nāmu* (Bombay, 1831).

³ In a *Gugarāti* memorandum, recently appended to JE, it is stated that the colophon of a *Yasna Sādah*, written in A.D. 1572 or 1576, gives the pedigree of this copyist as follows:—*Āsadīn*, son of *Kākā*, son of *Dharpāl*, son of *Lakhmidar*, son of *Mōbad Kāmdīn*, son of *Zarātūst*, son of *Mōbad Hormazdyār*, son of *Rāmyār*.

⁴ Or it may be 1569, as the *Sāka* date has been altered from 1491 into 1490.

which are, no doubt, very nearly in the same state as when edited by Nêryôsang ; the Sanskrit version, especially, is far more correct than in the later copies. Many of the Pâzand sections in Chaps. V–VIII are written in Pahlavi only, or in Pahlavi with the Pâzand written above it ; but, in all cases, this Pahlavi is as corrupt as that of the reproduced Pahlavi manuscripts.

The most complete manuscripts of the Pâzand-Sanskrit version are JJ and JE, of which JJ is the oldest and best, but it has not yet been thoroughly examined. It is a small quarto volume of 182 folios of Indian paper, written fifteen to seventeen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Khurshêdji Jamshêdji of Nausârî. From certain blunders and peculiarities, which its writer has copied, it is certain that this manuscript has descended from AK, and, also, that it has derived a few variations from some other source. Its Sanskrit text is not written inverted, as it is in AK, and it commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, as translated in p. xx, but with the clause containing the names altered to the following effect :—' This book, named Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, is translated by me, Nêryôsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded.' The texts in JJ are of the same extent as the translation in this volume, and are followed by a colophon in Persian, Sanskrit, and imperfect Pahlavi, which states that the manuscript was written by Dastûr Jamshêd, son of Jâmâsp, son of Âsâ, son of Frêdûn, inhabitants of Nausârî, and completed on the day Srôsh of the month Vohûman, A.Y. 1137 (corresponding to the 28th August 1768).

The other manuscript, JE, which is as complete as the translation in this volume, is a foolscap-folio volume of 132 folios, written eighteen lines to the page, and belongs to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona. It corresponds very closely with JJ, but its Sanskrit (which is not written inverted) is rather more corrupt ; and it contains the same indications of descent from AK as that manuscript does,

with the same variations derived from some other source. It commences with Nêryôsang's usual Sanskrit introduction, and at the end of the text it has the old Sanskrit colophon translated above, and supposed to belong to AK. And this is followed by a Persian colophon, written on the day Hôrmazd of the month Bahman, A. Y. 1211 (corresponding to the 26th July 1842), and stating that this manuscript was copied from that of Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ, in Bombay, by Jamshêd, son of Edalji, son of Bahmanji, son of the writer of JJ. From this it might be too hastily assumed that the old manuscript AK was still complete as recently as 1842 ; but, if such were the case, it would be difficult to understand why Dastûr Hôshangji could learn nothing about its missing moiety some twenty-five years afterwards, when he made searching enquiries on the subject ; and it would be still more difficult to explain the variations in JE, already mentioned as derived from some other source than AK. It is more probable that the writer of JE found the old colophon of AK copied at the end of a more recent manuscript, which led him to believe that the latter was written by Âsadîn, son of Kâkâ.

That the first folio of AK had already been lost, considerably more than a century ago, appears from PB₃, No. 3 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris, which was evidently copied from a copy of AK, and is certainly more than a century old, judging from the general appearance of the paper on which it is written. This manuscript, which was given to Burnouf by Mr. Mânekji Khurshêdji of Bombay, is a small octavo volume of 125 folios of Indian paper, written twelve to sixteen lines to the page, and contains the Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Chaps. I, 5-53, and II, 5-X, 66: the Sanskrit being written upside down, as in AK. The loss of Nêryôsang's Sanskrit introduction and Chap. I, 1-4 of the text indicates that the first folio of AK was already missing when the original of PB₃ was copied, and several lacunae in the earlier folios, which have been filled up in red ink from some other source, indicate the torn condition of the earlier folios of AK. The loss of Chaps. I, 54-II, 4 is due to two folios

being absent between folios 11 and 12 of PB₃; and after Chap. X, 66 all further folios have been lost. In some sections in Chaps. VI and VIII, where the Pāzand text is written above its Pahlavi equivalent in AK, much confusion has been occasioned in PB₃ by reading the Pāzand and Pahlavi versions as two successive lines of text; and it is evident that this confusion originated in some manuscript intermediate between AK and PB₃, though it has been increased by further blundering on the part of the writer of PB₃ itself.

The Pāzand version of Nêryôsang also occurs in short sentences alternating with a Gugarâti translation in MH19, No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. This manuscript, which was given to Haug by Dastûr Kai-Khusrô at Surat in 1864, is a small quarto of 124 folios of old Indian paper, of which the first 110 folios contain the Pāzand-Gugarâti version of Chaps. I, 1–XI, 201, written thirteen to nineteen lines to the page. Towards the latter end of the manuscript blank spaces are left for the Gugarâti version of many of the sections; and several of the passages that are written only in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in MH19. From this and other peculiarities it is evident that MH19 has descended from AK, but probably through some intermediate manuscript that must have been written when AK was more complete than it is now. Judging from the appearance of the paper of MH19 it can hardly be less than 150 years old, but it contains no date or colophon of any description.

Another manuscript, which contains a large portion of the Pāzand version of Nêryôsang, without his Sanskrit translation, is L23, No. 23 in the India Office Library in London. It is an octavo volume of eighty folios of Indian paper, written ten to twelve lines to the page, in the same handwriting as L15 and L26 (see p. xxix), which last manuscript contains a date corresponding to A. D. 1737. L23 contains the Pāzand text of Chaps. I, 34–VIII, 23, and many of the passages written in Pahlavi in AK are similarly written in L23, which indicates the descent of the latter manuscript

from the former; an indication which is confirmed by the repetition of other peculiarities.

From this account of all the manuscripts of the *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr*, that have been examined by the translator, it appears probable that no manuscript independent of AK has yet been discovered. The few variations which indicate another source can easily be explained as emendations by some later copyist, who had noticed, or imagined, some deficiencies in the text of that manuscript.

The *Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr* has not been hitherto translated into any European language, but an edition of its Pâzand and Pahlavi texts was prepared by Dastûr Hôshangji about fifteen years ago, and arrangements have been made for the publication of these texts, with the Sanskrit version, at an early date.

3. THE SAD DAR.

As its name implies the *Sad Dar* is a treatise on 'a hundred subjects' connected with the Zoroastrian religion. The word *dar*, literally 'door, or gate,' being also applied to the 'chapters' of a book, and to the 'matters, or subjects,' of which it treats. This work is not a Pahlavi text, being written in Persian with an admixture of about four per cent. of Arabic words; it is, however, more quoted than any other work by the Parsi compilers of the Persian *Rivâyats*, or religious 'traditions,' in the seventeenth century. In one of its recensions it is also found written in Avesta characters, and the Avesta-Persian sentences alternate with an old Gugarâti translation, in imitation of the Pâzand-Sanskrit versions of Pahlavi texts compiled by Nêryôsang. In consideration of the existence of this pseudo-Pâzand recension, together with the general acceptance of the work as an important authority, and its being a convenient summary of many of the religious customs handed down by Pahlavi writers, this work may be offered as a suitable appendix to the true Pahlavi texts, connecting them with

the Persian writings that are too modern to be accepted as authorities in religious matters.

The Sad Dar NaThr, or prose Sad Dar, which is here translated, appears to be first mentioned in the introduction to the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl¹, or long-metre Sad Dar, in which the versifier states that the prose Sad Dar was compiled by three celebrated high-priests, named Mēdyômāh, Vardast, and Siyāvakhsh, near the time of the Arab conquest of Persia. This, however, really means little more than that the prose Sad Dar was considered a very old work at the time when the long-metre Sad Dar was composed from it. It appears, from Dastūr Jāmāspji's preface to his Gugarāti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar, that this metrical version was composed in A.D. 1531 by Mullā Rustam Isfendiyār of Khurāsān and Mullā Behzād Rustam². It may, therefore, be concluded that the prose Sad Dar had the reputation of being a very old work in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Another version of the work, called the Sad Dar NaThm, or metrical Sad Dar, had already been composed in Kirmān by Īrān-shāh³, son of Malik-shāh, as early as the 14th October, A. D. 1495. In his introduction he does not mention the source whence he drew his information, though he speaks of 'renovating the old mysteries,' but whether this phrase refers to the old prose Sad Dar, which he must undoubtedly have used, or to the original Pahlavi sources of that work, is uncertain. A Latin translation of this metrical Sad Dar was published by Hyde, in his History of the Religion of the Ancient Persians⁴.

The contents of the Sad Dar are of a very miscellaneous character, and are not very systematically arranged. They treat of a great variety of duties and customs, but all from a strictly religious point of view, though the work is evidently

¹ See Sad-dare Behere Tavîl, translated into Gugarāti by Dastūr Jāmāspji Minochiharji Jāmāsp-Āsā-nā; 2nd edition; Bombay, 1881.

² Possibly a son of the preceding Mullā. In the preface to his second edition Dastūr Jāmāspji calls him Rustam Behzād.

³ So stated in his introduction, but in his postscript (as printed by Hyde) he calls himself Mard-shah.

⁴ Historia religionis veterum Persarum (Oxon. 1700), p. 433.

intended rather for the guidance of the laity than for the information of the priesthood. The almost total absence of any reference to government or national life, other than complete submission to priestly control, seems to indicate a period of subjection to men of another faith, too dangerous, or too odious, to be mentioned, unless it were to forbid all voluntary social intercourse with them, as in Chap. XXXVIII. The allusions to the existing scarcity of priests in Chap. LVIII, 12, and to a rigorous levying of poll-tax in Chap. LX, 7, might also give some clue to the period when the work was compiled, if we were better acquainted with the minute details of Parsi history. Where temporal penalties for crimes are prescribed (as in Chaps. IX, LXIV) they were, no doubt, such as were recognised by the government of the time; and, in such matters, change of government has altered the law. Some other customs have also probably changed to some extent, but by far the greater part of the rules and duties prescribed in this work are still in force, though they may not be always very strictly attended to.

Of the numerous quotations from the sacred books, which the *Sad Dar* contains, only a few can be identified, and nearly all of these are in the form of translations which are merely paraphrases of the original texts. Avesta passages are quoted from the *Vendîdâd* and *Yasna* in Chap. XIV, 3, and from an unknown section of the *Hâdôkht Nask* in XL, 4. The commentary of the *Vendîdâd* is six times quoted by name, but only four of the passages¹ have been identified; and an unknown passage is quoted from the commentary of the *Hâdôkht* in Chap. XXII, 3, 4, and three others² from the commentary of the Avesta. Four statements are said to be 'declared in the good religion,' but have not been identified; and out of thirty quotations from 'revelation' only five have been identified, of which those in Chaps. LXXII, 2, 3, LXXXII, 2 belong to the *Vendîdâd*, and those in IV, 3-11, XVI, 3, XVIII, 3 belong to the *Spend Nask*, which is no longer extant. The large

¹ Chaps. XII, 3-5, LXVII, 3-6, LXXI, 2, 3, LXXXVI, 2.

² Chaps. XXVIII, 4, XCIV, 3, 4, XCVII, 3.

proportion of quotations that cannot be now identified, or are no longer extant, is a strong argument in favour of the work being several centuries older than the oldest manuscripts in which it is now found.

The translation of the prose *Sad Dar*, published in this volume, is based upon the text of *La*, the oldest manuscript of the work with which the translator is acquainted. This is No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the East India Company's Library, on the 31st August 1837, by Mr. J. Romer, who had brought it from India, most probably from Surat. This manuscript is an octavo volume, containing 144 folios of light-brown Indian paper which may be as much as three centuries old. The volume was last bound and repaired some time subsequent to 1818, as several English foolscap fly-leaves bear that date as a water-mark. Its Persian text has the peculiarity of being written in Avesta characters, in short sentences alternating with an old Gugarâti translation in Devanâgarî characters which, for the sake of running in a continuous line with the reversely-written Avesta-Persian, is written upside down; each page containing generally thirteen lines. This Avesta-Persian is not Pâzand, either in verbal forms or syntactical arrangement, but its orthography is as irregular and uncertain as in most Pâzand texts written in Avesta characters. The text commences with a Sanskrit introduction, copied verbatim from that used by Nêryôsang as a preface to all his Pâzand-Sanskrit texts (see p. xx), with the clause containing the names altered as follows:—‘This book, named *Sad Dar*, is brought together by me, the priest Râma, son of Kanhaksha, *and* translated from the Parsi language into the Gugar language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters by his son, the priest Padama.’ And this preface is followed by the Pâzand invocation that commences the Persian introduction, as translated on p. 255; which introduction contains a passage (§ 6) probably interpolated in the prose *Sad Dar* after the composition of the metrical version.

The last chapter of the text in *La* is followed by two

Persian couplets in Avesta characters, with their translation in Gugarâti; and, after a few more verses in Sanskrit, the colophon concludes with Sanskrit to the following effect :—
 ‘In the *Samvat* year 1631, the ninth *day* in the light half of *the month Gyaishtha*, on Wednesday, the Uttarâ [Ashâdhâ?] lunar mansion; in the *Parsi Samvat* year 944, the 27th day Âsmân, the sixth month Shahrîvar [18th May 1575]¹, the Uzayêirina period (the afternoon), the book *Sad Dar* is completely written *by* an inhabitant of Bhrigu-kakkha². Brought together by the priest Râma, son of Kanhaksha, and written in the handwriting of the priest Padama, his son, the book *Sad Dar* is completed. Written, by another, for the purpose of reading *and* for the purpose of reciting by Hîrâka of the good religion, son of . . .³ of the good religion, and also by Âdaraka of the good religion, son of Gâyâ of the good religion; may it become auspicious and beneficial!’ Followed by ‘may it be healthful! may it be excellent! so may it be! *and* more so may it be!’ in Pâzand.

It is possible that this colophon may have been copied from an older manuscript, but there are certainly some reasons for supposing that La is the original manuscript completed in 1575. In the first place, the appearance of the paper, on which it is written, favours such a supposition, and enquiries, made in Bombay, have not succeeded in discovering the existence of any other copy of this recension. Again, there are a few defects and inconsistencies in the Gugarâti translation which are best explained by supposing that the translation was made at the time this manuscript was written. Thus, the greater part of Chap. LXXIII, after having been written on one side of a folio, is repeated by mistake on the other side of the same folio with several variations, most of which are alterations in the Gugarâti translation, as if the writer were making the trans-

¹ As the manuscript was written in India, the calendar used would be the Rasmî one.

² The old name of Bhrôk.

³ This name, with one or two epithets, has to be extracted from the corrupt Sanskrit compound gnâtîvyavyagihîlâ.

lation at the time when he wrote it. Also, in Chap. LXXVII, a blank having been left for some illegible word in the Avesta-Persian text, a similar blank has been left in the Gugarâti translation, although it is hardly possible that any mere copyist would have found the same word illegible in both versions.

With regard to the source whence the Avesta-Persian text of La was derived, there can be little doubt that it was originally transliterated from a manuscript written in the Perso-Arabic character, as there are several blunders in La which can be best explained as owing to the mutual resemblance of certain letters in that character. Thus, the fact that the modern Persian letters b, n, t, y differ only in the number and position of certain dots, which are sometimes omitted or misplaced, accounts for such blunders as bâ and yâ for tâ, khâna for 'kâyah. While, owing to similar resemblances, the transliterator has written kustî for gêtî, muluk for balkih, guza for gôsh, and having been doubtful, in one place, whether to read rôz or zôr, he has written both words, one above the other.

Somewhat more recent than this Avesta-Persian manuscript is Lp, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library in London, which was presented to the Library by Mr. J. Romer at the same time as La. This manuscript is a small octavo volume, in which the prose Sad Dar occupies the first forty-six folios of Indian paper, written generally fifteen lines to the page in the Perso-Arabic character. In its present state it contains no date, the last folio of the colophon being lost, but the paper is not much newer than that of La. The colophon is written in the Avesta character, and is to the following effect:—‘This book is the book Sad Dar, a Nask of the religion of Zarathustra, the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. *These* hundred questions of the proper and improper are extracted from this good *religion* of the Mazda-worshippers, and Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, . . . ;’ the rest being lost.

Another important copy of the Persian text of the prose Sad Dar is contained in B29, a two-volume, quarto Rivâyat,

No. 29 in the Bombay University Library. In this Rivâyat, or miscellany of traditional lore, the prose Sad Dar occupies fourteen folios (17-30) in the first volume, each page containing twenty-one closely-written lines. The Persian colophon at the end of the last chapter is to the following effect:—‘This book of the prose Sad Dar is completed on the day Âstâd of the auspicious month Daî of the year 1048 of Yazdagard, the king of kings of happy Îrân, of the race of Sâsân. And the writer of the lines *am* I, the servant of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the priestly-born priest Dârâb, son of the priest Hormazyâr, son of Qavâmu-d-dîn, son of Kaî-Qubâd, son of Hormazyâr¹ of the surname Sangânâ, of the family of the priest Nêryôsang Dhaval.’ The date mentioned in this colophon corresponds to the 28th September 1679, new style.

A third copy of the Persian text is contained in J15, a small quarto volume, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji in Bombay. In this volume the prose Sad Dar occupies the last thirty-six folios, and is written thirteen lines to the page, but is not dated. This manuscript has been consulted in only a few passages, and usually where the other copies differ considerably.

Regarding the variations in the text of these manuscripts it will be noticed, on reference to the foot-notes to the translation, that there is usually considerable agreement among the three Persian manuscripts (Lp, B29, J15²) when they differ from the Avesta-Persian text of La. In a few cases the text of La is undoubtedly defective, and then Lp or B29 may perhaps supply the original reading which has come down to them through some collateral line of descent. But, in the great majority of instances, their variations (especially those of B29) seem to be intended either to make the text more intelligible, or to correct some statement that the copyist thought doubtful. That none of these three manuscripts is derived from La is proved by the fact that they all contain a passage (Chap. XIX, 4-6) which

¹ A variation of this pedigree has already been quoted in p. xxiv.

² Allowing for the fact that this last has been only occasionally used.

the writer of La has omitted by mistake. There is, however, more agreement with La to be found in Lp than in the other two manuscripts.

The arrangement of the chapters in La is confused by the accidental combination of a portion of Chap. XLVIII with a portion of Chap. L, while Chap. XLIX, omitted in its proper place, has been subsequently added at the end of the work. In Lp Chap. XLIX follows Chap. LIII, and, Chaps. L and LV being omitted, the full number of a hundred chapters is obtained by repeating Chaps. XLIX and C at the end of the work. As this confusion in Lp occurs in the same portion of the work as that in La, though it differs somewhat in its details, and as it has been shown above that Lp cannot have been derived from La, it is reasonable to suppose that La and Lp were both derived from some older manuscript, in which some portion of the middle of the work had been omitted or lost, and that the writers of La and Lp adopted different modes of supplying the deficiency from other manuscripts. This confusion does not occur in B29 and J15, which two manuscripts agree in arranging the chapters as they are placed in this volume; they must, therefore, be derived from the original prose Sad Dar through some collateral line of descent, independent of the manuscript in which the confusion originated.

In the metrical Sad Dar nine of the later chapters are scattered about among the earlier ones, thus the 82nd chapter occurs next after the 16th, the 83rd after the 23rd, the 84th after the 24th, the 85th after the 27th, the 86th after the 57th, the 87th after the 58th, the 88th after the 70th, the 89th after the 72nd, and the 90th after the 73rd. And, besides this variation, a chapter about the advantage of daily ceremonies in honour of the guardian spirits follows the 65th chapter, a very long chapter about the season festivals is substituted for the 93rd chapter, and the 100th chapter is omitted.

So far as five of the scattered chapters (85-89) are concerned, the reason for their change of position was probably to bring them into closer connection with other chapters treating of similar subjects; but this explanation will not

apply to the remaining four chapters (82–84, 90). It might be argued that the more methodical arrangement of the five chapters (85–89) favours the supposition that the metrical Sad Dar may be older than the prose one, but, independent of the fact that this argument does not apply to the four other chapters, it is quite as reasonable to suppose that the later editor would endeavour to improve the arrangement of his text, and to remedy whatever he thought defective. The pre-existence of the prose Sad Dar may be fairly assumed on the positive evidence afforded by the statement of the long-metre Sad Dar, mentioned in p. xxxvii, in default of any clear statement by the author of the metrical Sad Dar as to the originality of his work.

Since the above was written, the translator has had an opportunity of examining a Persian text of the prose Sad Dar, written in Persia by Rustam Gustâsp Ardashîr, and completed on the 19th July 1706. In this manuscript, the introductory chapter is practically the same as in La, with a few variations. Thus, the invocation in § 1 is as follows:—‘In the name of the sacred being, administering justice. The beginning of the book Sad Dar; may it be a good gift!’ And § 6 runs as follows:—‘On this occasion I, Bahman, a servant of the religion, *am* confirmed by the book of the môbad of môbads Îrân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, so that every one who reads *it* and orders duty *to be done* brings a reward to the souls of those *persons*.’ The arrangement of the chapters is the same as in the metrical Sad Dar¹, and the text differs from La in many more small details than in B29; it often inserts additional sentences, and is generally more diffuse, without giving more information to the reader. The Avesta of the passage quoted in Chapter XL, 4 is omitted, and only the first three words of that quoted in Chapter XIV, 3 are given. Notwithstanding their numerous variations, the resemblance of Bahman’s text to that of La is too great

¹ As far as the long chapter about the season festivals (see p. xliii), but this is subdivided into six chapters (one for each festival) which conclude the work. The same arrangement also occurs in the Gugarâti translation of the long-metre Sad Dar.

to permit the assumption that they are two different prose versions of Îrân-shâh's metrical Sad Dar. It seems more probable that Bahman merely collated the prose Sad Dar with the metrical version, and made many alterations in the former to bring it into closer correspondence with the latter. This manuscript, therefore, throws no fresh light upon the origin of the prose version in La, but, as it confirms the fact that the Îrân-shâh whose name occurs in the introductory chapter was a son of Yazad-yâr, it raises a doubt whether this was the same person as the Îrân-shâh, son of Malik-shâh (or Mard-shah), who composed the metrical version.

In conclusion, it is desirable to notice that another Persian work exists, similar in form and character to the Sad Dar, but entirely distinct in its details, which is usually called the Sad Dar Bundahis. A complete copy of it is contained in Anquetil's Old Rivâyat in the National Library in Paris, and it is frequently quoted in the Bombay Rivâyat (B29) mentioned in p. xli. In this latter manuscript its name is written صد در بند هوش twenty-five times, صد در بند هوش eighteen times, and صد در بند هُش thrice. And the only plausible reading applicable to all these three forms is Sad Darband-i Hush (or Hûsh), 'the hundred door-bolts of the understanding,' a very possible name for a book. The Sad Dar Bundahis is, therefore, most probably a misnomer.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Acc. for accusative case; A.D. for Anno Domini; Âf. for Âfrîngân; AK for Âsadîn Kâkâ's MS. of Sg.; Aog. for Aogemadaêâ, ed. Geiger; app. for appendix; Ar. for Arabic; AV. for the Book of Arzâ-Vîrâf, ed. Hôshangji and Haug; Av. for Avesta; A.Y. for Anno Yazdagardi; B29 for Persian Rivâyat MS. No. 29 of the Bombay University Library; Bd. and Byt. for Bundahis and Bahman Yast, as translated in vol. v of this series; BM. for No. 22,378 additional Oriental MS. in the British Museum; Chap. for chapter; Dan. for Daniel; Dd. for Dâzistân-i Dînîk, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Deut. for Deuteronomy; ed. for edition or edited by; Ep. for Epistles of Mânusêihar, as translated in vol. xviii of this series; Ex. for Exodus; Eze. for Ezekiel; fol. for folio; Gen. for Genesis; Gesch. Pers. Sas. for Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden; Gôt. gel. Anz. for Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen; Haug's Essays for Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis, by M. Haug, 2nd ed.; Heb. for Hebrew; Hn. for Hâzôkht Nask, as published with AV.; Huz. for Huzvâris; introd. for introduction; Is. for Isaiah; J15 for Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji's MS. No. 15 of Sd.; JE for Jamshêdji Edalji's MS. of Sg.; JJ for Jamshêdji Jâmâspji's MS. of Sg.; Jos. for Joshua; J. R. A. S. for Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; K22, K23, K28, K43 for Iranian MSS. Nos. 22, 23, 28, 43 in the University Library at Copenhagen; L15, L19, L23, L26 for Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. Nos. 15, 19, 23, 26 in the India Office Library in London; La, Lp for Persian MSS. Nos. 3043 and 2506 in the same library; Mat. for Matthew; MH7, MH10, MH19 for MSS. Nos. 7, 10, 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library in Munich; Mkh. for Maînôg-i Khirad, as translated in this volume; MS. for manuscript; n. for foot-note; Na. for Nahum; Nêr. for Nêryôsang; Num. for Numbers; Ost. Kul. for Ostîrânische Kultur im Altertum, von W. Geiger; p. for page; PA10 for MS. No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library in Paris; Pahl. for Pahlavi; Pâz. for Pâzand; PB3, PB6 for MSS. Nos. 3, 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the National Library at Paris; Pers. for Persian; Ps. for Psalms; R. for Mr. Romer's polyglot MS. of Sg. (see p. 116); Rev. for Revela-

tion; Rom. for Romans; Sam. for Samuel; Sans. for Sanskrit; Sd. for Sad Dar, as translated in this volume; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr, as translated in this volume; Sîr. for Sîrôzah; Sls. for Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, as translated in vol. v of this series; Syr. for Syriac; TD₂ for Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji's MS. of Pahl. Mkh.; Vend. for Vendîdâd; vol. for volume; Yas. for Yasna; Yt. for Yast; Zarat. for Zaratûst; Zor. Stud. for Zoroastrische Studien, von Windischmann.

DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD,

OR

OPINIONS

OF THE

SPIRIT OF WISDOM.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into chapters corresponds with the beginnings of the questions, and the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2. Italics are used for any English words that are not expressed, or fully understood, in the original text, but are added to complete the sense of the translation.

3. Italics occurring in Oriental words, or names, represent certain peculiar Oriental letters (see the 'Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets' at the end of this volume). The italic *d*, *l*, *n*, *r*, *v* may be pronounced as in English; but *g* should be sounded like *j*, *hv* like *wh*, *k* like *ch* in 'church,' *s* like *sh*, and *z* like French *j*.

4. In Pahlavi words the only vowels expressed in the original text are those circumflexed, initial *a*, and the letter *ô*; italic *d* is written like *t*, *r* and *l* like *n* or the Avesta *o*, *v* and *z* like *g*, and *zd* like *â* in the Pahlavi character.

5. In the translation, words in parentheses are merely explanatory of those which precede them.

6. For the meanings of the abbreviations used in the notes, see the end of the Introduction.

7. The manuscripts mentioned are:—

K43 (written A. D. 1569) Pahlavi, No. 43 in the University Library at Kopenhagen; upon the text of which, so far as it extends, this translation is based.

L19 (written A. D. 1520) Pâz.-Sans., No. 19 in the India Office Library at London.

MH7 (written A. D. 1809) Pârsî-Pers., No. 7 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich.

MH10, a Persian Rivâyat, No. 10 of the same Collection.

PA10 (written A. D. 1649) Pâz.-Sans., No. 10 of the Anquetil Collection in the National Library at Paris.

PB6, Pâz.-Sans., No. 6 of the Burnouf Collection in the same library.

TD2, Pahlavi, belonging to Mobad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria at Bombay; upon a copy of which this translation chiefly relies in the passages (XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 and XXXIX, 31-XL, 17) missing from K43.



DÎNÂ-Î MAÎNÔG-Î KHIRAD.

THROUGH the name and power and assistance of the creator Aûharmazd, the archangels *who are* good rulers and good performers, and all the angels of the spiritual and the angels of the worldly *existences*, by a happy dispensation (dahisn) and well-omened we write the Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom through the will of the sacred beings¹.

CHAPTER I².

[1. In the name and *for* the propitiation of the all-benefiting creator Aûharmazd, (2) of all the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, (3) *and* of the learning of learnings, the Mazda-worshipping

¹ This heading is prefixed to the original Pahlavi text in K43, a facsimile of which was published by Andreas in 1882; as, however, the text which follows it, in that codex, begins in the middle of Chap. I, 28, this heading must have been composed by some copyist, after the first folio of the text had been lost from some previous copy. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the name he gives to the work, 'Opinions (or decisions) of the Spirit of Wisdom,' be the original title, or not; but it is, at any rate, preferable to the modern appellation, 'the Spirit of Wisdom.' In Pâzand this title is Mainyô-i Khard; but regarding the Pahlavi word maînôg, see the Introduction.

² The beginning of this chapter, enclosed in brackets, as far as § 28 (being lost from the Pahlavi text of K43, and no copy of it from TD2 being available) is here taken from the Pâzand version contained in L19. The division into sections, adopted throughout, is that of the alternating Pâz.-Sans. text of Nêryôsang.

religion, (4) forth from which this, *which* is such a source of wisdom, is a selector¹. 5. Through the glory and will of the creator Aûharmazd—who is promoting the prosperity of the two existences²—(6) and of all the greatly powerful angels, (7) and *through* the completely calm repose of the sacred beings, the princely³, purpose-fulfilling sages, (8) presentations of various novelties for the appropriation of wisdom, (9) through largely acquiring reasoning thought⁴, are most wholesome for the body and soul *in* the two existences.

10. As in the pure marvel of marvels, the unquestionable and well-betokened good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, by the words of the creator, Aûharmazd, and Zaratûst the Spîtamân⁵, it is in

¹ That is, this work is a selection of wisdom from the religion. The Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*, 'from it,' which is identical in form with Pahl. *afas*, the correct equivalent of Pâz. *vas*.

² This world and the next.

³ The angels are here compared to the *vâspûharakân*, the highest class of Sasanian nobles, called *barbêtân*, 'sons of the house,' in Huzvârîs (see Nöldeke's *Gesch. Pers. Sas.* pp. 71, 501). As these nobles ranked next to the royal house, so do the archangels and angels rank next to Aûharmazd. The title *vâspûhar* is evidently connected with the ancient Pers. equivalent of Av. *vîsô* *puthra*, 'son of the village or town,' which, as Darmesteter points out (*Études Iraniennes*, II, p. 140), is used in Vend. VII, 114 as the title of a person who has to pay the same medical fees as the *zantu-paiti*, 'tribe-ruler,' mentioned in the earlier § 108, and who must, therefore, have been a man of equal rank.

⁴ Reading *vîrmat*, both here and in § 13, instead of the Pâz. *nîrmað*, which is a misreading of the same letters.

⁵ Av. Zarathustra Spitama, the great apostle of the Mazda-worshippers, whose conversations with Ahura Mazda (Pahl. Aûharmazd) constitute a considerable portion of the Avesta, or scripture of the Mazda-worshippers.

many places decided, (11) that he, who is the all-good creator, created these creatures through wisdom, (12) and his maintenance of the invisible revolutions¹ is through wisdom; (13) and the imperishable and undisturbed *state*, in that which is immortality *for* ever and everlasting, he reserves for himself by means of the most deliberative² means of wisdom. 14. For the same reason *it* is declared, (15) that *there* was a sage who said, (16) that 'if this be known, that the religion of the sacred beings (*yazdân*) is truth, and *its* law is virtue, and *it* is desirous of welfare and compassionate as regards the creatures, (17) wherefore are *there* mostly many sects, many beliefs, and many original evolutions³ of mankind? 18. And, especially, that which is a sect, law, and belief, causing harm to the property (*khêl*) of the sacred beings⁴, and is not good? 19, 20⁵. And this, too, *one has* to consider, that, in order to become a chooser in this matter, trouble is to be undergone; (21) and it is necessary to become acquainted with this matter, (22) because, in the end, the body is mingled with the dust, and reliance is on the soul. 23. And every one is to undergo trouble for the soul, (24) and is to become acquainted with duty and good works; (25) because that good work which a man does unwittingly is little of a good work, (26) and that sin which a man

¹ Of the spheres, or firmaments, which are supposed to carry along the heavenly bodies.

² Reading *vîrmat-hômandtûm*.

³ Reading *bûn gast* (see Sg. IV, 73 n).

⁴ It may be questioned whether this allusion to a heterodox religion injuring the property of the orthodox faith is sufficient to identify the former with Muhammadanism.

⁵ These two sections are improperly separated by *Nêryôsang*.

commits unwittingly amounts to a sin in *its* origin¹. 27. And *it* is declared by the Avesta² (28) thus:]
³“Nothing *was* taken by him by whom the soul *was* not taken (29) hitherto, and he takes nothing who does not take the soul (30) henceforward likewise⁴; (31) because the spiritual and worldly *existences* are such-like as⁵ two strongholds, (32) one *it* is declared certain that they shall capture, and one it is not possible to capture.”’

33. After *being* replete *with* those good actions *of*⁶ which *it* is declared certain that it is not possible to capture, (34) and when he⁷ surveyed the incitement for this, (35) he started forth (*fravaftō*), in search of wisdom, into the various countries and various districts of this world; (36) and of the many⁸ religions and beliefs of those people who are superior in their wisdom he thought and enquired, and he investigated and came upon *their* origin⁹. 37. And when he saw that they are so mutually afflicting (*hanbêshin*) and inimical among

¹ The original text was, no doubt, *vinâs pavan bûn va/ yehe-vûnêd*, which would be *gunâh pa bun ô bahôd* in Pâzand; but L19 has omitted the *p* in *pa*, and Nêr. has mistaken the preposition *va/* for the pronoun *valman*, which blunders have misled the writers of later MSS. into a variety of inconsistent readings.

² The sacred literature of the Parsis in its original language.

³ The extant Pahlavi text of K43 commences at this point.

⁴ By this division of §§ 28–30 Nêr. found himself compelled to add another Sanskrit clause in explanation, which would have been unnecessary if he had separated them as here pointed.

⁵ K43 omits ‘as.’

⁶ L19 has ‘after those good actions of a store.’

⁷ The sage mentioned in § 15.

⁸ L19 has ‘every.’

⁹ L19 omits ‘origin,’ having merely *vagôst*, ‘investigated,’ instead of *bun gûstō*, ‘investigated the origin.’

one another, (38) he then knew that these religions and beliefs and diverse customs, which are so mutually afflicting among one another in this world, are not worthy to be from the appointment of the sacred beings; (39) because the religion of the sacred beings is truth, and *its* law is virtue. 40. And through this he became without doubt that, *as to* whatever¹ is not in this pure religion, *there* is then doubtfulness for them in everything, (41) and in every cause they see distraction.

42. After that he became more diligent in the enquiry and practice of religion; (43) and he enquired of the high-priests who have become wiser in² this religion and more acquainted *with* the religion, (44) thus: 'For the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul what thing³ is good and more perfect?'

45. And they [spoke⁴], through the statement [from revelation, (46) thus: 'Of the⁵ benefit which happens to men] wisdom is good; (47) because it is possible to manage the worldly *existence* through wisdom⁶, (48) and it is possible to provide also the spiritual *existence* for oneself through the power of wisdom. 49. And this, too, is declared, that Aûhar-mazd has produced these creatures and creation, which are in the worldly *existence*, through innate

¹ L19 has 'every one who,' having read koîâ mûn instead of koîâ maman. The meaning, however, is that all details of foreign faiths that are not found in the Mazda-worshipping religion are doubtful.

² K43 has 'of,' by omitting pavan, 'in.'

³ L19 has 'what one thing.'

⁴ K43 omits the words in brackets, by mistake.

⁵ Sans. has 'this.'

⁶ L19 has 'through the power of wisdom.'

wisdom¹; (50) and the management of the worldly and spiritual *existences* is also through wisdom.'

51. And when, in that manner, he saw the great advantage and preciousness of wisdom, he became more thankful unto Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels of² the spirit of wisdom; (52) and he took³ the spirit of wisdom as a protection. 53. For the spirit of wisdom *one* is to perform more homage and service than *for* the remaining archangels. 54. And this, too, he knew, that it is possible to do for oneself every duty and good work and proper action through the power of wisdom; (55) and it is necessary to be diligent for the satisfaction of the spirit of wisdom. 56. And, thenceforward, he became more diligent in performing⁴ the ceremonial of the spirit of wisdom.

57. After that the spirit of wisdom, on account of the thoughts and wishes of that sage, displayed *his* person unto him. 58. And he spoke to him (59) thus: 'O friend *and* glorifier! good from perfect righteousness! (60) seek advancement from me, the spirit of wisdom, (61) that I may become thy guide to the satisfaction of the sacred beings and

¹ The âsnô khiraðô (Av. âsnô khratus) is 'the durable or innate wisdom' supposed to be implanted in one's nature, as distinguished from the Av. gaoshô-srûtô khratus, 'the ear-heard or acquired wisdom,' obtained by experience.

² That is, 'produced by' this spirit, as mentioned in § 49 regarding the world, and here extended to the archangels. L19 omits the particle î, so as to convert this spirit into the wisdom of Aûharmazd and the archangels. It is very probable, however, that we ought to read 'and the spirit of wisdom.'

³ L19 has 'made;,' these two verbs being written alike in Huzvâris.

⁴ L19 has 'to perform,' by omitting 'in.'

the good¹, and *to* the maintenance of the body in the worldly *existence* and the preservation of the soul in the spiritual *one*.'

CHAPTER II.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is it possible to seek the maintenance and prosperity of the body [without injury of the soul, and the preservation of the soul without injury of the body²]?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Him who is less than thee consider as an equal, and an equal as a superior, (5) and a greater than him as a chieftain³, and a chieftain as a ruler. 6. And among rulers *one* is to be acquiescent, obedient, and true-speaking; (7) *and* among accusers⁴ be submissive, mild, and kindly regardful.

8. 'Commit no slander; (9) so that infamy and wickedness *may* not happen unto thee. 10. For it is said (11) that slander is more grievous than witchcraft; (12) and in hell the rush of every fiend⁵ is to the front, *but* the rush of the fiend of slander, on account of the grievous sinfulness, is to the rear.

13. 'Form no covetous desire; (14) so that the

¹ Meaning, specially, the priests.

² The passage in brackets is omitted by K43, and is here supplied from L19.

³ In L19 the text is corrupt, but has nearly the same meaning.

⁴ L19 has 'associates,' which seems equally appropriate; the two words are much alike in Pahlavi writing.

⁵ The word *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually supposed to mean a female demon, and is often understood so in the Avesta, perhaps because it is a feminine noun. It is usually an impersonation of some evil passion (see Chap. XLI, 11).

demon of greediness *may* not deceive thee, (15) and the treasure of the world *may* not be tasteless to thee, and that of the spirit unperceived.

16. 'Indulge in no wrathfulness; (17) for a man, when he indulges in wrath, becomes then forgetful of his duty and good works, of prayer and the service of the sacred beings, (18) and sin and crime of every kind occur unto his mind, and¹ until the subsiding of the wrath (19) he² is said *to be* just like Aharman³.

20. 'Suffer no anxiety; (21) for he who is a sufferer of anxiety becomes regardless of enjoyment of the world and the spirit, (22) and contraction happens to his body and soul.

23. 'Commit no lustfulness; (24) so that harm and regret *may* not reach thee from thine own actions.

25. 'Bear no improper envy; (26) so that thy life *may* not become tasteless.

27. 'Commit no sin on account of [disgrace]⁴; (28) because happiness and adornment⁵, celebrity (khanîdîh) and dominion, skill and suitability are not through the will and action of men, but through the appointment, destiny, and will of the sacred beings.

29. 'Practise no sloth; (30) so that the duty and good work, which it is necessary for thee to do, *may* not remain undone.

31. 'Choose a wife who is of character; (32)

¹ L19 omits 'and.'

² L19 has 'wrath;' making § 19 a separate sentence.

³ The evil spirit, Av. angra mainyu.

⁴ K43 omits 'disgrace,' by mistake.

⁵ L19 omits 'adornment.'

because that *one* is good who in the end is more respected.

33. 'Commit no unseasonable chatter¹; (34) so that grievous distress *may* not happen unto Horvadað and Amerodað, the archangels², through thee.

35. 'Commit no running about uncovered³; (36) so that harm *may* not come upon thy bipeds and quadrupeds, and ruin upon *thy* children.

37. 'Walk not with one boot⁴; (38) so that grievous distress *may* not happen to thy soul.

¹ A free translation of the name of the sin which is usually called drâyân-gûyisnîh, 'eagerness for chattering'; here, however, K₄₃ omits the latter y, so that the name may be read drâyân-gaîsnîh, 'chatteringly devouring,' and a similar phrase is used in AV. XXIII, 6. The sin consists in talking while eating, praying, or at any other time when a murmured prayer (vâg) has been taken inwardly and is not yet spoken out; the protective spell of the prayer being broken by such talking. If the prayer be not taken inwardly when it ought to be, the same sin is incurred (see Sls. V, 2, Dd. LXXIX, 8).

² Instead of amahrâspend, 'the archangel,' L₁₉ has Mâr-spend, the angel of the 'righteous liturgy;' but this is probably a misreading, due to the fact that, when the chattering interrupts prayer, the angel of the liturgy would be as much distressed as the archangels Horvadað and Amerodað, who protect water and vegetation (see Sls. XV, 25-29), would be when it interrupts eating and drinking. These archangels are personifications of Av. haurvatâð, 'completeness or health,' and ameretâð, 'immortality.'

³ That is, moving about without being girded with the Kustî or sacred thread-girdle, which must not be separated from the skin by more than one thin garment, the sacred shirt (see Sls. IV, 7, 8).

⁴ We should probably read 'without a boot,' as aê-mûkō and amûkō are much alike in Pahlavi; otherwise we must suppose that walking with only a single covering for the feet, and without outer boots, is meant. At any rate, walking or standing on unconsecrated ground with bare feet is a serious sin for a Parsi, on account of the risk of pollution (see Sls. IV, 12, X, 12).

39. 'Perform no discharge of urine (pêšâr-vâr) *standing* on foot¹; (40) so that thou mayst not become a captive by a habit of the demons, (41) and the demons may not drag thee to hell on account of that sin.

42. 'Thou shouldst be (yehevûnes) diligent and moderate, (43) and eat of thine own regular industry, (44) and provide the share of the sacred beings and the good; (45) and, thus, the practice of this, in thy occupation, is the greatest good work.

46. 'Do not extort from the wealth of others; (47) so that thine own regular industry *may* not become unheeded. 48. For it is said (49) that: "He who eats anything, not from his own regular industry, but from another, is such-like as *one* who holds a human head in *his* hand, and eats human brains."

50. 'Thou shouldst be an abstainer from the wives of others; (51) because all these three would become disregarded by thee, alike wealth, alike² body, and alike² soul.

52. 'With enemies fight with equity. 53. With a friend proceed with the approval of friends. 54. With a malicious³ man carry on no conflict, (55) and do not molest him in any way whatever. 56. With a greedy man thou shouldst not be a partner, (57) and do not trust him with the leadership. 58. With

¹ Whereby an unnecessary space of ground is polluted; hence the sin.

² K43 has hômanam, 'I am,' the Huzvâris of am, used by mistake for ham, 'alike,' which is written exactly like am in Pahlavi.

³ K43 has kîkvar, instead of kênvar, but this is doubtless a miswriting.

a slanderous man do not go to the door of kings. 59. With an ill-famed man form no connection. 60. With an ignorant man thou shouldst not become a confederate and associate. 61. With a foolish man make no dispute. 62. With a drunken man do not walk on the road. 63. From an ill-natured man take no loan.

64. 'In thanksgiving unto the sacred beings, and worship, praise, ceremonies, invocation, and performing the learning of knowledge thou shouldst be energetic and life-expending. 65. For it is said (66) that: "In aid of the contingencies (*gahisnō*)¹ among men wisdom is good; (67) in seeking renown and preserving the soul liberality is good; (68) in the advancement of business and justice complete mindfulness is good; (69) and in the statements of those who confess (*khūstivân*)², with a bearing on the custom of the law³, truth is good. 70. In the progress of business energy is good, (71) for⁴ every one to become confident therein steadfastness is good, (72) and for the coming of benefit thereto thankfulness is good. 73. In keeping oneself untroubled (*anaṭrang*)⁵ the discreet speaking which is in the path of⁶ truth is good; (74) and in keeping away the disturbance of the destroyer⁷ from oneself employment is good. 75.

¹ L19 has *zahisn*, 'issue, proceedings.'

² L19 has read *aṭstikân*, 'the steadfast,' by mistake.

³ Reading *dâđō-khûk-barisnōihâ*. L19 has 'conveying intercession (*gâdaṅgô=dâđō-gôk*);' this small difference in reading may be a clerical error in K43. The Sans. version omits the phrase altogether.

⁴ L19 omits *pavan*, 'for.'

⁵ Nêr. has 'unblemished.'

⁶ L19 omits 'path of;' and it may possibly be superfluous.

⁷ Or it may be 'the destroyer and adversary,' as in L19; the last word being defective in K43.

Before rulers and kings discreet speaking is good, and in¹ an assembly good recital; (76) among friends repose and rational friends² are good; (77) and with an associate to one's own deeds the giving of advantage (sûkō) is good. 78. Among those greater than one (agas masân) mildness and humility are good, (79) and among those less than one flattery³ and civility are good. 80. Among doers of deeds speaking of thanks and performance of generosity are good; (81) and among those of the same race the formation of friendship (hûmânōh)⁴ is good. 82. For bodily health moderate eating and keeping the body in action are good; (83) and among the skilled in thanksgiving performance is good. 84. Among chieftains unanimity and seeking advantage are good; (85) among those in unison and servants good behaviour and an exhibition of awe are good; (86) and for having little trouble in oneself contentment is good. 87. In chieftainship to understand thoroughly the good in *their* goodness and the vile in *their* vileness is good; *and* to make the vile unseen, through retribution⁵, is good. 88. In every place and time to restrain oneself from sin and to be diligent in meritorious work are good; (89) and every day to consider *and* keep in remembrance Aûharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness, is good. 90. *And* for dishonour not to come unto one a knowledge of oneself is good." 91. All these are proper

¹ L19 omits pavan, 'in.'

² L19 has 'friendship.'

³ Or 'adaptation.'

⁴ L19 has humatî, 'good intention.'

⁵ L19 has 'to cause the reward of the good and the punishment of the vile.'

and true and of the same description, (92) but occupation and guarding the tongue (pâd-hûzvânîh)¹ above everything.

93. 'Abstain far from the service of idols² and demon-worship. 94. Because *it* is declared (95) that: "If Kaî-Khûsrôî³ should not have extirpated the idol-temples (aûgdês-kâr) which *were* on the lake of Kêkast⁴, then in these three millenniums of Hûshêdar, Hûshêdar-mâh, and Sôshâns⁵—of whom one of them comes separately at the end of each millennium, who arranges again all⁶ the affairs of the world, and utterly destroys the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm—the adversary⁷ would have become so much more violent, that it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence."

96. 'In forming a store⁸ of good works thou

¹ L19 has 'preserving pure language.'

² More correctly 'temple-worship,' as aûgdês means 'an erection.'

³ Av. Kavi Husravangh, the third of the Kayân kings, who reigned sixty years, and was the grandson of his predecessor, Kâî-Ûs, and son of Sîyâvakhsh (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7).

⁴ The present Lake Urumiyah according to Bd. XXII, 2. This feat of Kaî-Khûsrôî is also mentioned in Bd. XVII, 7, and his exploits in the same neighbourhood are stated in Âbân Yt. 49, 50, Gôs Yt. 18, 21, 22, Ashi Yt. 38, 41, 42; but it is possible that the Avesta name, Kêkastâ, may have been transferred to Lake Urumiyah in later times.

⁵ The three future apostles who are supposed to be sons of Zaratûst, whose births have been deferred till later times (see Bd. XXXII, 8). Their Avesta names are Ukhshyad-ereta, Ukhshyad-nemangh, and Saoshyâs.

⁶ L19 omits 'all.'

⁷ The evil spirit.

⁸ L19 has 'in always doing;' having read hamvâr, 'always,' instead of ambâr, 'a store.'

shouldst be diligent, (97) so that it *may* come to *thy*¹ assistance among the spirits.

98. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through any happiness of the world; (99) for the happiness of the world is such-like as a cloud that comes on a rainy day, which one does not ward off by any hill.

100. 'Thou shouldst not be *too* much arranging the world; (101) for the world-arranging man becomes spirit-destroying.

102. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through much treasure and wealth; (103) for in the end it is necessary for thee to leave all.

104. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through predominance; (105) for in the end it is necessary for thee to become non-predominant.

106. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through respect and reverence; (107) for respectfulness does not assist in the spiritual *existence*.

108. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through great connections and race; (109) for in the end *thy*² trust is on thine own deeds.

110. 'Thou shouldst not become presumptuous through life; (111) for death comes upon thee³ *at* last, (112) the dog and the bird lacerate the corpse⁴, (113) and the perishable *part* (*segīnakō*)⁵ falls to the ground. 114. During three days⁶ and nights

¹ K43 omits 'thy.'

² L19 omits 'thy.'

³ L19 omits 'thee.'

⁴ Referring to the mode of disposing of the dead adopted by the Parsis (see Sls. II, 6n, Dd. XV, 5, XVII, 17, XVIII, 2-4).

⁵ L19 has *ast*, 'bone.'

⁶ Including the day of death. The fate of the soul after death, as detailed in §§ 114-194, is also described in Vend. XIX, 90-112, Hn. II, III, Aog. 8-19, AV. IV-XI, XVII.

the soul sits at the crown of the head of the body¹. 115. And the fourth day, in the light of dawn—with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous, Vâê the good, and Vâhrâm the strong², the opposition of Astô-vîdâd³, Vâê the bad⁴, Frazîstô the demon, and Nizîstô the demon⁵, and the evil-designing action of Aeshm⁶, the evil-doer, the impetuous assailant—

¹ Reciting a passage from the Gâthas or sacred hymns (see Hn. II, 4, 5, III, 3, 4, AV. IV, 9-11, XVII, 6, 7).

² These three angels are personifications of Av. sraosha, 'listening, obedience,' vaya or vayu, 'the upper air (uncontaminated by the evil spirit),' and verethraghna, 'victorious, triumphant;' the last is more literally 'demon-smiting,' that is, 'smiting Verethra (the demon),' Sans. *vritrahan*.

³ Av. Astô-vîdhôtu, 'the bone-dislocator,' or demon of death who binds the parting soul (see Vend. V, 25, 31); in later writings, such as the Book of Dâdâr bin Dâd-dukht, he is said to throw a noose over the neck of the soul to drag it to hell, but if its good works have exceeded its sins, it throws off the noose and goes to heaven; and this noose is also mentioned in Bd. III, 22, Dd. XXIII, 3. In Bd. XXVIII, 35 this demon is said to be the same as the bad Vâê, but all other authorities consider them as distinct beings. It may be noted that a different demon of death is usually mentioned when the soul is wicked (see § 161).

⁴ Av. vaya or vayu, 'the lower air (vitiated by the evil spirit).' Just as the wind (*vâd*) may be either an angel or a demon, according as its strength makes it a refreshing breeze or a violent hurricane, so may the air be a good or evil being, according as it retains its original purity or has been vitiated by the evil spirit. That the angel Vâê is the upper air appears from its epithet uparô-kairya, 'working aloft,' in the Râm Yt.; and that it is only the lower air that is vitiated by the evil spirit is in accordance with the division of the sky into three thirds, of which the uppermost is inaccessible to the evil spirit (see Dd. XXXVII, 24-31). But this distinction between a good and bad Vâê is not made in Vend. V, 25, 31, where we are told that Vayô conveys the soul when bound by Astô-vîdhôtu.

⁵ These two demons have not been recognised elsewhere.

⁶ The demon of wrath, Av. Aêshmô daêva, appears to be the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit.

[it goes]¹ up to the awful, lofty *Kīndvar*² bridge, to which every one, righteous and wicked, is coming³. 116. And many opponents have watched there, (117) with the desire of evil of Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, and of *Astô-vtdâd* who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety, (118) and the mediation of *Mitrô*⁴ and *Srôsh* and *Rashnû*, (119) and the weighing of *Rashnû*, the just, (120) with the balance⁵ of the spirits, which renders no favour (*hû-girâi*) on any side⁶, neither for the righteous nor yet the wicked, neither for the lords nor yet the monarchs. 121. As much as a hair's breadth it will not turn, and has no partiality; (122) and he who is a lord and monarch⁷ it considers equally, in *its* decision, with him who is the least of mankind.

123. 'And when a soul of the righteous passes upon that bridge, the width of the bridge becomes as it were a league (*parasang*)⁸, (124) and the

¹ K43 omits this verb.

² Or, perhaps, *Kīngvar*, a partial translation of Av. *Kīnvad* (*gv* being a mispronunciation of *v* or *w*, as in *gvâd* for *vâd*, 'wind;' and Pers. *var* translating Av. *vad*). The Pâzand writers have *Kandôr*. It is the bridge of ever-varying breadth which leads to heaven (see Vend. XIX, 100, 101, AV. III, 1, IV, 7, V, 1, 2, XVII, 1, Bd. XII, 7, Dd. XX, XXI), but it is not mentioned in Hn.

³ Literally, 'is a comer.'

⁴ The angel of the sun's light; being a personification of friendship and good faith he is specially concerned in calling the soul to account (see Dd. XIV, 3).

⁵ In which the actions of men are weighed by *Rashnû*, the angel of justice, to ascertain whether the good or the evil preponderate.

⁶ L19 has 'who makes no unjust balance of the spirits on either side.'

⁷ K43 adds *rad*, 'master,' but this is evidently an abortive beginning of the next word, *levatman*, which has been left unerased.

⁸ Nine spears (about 126 English feet) in AV. V, 1, Dd. XXI, 5.

righteous soul passes over with the co-operation of Srôsh the righteous. 125. And his own deeds of a virtuous kind¹ come to meet him in the form of a maiden, (126) who is handsomer and better than every maiden in the world.

127. 'And the righteous soul speaks (128) thus: "Who mayst thou be², that a maiden who is handsomer and better than thee *was* never seen by me in the worldly *existence*?"

129. 'In reply that maiden form responds (130) thus: "I am no maiden, but I am thy virtuous deeds, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion! 131. For when thou sawest in the world *him* who performed demon-worship, then thou hast sat down, and thy performance *was* the worship of the sacred beings. 132. And when *it was* seen by thee that *there was* any one who caused oppression and plunder, and distressed *or* scorned a good person, and acquired wealth by crime, then thou keptest back from the creatures their own *risk of* oppression and plunder; (133) the good person *was* also thought of by thee, and lodging and entertainment provided; and alms *were* given by thee *to him* (134) who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar; and wealth which *was* due to honesty *was* acquired by thee. 135. And when thou sawest *him* who practised

The parasang is probably used here as an equivalent for Av. hâthra, 'a mile.'

¹ L19 has 'his own virtuous deeds.' The conscience of the soul meets it in the form of a damsel, beautiful in proportion to the goodness of its deeds. In AV. IV, 18-36, Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5 the conscience meets the soul before it attempts the bridge.

² More literally, 'what may be thou?' as the verb is in the third person here, though not so in the similar phrase in § 169.

false justice and taking of bribes, and false evidence *was* given by him, then thou hast sat down, and the recitation of truth and virtue¹ *was* uttered by thee. 136. I am this of thine, the good thoughts, the good words, and the good deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 137. For when I have become commendable, I am then made altogether more commendable by thee; (138) when I have become precious, I am then made altogether still more precious by thee; (139) and when I have become glorious, I am then made altogether² still more glorious by thee."

140. 'And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. 141. The soul of the righteous enquires of Srôsh (142) thus: "What breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?"

143. 'Then Srôsh, the righteous, replies to that righteous soul (144) thus: "This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant."

145. 'Afterwards, on *his* march, the first step is set³ on *the place of* good thoughts, the second on *that of* good words, the third on *that of* good deeds⁴, (146) and the fourth step reaches up unto the endless light⁵ which is all-radiant. 147. And angels

¹ Meaning probably the recitation of the Avesta texts.

² K43 omits *barâ*, 'quite, altogether,' in this third clause.

³ L19 has 'afterwards, he rests the first step;' but *awar ârâ-med*, 'he rests,' is a misreading of *madam khârâm dâd*, 'on the march is set.'

⁴ These are the three lowermost grades of heaven, *hûmat*, *hûkht*, and *hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 12).

⁵ The highest grade of heaven, where *Aûharmazd* and the angels are supposed to dwell (see Chap. VII, 11).

and archangels of every description come to meet him, (148) and ask tidings from him (149) thus: "How hast thou come, from that which is a perishable, fearful, *and* very miserable existence, to this which is an imperishable existence that is undisturbed, *thou* youth who *art* well-thinking, well-speaking, well-doing, *and* of good religion?"

150. 'Then Aûharmazd, the lord, speaks (151) thus: "Ask ye from him no tidings; for *he has* parted from that which *was* a precious body, and has come by that which is a fearful road. 152. And bring ye unto him the most agreeable of eatables, that which is the midspring butter¹, (153) so that he *may* rest his soul from that bridge of the three nights, unto which he came from Astô-vidâd and the remaining demons²; (154) and seat him upon an all-embellished throne."

155. 'As *it is* declared (156) that: "Unto³ the righteous man⁴ and woman, after passing away⁵, they bring food⁶ of the most agreeable of eatables—

¹ The Maidhyô-zarm rôghan, which is explained in Dd. XXXI, 14 as the spiritual representative of butter made during the Maidhyô-zaremaya, 'mid-verdure,' festival, which was considered the best of the year. This festival is held on the forty-fifth day of the Parsi year, which was about 4th May when the year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox as described in Bd. XXV, 3-7, 20. The heavenly food which goes by this name is not to be confounded with the Hûsh which is expected to be prepared at the resurrection, from the fat of the ox Hadhayôš and the white Hôm, for the purpose of making mankind immortal (see Bd. XXX, 25); although some such confusion appears to exist in AV. X, 5. K43 has rûbân, 'soul,' instead of rôghan, 'butter.'

² See §§ 114-123.

³ K43 omits 'unto.'

⁴ Literally, 'male.'

⁵ L19 adds 'from the body and consciousness.'

⁶ Reading kazag, instead of kazad, both here and in the next clause of the sentence. L19 has 'the angels of the spiritual exist-

the food of the angels of the spiritual *existences*—that which is the midspring butter¹; and they seat them down on an all-embellished throne. 157. For ever and everlasting they remain in all glory with the angels of the spiritual *existences* everlastingly.”

158. ‘And when he who is wicked dies, his soul then rushes *about for* three days and nights in the vicinity of the head of that wicked *one*, and sobs² (159) thus: “Whither do I go, and now what do I make³ as a refuge?” 160. And the sin and crime of every kind, that *were* committed by him in the worldly *existence*, he sees with *his* eyes in those three days and nights. 161. The fourth day Vîzaresh⁴, the demon, comes and binds the soul of the wicked with the very evil noose⁵; (162) and with the opposition of Srôsh, the righteous, he leads *it* up to the Kîndvar bridge⁶. 163. Then Rashnû⁷, the just, detects that soul of the wicked through *its* wickedness.

164. ‘Afterwards, Vîzaresh, the demon, takes that

ences bring the most agreeable of eatables,’ by omitting the first kazag, and misreading the second one.

¹ K43 has rûbân again, as in § 152, for rôghan. Although this sentence resembles Hn. II, 38, 39, it is evidently quoted from some other source, as its difference is more striking than its resemblance.

² This verb is Huz. bekhûnêd=Pâz. giryêd, but Nêr. has read bângînêd, ‘laments,’ and has written vâgined.

³ Or it may be ‘take,’ as these two verbs are written alike in Huzvâris. This exclamation is a quotation from the Gâthas or sacred hymns, being the first line of Yas. XLV, 1.

⁴ The Av. Vîzaresha of Vend. XIX, 94, who carries off the souls of the wicked; he is also mentioned in Bd. XXVIII, 18, Dd. XXXII, 4, 7, XXXVII, 44.

⁵ Reading saryâtar sû/an. L19 has vad band, ‘an evil tie.’

⁶ See § 115.

⁷ See §§ 119, 120.

soul of the wicked, and mercilessly and maliciously beats *and* maltreats *it*. 165. And that soul of the wicked weeps with a loud voice, is fundamentally horrified¹, implores with many supplicating² entreaties, and makes many struggles for life disconnectedly³. 166. Whom⁴—when his struggling and supplication are of no avail whatever, and no one comes to his assistance from the divinities (bagân)⁵, nor yet from the demons—moreover, Vîzaresh, the demon, drags miserably⁶ to the inevitable⁷ hell.

167. 'And then a maiden who is not like unto maidens comes to meet him. 168. And that soul of the wicked speaks to that evil maiden (169) thus: "Who mayst thou be, that never in the worldly *existence* was an evil maiden seen by me, who *was* viler and more hideous than thee?"

170. 'And she⁸ speaks in reply to him (171) thus: "I *am* not a maiden, but I am thy deeds⁹, *thou* monster who *art* evil-thinking, evil-speaking, evil-doing, *and* of evil religion! 172. For even when thou sawest¹⁰ *him* who performed the worship of the sacred beings, still then thou hast sat down, and demon-worship *was* performed by thee, (173) and the demons and fiends *were* served. 174. And also when thou sawest *him* who provided lodging and

¹ Instead of burz-vângîhâ bekhûnêd, bun râmêd, L19 has burzâvandîhâ vâgîned u vârâmêd, 'loudly shrieks and weeps.'

² Reading lâpakö-karîhâ.

³ Instead of apadvandîhâ, L19 has apatûihâ, 'fruitlessly.'

⁴ L19 has 'and.'

⁵ L19 has vehâ, 'the good.'

⁶ Instead of âk-hômandîhâ, L19 has anaomediâ, 'hopelessly.'

⁷ Reading nagirz, but this is uncertain; L19 has azer, 'lower.'

⁸ L19 has 'that evil maiden.'

⁹ L19 has 'evil deeds.'

¹⁰ L19 adds 'in the world.'

entertainment, and gave alms, *for* a good person who came forth from near and *him*, too, who *was* from afar¹, (175) then thou actedst scornfully and disrespectfully *to* the good person, and gave no alms, and even shut up the door. 176. And when thou sawest *him* who practised true justice, took no bribe, gave true evidence, and uttered virtuous recitation, (177) even then thou hast sat down, and false justice *was* practised by thee, evidence *was* given by thee with falsehood, and vicious recitation *was* uttered by thee. 178. I am this of thine, the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil deeds which *were* thought and spoken and done by thee. 179. For when I have become uncommendable, I am then made altogether still more uncommendable by thee; (180) when I have become unrespected, I am then made altogether still more unrespected by thee; (181) and when I have sat in an eye-offending² position, I am then made altogether still more really eye-offending (*kashm-kah-îkêtar-îkê*) by thee."

182. 'Afterwards he enters³, the first step on *the place of* evil thoughts, the second on *that of* evil words, the third step on *that of* evil deeds⁴, (183) and the fourth step rushes into the presence of the

¹ In L19 the words 'near' and 'afar' change places.

² Literally, 'eye-consuming,' the reading adopted by Nêr., but, though it gives a satisfactory meaning, it is not quite certain that it represents the Pahlavi text correctly.

³ For *dên vazlûnêd*, 'he goes in,' L19 has *andar zrôved*, indicating that the first letter, *va*, of *vazlûnêd* had been omitted in the Pahl. MS. used by Nêr., which misled him into reading the remaining letters as a new Pâz. verb *zrôved*, as already remarked by Nöldeke in Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 975.

⁴ These are the three uppermost grades of hell, *dûs-hûmat*, *dûs-hûkht*, and *dûs-hûvarst* (see Chap. VII, 20).

wicked evil spirit and the other demons¹. 184. And the demons make ridicule and mockery of him (185) thus: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aôharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of Aharman and the demons and gloomy hell, (186) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?"

187. 'And the evil spirit shouts to the demons (188) thus: "Ask ye no tidings from him (189) who is parted *from*² that which *was* a precious body, and has come on by that which is a very bad road. 190. But bring ye unto him the foulest and vilest of eatables, the food which is nurtured in hell."

191. 'They bring the poison and venom of³ the snake and scorpion and other noxious creatures that are in hell, (192) and give him to eat. 193. And until the resurrection and future existence he must be in hell, in much misery and punishment of various kinds⁴. 194. Especially that it is possible to eat food there only as though by similitude⁵.'

195. The spirit of innate wisdom spoke to the sage (196) thus: 'This which *was* asked by thee, as to the maintenance of the body *and* concerning the preservation of the soul, is also spoken about by me, and thou art admonished. 197. Be virtuously

¹ In the lowermost grade of hell (see Chap. VII, 21).

² L19 has 'for *he* has parted from,' as in § 151.

³ L19 has 'and.'

⁴ L19 has 'he is in much misery and punishment of kinds worthy of hell.'

⁵ So that starvation is one of the punishments of hell. L19 has 'and especially that the food there can be only like putrid blood.'

assiduous about it, and keep *it* in practice ; (198) for this is thy chief way for the maintenance of the body *and* preservation of the soul.'

CHAPTER III.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is liberality good, or truth¹, (3) or gratitude², or wisdom, (4) or complete mindfulness³, or contentment ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'As to the soul *it is* liberality, as to all the world *it is* truth, (7) unto the sacred beings *it is* gratitude, as to a man's self⁴ *it is* wisdom, (8) as to all business *it is* complete mindfulness, and as to the comfort of the body and the vanquishing of Aharman and the demons contentment is good.'

CHAPTER IV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is a good work *that is* great and good ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The greatest good work is liberality, and the second is truth and next-of-kin marriage⁵. 5. The third is

¹ K43 has 'or thy truth.' ² L19 has 'or is gratitude good.'

³ L19 has 'or is complete mindfulness good.'

⁴ Literally, 'the body of a man.'

⁵ This was the meaning of the term *khvêtûk-das* when this work was written, but some centuries ago such marriages were discontinued, and the term was then confined to marriages between first cousins, as at present (see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xviii, app. III).

keeping the season festivals¹, and the fourth is *celebrating* all the religious rites². 6. The fifth is the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and the providing of lodging for traders³. 7. The sixth is the wishing of happiness for every one. 8. *And* the seventh is a kind regard for the good⁴.

CHAPTER V.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the happier⁵ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the happier, in which a righteous man, who is true-speaking, makes his abode. 5. The second,

¹ Of which there are six, each held for five days. These Gâsân-bârs or Gâhambârs end, respectively, on the 45th, 105th, 180th, 210th, 290th, and 365th days of the Parsi year; and when that year was fixed to begin at the vernal equinox, they celebrated the periods of midspring, midsummer, the beginning of autumn, the beginning of winter, midwinter, and the beginning of spring (see Sl. XVIII, 3). In modern times they have been supposed to commemorate the several creations of the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, and man; but this idea must have been borrowed from a foreign source.

² The periodical ceremonies which are obligatory for all Parsis (see Dd. XLIV, 2 n).

³ Literally, 'for the producers of business.'

⁴ That is, for the priests. The Parsi-Persian version divides these good works into nine items, by counting 'next-of-kin marriage' as the third, and 'providing of lodging' as the seventh. For a fuller detail of good works, see Chap. XXXVII.

⁵ This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 1-20, where it is stated that the five most pleasing spots on the earth are, first, where a righteous man performs ceremonies; second, where he has built his house and keeps his fire, cattle, family, and retainers; third, where the land is best cultivated; fourth, where most oxen and sheep are produced; and fifth, that which is most manured by oxen and sheep.

in which they make the abode of fires. 6. The third, when oxen and sheep repose upon it. 7. The fourth is uncultivated and uninhabited land when they bring *it* back to cultivation and habitableness. 8. The fifth, from which they extirpate the burrows of noxious creatures. 9. The sixth, on which exist the ceremonies and coming of the sacred beings, and the sitting of the good¹. 10. The seventh, when they make populous that which *was* desolate. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the bad it comes into the possession of the good. 12. The ninth, when of the produce and yield (*bêdö*) which arise from it they provide the share of the sacred beings, the good, and the worthy. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they provide holy-water and ceremonies.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which land is the unhappier² ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That land is the more afflicted, in which hell is formed³. 5. The second, when they slay in it a righteous man who is innocent. 6. The third, for whose sake⁴

¹ That is, the ceremonial precinct where the priests sit to conduct the ceremonies.

² This chapter is an imitation of Vend. III, 21-37, where it is stated that the five most unpleasing spots on the earth are, first, the ridge of Azeûra, on which the demons congregate from the pit of the fiend; second, where most dead dogs and men lie buried; third, where most depositories for the dead are constructed; fourth, where there are most burrows of the creatures of the evil spirit; and fifth, where the family of a righteous man is driven into captivity.

³ Bd. III, 27 states that 'hell is in the middle of the earth.'

⁴ Reading *mûn . . . rûnô-î pađas*. Instead of *drûgân rûnô*,

the demons and fiends work. 7. The fourth, in which they construct an idol-temple. 8. The fifth, when a wicked man, who is an evil-doer, makes an abode in it. 9. The sixth, when the interment of a corpse is performed below¹. 10. The seventh, in which a noxious creature has a burrow. 11. The eighth, when from the possession of the good it comes into the possession of the bad. 12. The ninth, when they make desolate that which *was* populous. 13. *And* the tenth, in which they make lamentation and weeping².

CHAPTER VII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is heaven, and how many? 3. How are the ever-stationary (*hamîstân*), and how many? 4. And how is hell, and how many? 5. What is the decision *about* the righteous in heaven, and from what is *their* happiness? 6. What are the misery and affliction of the wicked in hell? 7. And what and how is the decision *about* those who are among the ever-stationary?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'Heaven is, first, from the star station unto the

Nêr. has read *drûg hanrûnô*, and assumed the last word to be equivalent to Av. *handvarena*, 'concourse;' so as to obtain the meaning, 'in which the demons and the fiend form a congress.' But Av. *handvarena* is Pahl. *ham-dûbârisnîh* (see Pahl. Vend. VII, 137).

¹ Or 'when much interment of corpses is performed,' as it is doubtful whether we ought to read *avîr*, 'much,' or *azîr*, 'below.'

² That is, for the dead. Such outward manifestations of mourning being considered sinful by the Parsis, as they ought to be by all unselfish people who believe in a future existence of happiness.

moon station ; (10) second, from the moon station unto the sun ; (11) *and*, third, from the sun station unto the supreme heaven (garôdmânô), whereon the creator Aûharmazd is seated. 12. Of heaven the first *part* is *that of* good thoughts (hûmatô), the second is *that of* good words (hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* good deeds (hûvarstô).

13. 'The righteous in heaven are undecaying and immortal, unalarmed, undistressed, and undisturbed. 14. And, everywhere¹, they are full of glory, fragrant, and joyful, full of delight and full of happiness. 15. And, *at* all times, a fragrant breeze and a scent which is like sweet basil come to meet *them*, which are more pleasant than every pleasure, and more fragrant than every fragrance. 16. For them, also, there is no satiety owing to the existence in heaven. 17. And their sitting and walking, perception and enjoyment are with the angels and archangels and the righteous for ever and everlasting.

18. 'Regarding the ever-stationary *it* is declared, that *they are* from the earth unto the star station ; (19) and its affliction for them is then² nothing whatever except cold and heat.

20. 'Of hell the first *part* is *that of* evil thoughts (dûs-hûmatô), the second is *that of* evil words (dûs-hûkhtô), and the third is *that of* evil deeds

¹ Nêr. has 'at all times,' which may be correct, as gâs means both 'time' and 'place.' It should be noticed, however, that the word used in § 15 is damân, which means 'time' only.

² Nêr. has 'their affliction is otherwise,' by mistaking Huz. adînas-sân, 'then its . . . for them,' for a supposed Pâz. ainâsâ, 'otherwise their,' which seems to have no real existence, as wherever he reads ainâ, 'otherwise,' the Pahl. text has adînas, 'then its.'

(dûs-hûvarstô)¹. 21. *With* the fourth step the wicked person arrives at that which is the darkest hell; (22) and they lead him forwards to the vicinity of Aharman, the wicked. 23. And Aharman and the demons, thereupon, make ridicule and mockery of him (24) thus²: "What was thy trouble and complaint, as regards Aûharmazd and the archangels, and the fragrant and joyful heaven, when thou approachedst for a sight of us and gloomy hell, (25) although we cause thee misery therein and do not pity, and thou shalt see misery of long duration?" 26. And, afterwards, they execute punishment and torment of various kinds upon him.

27. 'There is a place³ where, as to cold, *it* is such as that of the coldest frozen⁴ snow. 28. There is a place where, as to heat, *it* is such as that of the hottest and most blazing fire. 29. There is a place where noxious creatures are gnawing them, just as a dog *does* the bones. 30. There is a place where, as to stench, *it* is such that they stagger about (barâ larzênd)⁵ and fall down. 31. And the dark-

¹ These names, as here written, mean literally 'evil good thoughts, evil good words, and evil good deeds,' as if they implied that these places are for those whose best thoughts, words, and deeds are evil; but it is not quite certain that the Pahlavi names are spelt correctly.

² As already stated in Chap. II, 183-186.

³ L19 has 'he is experienced' in §§ 27-30, owing to Nêr. having read dânâk, 'knowing, experienced,' instead of dîvâk, 'a place.'

⁴ Literally, 'stone-possessing, stony' if we read sang-dâr, as seems most plausible; but we might read sôkhâr and consider Pers. khasâr or khasar, 'ice,' as a corruption of it, by transposition. L19 has 'ice (yah) and snow.'

⁵ L19 has *be resend*, 'they vomit up,' which is evidently a misreading.

ness is always such-like as though it is possible for them to seize upon *it* with the hand¹.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How and in what manner *has* Aûharmazd created these creatures and creation? 3. And how and in what manner *were* the archangels and the spirit of wisdom formed and created by him? 4. And how are the demons and fiends [and also the remaining corrupted *ones*]² of Aharman, the wicked, miscreated? [5. How do every good and evil happen which *occur* to mankind and also the remaining creatures?] 6. And is it possible to alter anything which is destined, or not?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'The creator, Aûharmazd, produced these creatures and creation, the archangels and the spirit of wisdom from that which is his own splendour, and with the blessing of unlimited time (zôrvân). 9. For this reason, because unlimited time is undecaying and immortal, painless and hungerless, thirstless and undisturbed; and for ever and everlasting no one is able to seize upon *it*, or to make *it* non-predominant as regards his own affairs.

10. 'And Aharman, the wicked, miscreated the demons and fiends, and also the remaining corrupted

¹ 'Even darkness *which* may be felt' (Ex. x. 21).

² K₄₃ omits the phrase in brackets, as well as § 5; but these passages are supplied from L₁₉, merely substituting *yahidakân*, 'corrupted ones,' as in § 10, for the *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations,' of L₁₉.

*ones*¹, by his own unnatural intercourse. 11. A treaty of nine thousand winters² in unlimited time (*damân*) *was* also made by him with *Aûharmazd*; (12) and, until it *has* become fully completed, no one is able to alter *it* and to act otherwise. 13. And when the nine thousand years *have* become completed, Aharman is quite impotent; (14) and *Srôsh*³, the righteous, will smite *Aeshm*³, (15) *and* *Mitrô*⁴ and unlimited time and the spirit of justice⁵, who deceives no one in anything, and destiny and divine providence⁶ will smite the creatures and creation of Aharman of every kind, and, in the end, even *Âzô*⁷, the demon. 16. And every creature and creation of *Aûharmazd* becomes again as undisturbed as those which *were* produced and created by him in the beginning.

¹ Reading *yahizakân*, but it may be *yâtukân*, 'wizards,' though the word requires an additional long vowel to represent either term correctly. L19 has *vashûdagâ*, 'miscreations.'

² According to the *Bundahis*, time consists of twelve thousand years (see Bd. XXXIV, 1). In the beginning *Aûharmazd* created the spiritual prototypes (Bd. I, 8) who remained undisturbed for the first three thousand years, when Aharman appeared and agreed to a conflict for the remaining nine thousand years (Bd. I, 18), during the first three of which *Aûharmazd's* will was undisputed, while during the next three Aharman is active in interference, and during the last three his influence will diminish till, in the end, it will disappear (Bd. I, 20). The nine thousand years of the conflict were supposed to extend from about B.C. 5400 to A.D. 3600 (see Byt. III, 11 n, 44 n).

³ See Chap. II, 115.

⁴ See Chap. II, 118.

⁵ Probably the angel *Rashnû* (see Chap. II, 118, 119).

⁶ Assuming that the *vâgô-bakhtô* of K43 is equivalent to the *baghô-bakht*, 'divine appointment,' of L19.

⁷ Av. *âzi* of Yas. XVII, 46, LXVII, 22, Vend. XVIII, 45, 50, *Âstâd* Yt. 1, *âzu* of Yas. LII, 7, and the demon of 'greediness' in Chap. II, 13, 14, XVIII, 5, &c., Bd. XXVIII, 27, and modern Persian, who seems to be a being distinct from Av. *azi*, 'serpent.'

17. 'Every good and the reverse¹ which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven *planets* and the twelve *constellations*². 18. And those twelve constellations are such as in revelation are³ the twelve chieftains who are on the side of Aûharmazd, (19) *and* those seven planets are called the seven chieftains who are on the side of Aharman. 20. Those seven planets pervert every creature and creation, and deliver *them* up to death and every evil. 21. And, as *it were*, those twelve constellations and seven planets⁴ are organizing and managing the world.

22. 'Aûharmazd' is wishing good, and never approves nor contemplates evil. 23. Aharman is wishing evil, and does not meditate nor approve anything good whatever. 24. Aûharmazd, when he wishes it, is able to alter as regards the creatures of Aharman; and Aharman, too, it is, who, when [he wishes]⁵ it, *can do so* as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd, (25) but *he is only* able to alter so that in the final effect *there may* be no injury of Aûharmazd, (26) because the final victory is Aûharmazd's own. 27. For it is declared, that "the Yim⁶ and

¹ L19 has 'evil.'

² The zodiacal signs.

³ L19 has 'are called in revelation.' The authority, here quoted, was not the Bundahis, because that book speaks of seven chieftains of the constellations opposed to the seven planets (see Bd. V, 1).

⁴ L19 omits 'and seven planets,' but has a blank space at this place in both texts, Pâzand and Sanskrit.

⁵ K43 omits the words in brackets, which may, perhaps, be superfluous in the Pahlavi text.

⁶ Av. Yima or Yima khshaêta of Vend. II, the Jamshêd of the Shâhnâmah, some of whose deeds are mentioned in Chap. XXVII, 24-33, Yas. IX, 13-20. He was the third of the Pêrdâd dynasty, and is said to have been perverted by Aharman in his old

Frêdûn¹ and Kâi-Ûs² of Aûharmazd are created immortal, (28) and Aharman so altered *them* as is known. 29. *And* Aharman so contemplated that Bêvarâsp³ and Frâsîyâk⁴ and Alexander⁵ *should* be immortal, (30) *but* Aûharmazd, for great advantage, so altered *them* as that which is declared.”’

CHAPTER IX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
‘Is it possible to go from region to region⁶, or not ?

age, when he lost the royal glory (see Dd. XXXIX, 16, 17), and was overthrown by the foreign dynasty of Az-î Dahâk.

¹ Av. Thraêtaona, who conquered Az-î Dahâk (see Chap. XXVII, 38-40, Yas. IX, 24-27). He was misled by Aharman into dividing his empire between his three sons, two of whom revolted and slew the third (see Chaps. XXI, 25, XXVII, 42).

² Av. Kava Usan or Kavi Usadhan, the Kâi-Kâvûs of the Shâhnâmah, misread Kahôs in Pâzand. He was the second monarch of the Kayân dynasty, and made an unsuccessful attempt to reach heaven, mentioned in Bd. XXXIV, 7, to which he may be supposed to have been instigated by Aharman, but he was also unfortunate in many other enterprises.

³ A title of Az-î Dahâk in the Shâhnâmah, literally, ‘with a myriad horses.’ This king, or dynasty, is said to have conquered Yim and reigned for a thousand years, but was overthrown by Frêdûn. In the Avesta (Yas. IX, 25, Âbân Yt. 34, Âf. Zarat. 3) Az-î Dahâk, ‘the destructive serpent,’ is described as hazangra-yaokhsti, ‘with a thousand perceptions,’ a term analogous to baêvare-spasana, ‘with a myriad glances,’ which is usually applied to Mithra, the angel of the sun. From this latter, if used for the former, bêvarâsp might easily be corrupted.

⁴ Av. Frangrasyan, the Afrâsiyâb of the Shâhnâmah, a Tûrânian king who conquered the Irânians for twelve years during the reign of Mânûskîhar (see Bd. XXXIV, 6).

⁵ Alexander the Great, misread Arasaṅgar by Nêr.

⁶ The earth is supposed to be divided into seven regions, of which the central one is as large as the other six united; two of

3. From what substance is the sky made? 4. And how and in what manner is the mingling of the water in the earth?’

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus: ‘Without the permission of the sacred beings, or the permission of the demons, it is then¹ not possible for one to go from region to region².

7. ‘The sky is made from the substance of the blood-stone³, such as they also call diamond (al-mâst).

8. ‘And the mingling of the water in the earth is just like the blood in the body of man.’

CHAPTER X.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Can *there* be any peace and affection whatever of Aharman, the wicked, and his demons and miscreations, with Aûharmazd and the archangels, one with the other, or not?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* cannot be, on any account whatever; (5) because Aharman meditates evil falsehood and its deeds, wrath and malice and discord, (6) and Aûharmazd meditates righteousness and its deeds, good works

the six lie to the north, two to the south, one to the east, and one to the west; and they are said to be separated by seas or mountains, difficult to cross (see Bd. XI). For their names, see Chaps. XVI, 10, XXVII, 40.

¹ Instead of adînas, ‘then for one,’ Nêr. has manufactured a word ainâ, ‘otherwise’ (see also Chap. VII, 19 n).

² This information is derived from Pahl. Vend. I, 4 a.

³ Or ‘ruby,’ referring to the rosy tints of dawn and sunset. The same statement is made in Bd. XII, 6. Nêr. has ‘steel,’ and the word can be translated ‘blood-metal.’

and goodness and truth. 7. And everything can change, except good and bad nature. 8. A good nature cannot change to evil by any means whatever, and a bad nature to goodness in any manner. 9. Aûharmazd, on account of a good nature, approves no evil and falsehood ; (10) and Aharman, on account of a bad nature, accepts no goodness and truth ; (11) and, on this account, *there* cannot be for them any peace and affection whatever, one with the other.'

CHAPTER XI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is wisdom good, or skill, or goodness¹ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Wisdom with which *there* is no goodness, is not to be considered as wisdom ; (5) and skill with which *there* is no wisdom, is not to be considered as skill.'

CHAPTER XII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore is *it* when the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is allotted so truly, *and* that of the worldly *existence* so falsely ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The treasure of the worldly *existence* was² allotted as truly, in the original creation, as that of the spiritual *existence*. 5. And the creator, Aûharmazd, provided the

¹ L19 omits the last two words, but they are evidently referred to in the reply.

² Literally, 'is.'

happiness of every kind, that is in these creatures and creation, for the use (bûn) of the sun¹ and moon and those twelve constellations which are called the twelve chieftains² by revelation; (6) and they, too, accepted *it* in order to allot *it* truly and deservedly.

7. 'And, afterwards, Aharman produced those seven planets, such as are called the seven chieftains of Aharman, for dissipating³ *and* carrying off that happiness from the creatures of Aûharmazd, in opposition to the sun and moon and those twelve constellations. 8. And *as to* every happiness which those constellations bestow on the creatures of Aûharmazd, (9) those planets take away as much of it as *it* is possible for them (the constellations) to give⁴, (10) and give *it* up to the power of the demons⁵ and fiends and the bad.

11. 'And the treasure of the spiritual *existence* is so true on this account, because Aûharmazd, the lord, with all the angels *and* archangels, is⁶ undisturbed, (12) and they make the struggle with Aharman and the demons, and also the account of the souls of men, with justice. 13. And the place of *him* whose good work is more is in heaven, (14) the place of *him* whose good work and sin are equal is among the ever-stationary⁷, (15) and when the crime is more, his path is then to hell.'

¹ Literally, 'Mitrô,' the angel of the sun.

² See Chap. VIII, 17-21.

³ By omitting one letter K43 has 'miscreating.'

⁴ By omitting this verb L19 has 'possible for them (the planets).'

⁵ So understood by Nêr., but all the best MSS. omit the relative particle, as if 'the powerful demons' were meant.

⁶ Literally, 'are.'

⁷ See Chap. VII, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore is *it* when oxen and sheep, birds, flying creatures, and fish are, each one, properly learned in that which is their own knowledge, (3) and men, so long as they bring no instruction unto them, and they do not perform much toil and trouble (*angīnō*)¹ about it, are not able to obtain and know the learning of the human race?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'Men have been so wise, in the original creation, that, *as to* the good works and crime which *were* performed by them, the recompense of the good works and the punishment of the crime *were* then seen by them with their own eyes, (6) and no crime whatever proceeded from men. 7. *But*, afterwards, Aharman, the wicked, concealed the recompense of good works and the punishment of sin. 8. And on this account, moreover, it is said in revelation (9) that: "[These]² four [things are worse and more grievous] than every evil which the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, committed upon the creatures of Aûharmazd, (10) [that is, when the reward of good works and] punishment [of sin], the thoughts of men, and the consequence of actions *were* quite concealed [by him]³."

¹ Nêr. has read *khvazînak*, and taken it as equivalent to Pers. *khazînah*, 'treasury,' in the sense of 'expenditure;' but this is very doubtful.

² The words in brackets, in §§ 9, 10, are taken from the Pâzand version, as the passage containing them has been omitted by mistake in K43.

³ The Pandnâmah of Buzurg-Mihir states 'this, too, is declared, that the evil spirit committed even this very grievous thing upon

11. 'And, for the same reason, he made many devotions and improper creeds current in the world. 12. And, on account of men's not knowing of duty and good works, every one believes that most, and considers *it* as good, which his teaching in devotion has included. 13. And that devotion, in particular, is more powerful¹, with which sovereignty exists. 14. But that one is the lordship and sovereignty of Vistâsp², the king of kings, (15) by whom, on account of knowing *it* unquestionably and certainly (aêva-rîhâ), the perfect and true religion, which is in the word of the creator Aûharmazd, was received from the unique Zarâtûst, the Spîtamân³, (16) who has manifested clearly, explicitly, and unquestionably the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences*, of every kind, from the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 17. There is then⁴ no *other* creed, through which it is possible for one to obtain and know the treasure of the worldly and spiritual *existences* so explicitly and clearly, (18) but, on account of much controversy⁵, they are so cut up (âgtstakô)

the creatures of Aûharmazd, when the reward of good works and punishment of sin *were* quite concealed by him, in the thoughts of men, as the consequence of actions.'

¹ Nêr. has 'purer,' by connecting pâdîyâvandtar with pâdîyâz, 'ablution;' but this is hardly possible, whereas the former word can be readily traced to Av. paiti+yâ+vant, with the meaning 'resistant, stubborn, strong;' compare Pers. pâyâb, 'power.'

² Av. Vîstâspa, Pers. Gustâsp, the fifth king of the Kayân dynasty, who adopted the religion of Zarâtûst in the thirtieth year of his reign, and is said to have reigned 120 years (see Bd. XXXIV, 7).

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ Instead of 'then for one,' Nêr. has 'otherwise,' as in Chap. IX, 6.

⁵ Reading vigûftakîh. Nêr. has 'by much contemplation,'

and entangled, that the statements of their beginning are much unlike to the middle, and the middle to the end.'

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of¹ [wisdom (2) thus : 'Which protection is the more defensive? 3. Which friend² (4) and which supporter of fame are good? 5. Which helper of enjoyment is good? 6. Which wealth is the pleasanter? 7. And which is the supremest pleasure of all pleasures³?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus : 'The sacred being is the more defensive protection. 10. A virtuous brother is a good friend. 11. A child, who is virtuous and an upholder of religion, is a good supporter of fame. 12. A virtuous wife, who is well-disposed, is a good helper of enjoyment. 13. That wealth is better and pleasanter which is collected by honesty, *and one* consumes *and* maintains with duties and good works. 14. *And* the pleasures which are superior to all pleasures are health of body, freedom from fear, good repute, *and* righteousness⁴.'

having read vênastakîh. Both words are very uncommon, and it is doubtful which of them is the more appropriate to the context.

¹ From this point to Chap. XXVII, 49 the Pahlavi text of K₄₃ is missing, owing to the loss of nine folios in that MS., but a copy of the missing passage, made by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji from TD₂, has been consulted for the purpose of controlling the Pâz. version of L₁₉.

² L₁₉ inserts 'is good?'

³ TD₂ has 'which is the friend who is the supremest of friends;,' but this does not correspond well with the reply in § 14.

⁴ TD₂ adds '*and* are good.'

CHAPTER XV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus :
'Is poverty good, or opulence¹ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus :
'Poverty which is through honesty is better than opulence which is from the treasure of others. 5. For it is stated (6) thus : "*As to him who is the poorest and most secluded (armêsttûm)*² person, whenever he keeps his thoughts, words, *and* deeds honest, and in duty to the sacred beings, for him even *there* is lawfully a share of all the duties and good works which mankind shall do in the world³. 7. *As to him, too, who is opulent, who is a man of much wealth, when the wealth is not produced by honesty, though he takes trouble (angînakö)* in⁴ duties and good works and righteous gifts, his good work is then not his own, (8) because the good work is his from whom *the wealth* is abstracted⁵."

¹ L19 adds 'or sovereignty,' to account for §§ 12-39.

² Av. armaêsta, applied to water, means 'most stationary, stagnant;' Pahl. armêst (Av. airima) is applied to the place of 'seclusion' for impure men and women, and in Sls. VI, 1 it seems to refer to 'helpless' idiots or lunatics; Nêr. explains it in Sanskrit as 'lame, crippled, immobility,' but 'secluded, immured, helpless' are terms better adapted to the context, whether the word be applied to persons, as it is here and in Chaps. XXXVII, 36, XXXIX, 40, or to learning and character, as in Chap. LI, 7.

³ Persons who are wholly unable to perform good works are supposed to be entitled to a share of any supererogatory good works performed by others (see Sls. VI, 1, 2), but the allotment of such imputed good works seems to be at the discretion of the angels who keep them in store (see Sls. VIII, 4).

⁴ Nêr. has 'makes expenditure on,' by reading khvazînak, as in Chap. XIII, 3.

⁵ § 8 does not occur in L19, but is found in TD2, PA10, and MH7.

9. 'And *as to* that much wealth which is collected by proper exertion, and *one* consumes and maintains with duties and good works and pleasure, even that is no better thereby, (10) because it is necessary to consider that as perfect. 11. But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, whose wealth is collected by proper exertion, and he consumes and maintains *it* with duties and good works and pleasure, he is great and good and more perfect¹.

12. 'And regarding even that which is sovereignty they state (13) thus: "What is² good government in a village is better than what is² bad government in a realm. 14. Because the creator Aûhar Mazda produced good government for effecting the protection of the creatures, (15) and Aharman, the wicked, has produced bad government as the adversary of good government."

16. 'Good government is that which maintains *and* directs a province flourishing, the poor untroubled, *and* the law *and* custom true, (17) *and* sets aside improper laws and customs. 18. It well *maintains* water and fire by law³, (19) *and* keeps in progress the ceremonial of the sacred beings, duties, and good works. 20. It causes friendliness

¹ That is, the proper use of wealth does not make the wealth itself any better, but only the rightful possessor of it. This is, however, probably only an emendation of Nêr., as the copy of TD2 gives merely the following, for §§ 9-11: 'But *as to* him who is a man of much wealth, by whose proper exertion it is collected, *and* he consumes *and* maintains *it* with duties, good works, and pleasure, he is no better thereby, because it is necessary to consider him as perfect.'

² L19 omits 'what is' in both places.

³ TD2 omits 'maintains,' as it is sufficiently expressed by the same Pahl. verb 'keeps' in § 19; and L19 omits 'by law.'

and pleading¹ for the poor, (21) and delivers up itself, *and* even that which is its own life, for the sake of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 22. And if there be any one who desists from the way of the sacred beings, then it orders *some one* to effect his restoration thereto; (23) it also makes him a prisoner, *and* brings *him* back to the way of the sacred beings; (24) it allots, out of the wealth that is his, the share of the sacred beings *and* the worthy, of good works *and* the poor; (25) and delivers up the body for the sake of the soul². 26. A good king, who³ is of that kind, is called equal to the angels and archangels.

27. 'Bad government is that (28) which destroys the true and proper law and custom, (29) and brings⁴ oppression, plunder, and injudiciousness into practice. 30. It dissipates the treasure of the spiritual *existence*, (31) *and* considers duty and good works a vexation, through greediness⁵. 32. It keeps back a person performing good works from doing good works, (33) and he thereby becomes a doer of harm. (34) Its disbursement⁶, too, of every kind is for its own self, (35) the administration of⁷ the treasure

¹ Reading dâdǝ-gôbîh, 'pronouncing the law,' or 'speaking of gifts,' instead of Pâz. gâdangôî, a misreading of Nêr. for Pahl. yêdatô-gôbîh, 'speaking of the sacred being.'

² The usual way of treating nonconformists in all ages and all sects, when party spirit is strong. TD₂ has 'delivers *him* up for the sake of body and soul.'

³ TD₂ has 'good government which.'

⁴ TD₂ has 'keeps;' but the two verbs are much alike in Huzvâris.

⁵ Because nearly all such works entail expenditure.

⁶ Nêr. has 'accumulation,' but this is the meaning of andôzîsn, rather than of the andâzîsn in the text.

⁷ So in TD₂.

of the worldly existence, (36) the celebrity¹ *and* exaltation of the vile, (37) the destruction *and* neglect of the good, (38) *and* the annihilation of the poor. 39. A bad king, who² is of that kind, is called equal to Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, and the clothing which men put on, which are the more valuable and good?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the food which men eat, the milk of goats is produced good. 5. Because, *as to* men and quadrupeds, who are born from a mother, until the *time* when food is eaten by them, their growth *and* nourishment are then from milk, (6) *and* on milk they can well live. 7. And if men, when they withdraw from the milk of the mother, make thorough experience of the milk of goats, (8) then bread is not necessary for use among them. 9. Since it is declared, (10) that "the food of mankind, who are in Arzah and Savah, Fradaḏafsh and Vīdaḏafsh, Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst³, is the milk of goats and cows; (11) other food they do not eat." 12. *And* he who is a milk-consuming man is healthier and stronger, and even the procreation of children becomes more harmless.

¹ Reading *khanīdīh* as in TD2 and Chap. II, 28.

² TD2 has 'bad government which.'

³ The six outermost regions of the earth, of which Arzah lies to the west, Savah to the east, Fradaḏafsh and Vīdaḏafsh to the south, and Vôrûbarst and Vôrûgarst to the north of the central region (see Bd. V, 8, XI, 3).

13. 'Of grains wheat is called great and good, (14) because it is the chief of grains¹, (15) *and* even by the Avesta its name is then specified in the chieftainship of grains².

16. 'And of fruit the date *and* grape are called great and good. 17. When bread has not come, it is necessary to consecrate the sacred cake by means of fruit³; (18) when the fruit to consecrate is the date or grape, it is allowable to eat every fruit; (19) *and* when those have not come, it is necessary to eat that fruit which is consecrated⁴.

20. 'Regarding wine *it* is evident, that it is possible *for* good *and* bad temper to come to manifestation through wine⁵. 21. The goodness of a man is manifested in anger, the wisdom of a man in irregular desire⁶. 22. For *he* whom anger hurries on (aûs-

¹ It is called 'the chief of large-seeded grains' in Bd. XXIV, 19.

² Possibly in the Pâzag Nask, part of which was 'about the thirty-three first chieftainships of the existences around, that is, how many of which are spiritual *and* how many worldly *existences*, and which is the second, and which the third of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*;' as stated in the eighth book of the Dînkard.

³ That is, when a cake cannot be made, fruit can be substituted for it in the ceremony of consecrating the sacred cakes. The sacred cake, or drôn, is a small, round, flexible pancake of unleavened wheaten bread, about the size of the palm of the hand, which, after consecration, is tasted by all those present at the ceremony (see Sls. III, 32 n).

⁴ Fruit and wine are usually consecrated and eaten, in the Âfrîngân ceremony, after the completion of the Drôn ceremony, but sometimes the Âfrîngân is celebrated alone. Both ceremonies are performed in honour of some angel, or the guardian spirit of some deceased person (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407-409).

⁵ TD₂ has 'through the nature of wine;' but âs, 'wine,' is written mas.

⁶ TD₂ has 'the good of a man is in anger, and the wisdom of a man in lust exciting viciousness.'

tâvêd) is able to recover himself from it¹ through goodness, (23) *he* whom lust hurries on is able to recover himself from it through wisdom, (24) *and he* whom wine hurries on is able to recover himself from it through temper.

25. 'It is not requisite for investigation, (26) because he who is a good-tempered man, when he drinks wine, is such-like as a gold *or* silver cup which, however much more they burn *it*, becomes purer and brighter. 27. It also keeps *his* thoughts, words, *and* deeds more virtuous; (28) and he becomes gentler and pleasanter unto wife and child, companions and friends², (29) and is more diligent in every duty and good work.

30. 'And he who is a bad-tempered man, when he drinks wine, thinks *and* considers himself more than ordinary. 31. He carries on a quarrel with companions, displays insolence, makes ridicule and mockery, (32) *and* acts arrogantly *to* a good person. 33. He distresses his own wife and child³, slave and servant; (34) and dissipates the joy of the good, (35) carries off peace, *and* brings in discord.

36. 'But every one must be cautious as to⁴ the moderate drinking of wine. 37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine, thus much benefit happens to him: (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the *vital* fire⁵, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) *and* inflames the complexion.

¹ Reading *agas*, instead of *afas* (Pâz. *vas*); these two words being written alike in Pahlavi.

² TD₂ has 'he becomes more friendly, gentler, and pleasanter unto wife and child and companions.' It also omits § 29.

³ TD₂ inserts 'hireling.'

⁴ Or 'must become intelligent through.'

⁵ The animal heat, called the *Vohu-fryân* fire in Bd. XVII, 1.

43. It causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) *and* goodness takes a place in the mind. (45) It likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue; (46) *and* work, which it is necessary to do *and* expedite, becomes more progressive. 47. He *also* sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place¹, *and* rises light. 48. And, on account of these contingencies, good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good² come upon him.

49. 'And in him who drinks wine more than moderately, thus much defect becomes manifest, (50) since it diminishes his wisdom, understanding and intellect, semen and blood; (51) it injures the liver³ and accumulates disease, (52) it alters the complexion, (53) and diminishes the strength and vigour. 54. The homage *and* glorification of the sacred beings become forgotten. 55. The sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue become less. 56. He distresses Horvada⁴ and Amerodad⁴ (57) *and* entertains a desire of lethargy⁵. 58. That, also, which it is necessary for him to say and do, remains undone; (59) *and* he sleeps in uneasiness, *and* rises uncomfortably. 60. *And*, on account of these contingencies, himself⁶,

¹ Nêr. has 'at sleeping time,' and the word gâs means either 'time' or 'place,' but usually the latter. TD2 has bâsn gâs, probably for bâlîsn gâs, 'bed place.'

² Nêr. inserts the words 'greatly increase' in the Sanskrit version, but they do not occur in TD2.

³ These four words occur only in TD2.

⁴ The two archangels who are supposed to be injured by improper eating and drinking (see Chap. II, 34 n).

⁵ Bûshâsp (Av. Bûshyâsta), the fiend of slothful sleep.

⁶ Or it can be translated 'his own body.'

wife, and child, friend *and* kindred are distressed *and* unhappy, (61) and the superintendent of troubles¹ and the enemy are glad. 62. The sacred beings, also, are not pleased with him; (63) and infamy comes to his body, and even wickedness to *his* soul.

64. 'Of the dress which people possess *and* put on², silk is good for the body, and cotton for the soul. 65. For this reason, because silk arises from a noxious creature³, (66) and the nourishment of cotton is from water, and *its* growth from earth⁴; and as a treasure of the soul it is called great and good and more valuable.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which is that pleasure which is worse than unhappiness?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'Whoever has acquired wealth by crime, and he becomes glad of it thereby⁵, then that pleasure is worse for him than unhappiness.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore do people consider these very little,

¹ Meaning probably the evil spirit.

² The Sanskrit version omits the former verb, and TD2 the latter.

³ Caterpillars are creatures of Aharman, because they eat and injure vegetation which is under the special protection of the arch-angel Amerodaz.

⁴ Water and earth, being both personified as angels, would impart somewhat of their sacred character to the cotton arising from them.

⁵ 'Glad of the crime on account of the wealth' is probably meant.

these four things which it is necessary for them to consider more, as warnings (*dakhshak*), (3) the changeableness of the things of the worldly *existence*, the death of the body, the account of the soul¹, *and* the fear of hell?’

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: ‘On account of the delusiveness (*nīyâzânih*) of the demon of greediness², and of discontent.’

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Is living in fear *and* falsehood worse, or death?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death. 5. Because every one’s life is necessary for the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence*, (6) and when the enjoyment *and* pleasure of the worldly *existence* are not his, and fear and even falsehood³ are with him, it is called worse than death.’

CHAPTER XX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘*For* kings which is the one thing more advantageous, and which the more injurious?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For kings conversation with the wise *and* good is the

¹ That is, the account to be rendered by the soul after death.

² See Chap. VIII, 15 n.

³ These being considered as fiends; the latter, *mîrôkht*, being the first demon produced by the evil spirit (see Bd. I, 24, XXVIII, 14, 16).

one thing more advantageous, (5) and speaking *and* conversation with slanderers *and* double-dealers are the more injurious for them.'

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the end of the world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man? 3. What is the end of him who is a scoffing man? 4-6. What is the end of the idle, the malicious, and the lazy man? 7. What is the end of a false-hearted *one*, (8) and the end of an arrogant *one*¹?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus : 'He who is a world-arranging *and* spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three *nights*², as a raging fire when water comes upon it.

11³. 'Of him who is a scoffing man *there* is no glory in body and soul; (12) *and* every time when he opens *his* mouth his wickedness then increases. 13. All the fiends, too, become so lodged in his body, that they leave no goodness whatever for his body; (14) and he makes mockery of the good, and glorification of the vile. 15. Also in the worldly *existence* his body is infamous, and *in* the spiritual *existence* his soul is wicked. 16. And, for effecting *his* punishment in hell, they deliver him over to

¹ L19 has 'What is the end of him who is an idle man?' in § 4, and repeats the same formula in each of the §§ 5-8.

² Referring to the three days and nights of final punishment, reserved for those specially wicked, at the time of the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 12-16).

³ In TD2 the remaining sections are arranged in the following order:—§§ 18, 27-33, 19-26, 34-44, 11-17.

the scoffing fiend; (17) *and* that fiend inflicts a ridicule and a mockery upon him with every single punishment.

18. 'As to him who is an idle man, yet devoid of wickedness, mostly when¹ death comes on in the worldly *existence*, he thereupon (agas) begets pleasantly for the sake of another.

19. 'The bridge² which is for the soul of him who is a malicious man is more difficult than *for* the other wicked who are in hell. 20. For this reason, because malice proceeds by lineage; (21) *and* it is possible to manage every sin better than malice, (22) because malice will abide in a lineage. 23. There are *instances* when it adheres³ until the renovation *of the universe*; (24) for *it* is clearly declared by the pure revelation, (25) that the origin of the estrangement (anîrânîh) of the Arûmans, *and* even the Tûrânians, *from* the Irânians, was owing to that malice which *was* generated by them through the slaughter of Aîrîk⁴; (26) *and it* always adheres until the renovation.

¹ L19 inserts 'misery and.'

² The Kîndvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162), which is supposed to resemble a beam with many unequal sides, the side turned uppermost being narrower in proportion as the soul, intending to pass along it, is more wicked; so that the difficulty of the transit increases with the sin of the soul (see Dd. XXI, 3-5).

³ Or 'continues.'

⁴ Pâz. Erâz, one of the three sons of Frêdûn, the Pêsdâd sovereign, who divided his empire among them, giving the Arûman provinces to Salm, the Tûrânian to Tûg, and the Irânian to Aîrîk. The last was slain by his two brothers, and his death was subsequently avenged by his descendant Mânûskîhar (see Chap. XXVII, 41-43, Bd. XXXI, 9-12). Though these sons are not mentioned in the Avesta now extant, their history appears to have been related in the Kîdâst Nask (see Sls. X, 28 n).

27. 'He who is a lazy man is said *to be* the most unworthy of men. 28. Because *it* is declared by revelation, (29) that the creator Aûtharmazd produced no corn for him who is a lazy man; (30) for him who is a lazy man *there* is then no giving of anything in gifts and charity¹; (31) and lodging and entertainment are not to be provided for him. 32. For this reason, because that food which a lazy man eats, he eats through impropriety and injustice; (33) and, on account of his laziness and unjust eating, his body then becomes infamous and the soul wicked.

34. 'He who is a false-hearted man is as dubious in good *things* as in bad; (35) *he* is dubious as to the treasure of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, and also as to the ceremonial, invocation, *and* service of the sacred beings. 36. And, on account of these circumstances, the angels *and* archangels shall accept little of the ceremonial *and* invocations which he performs, (37) and give unto him little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 38. And in the mouth of the good *man* *he* is always infamous, (39) and his soul becomes wicked.

40. 'The friends of him who is an arrogant man are few, and his enemies many. 41. And even of the gifts which he gives to any one, *and* the ceremonial, too, which he performs for the sacred beings, they shall accept little, on account of *his* arrogance, (42) and give little of the gain, too, which he seeks. 43. And in hell they deliver him to the fiend of arrogance, in order to inflict punishment upon *his* soul; (44) and the fiend of arrogance inflicts punishment of various kinds upon it, *and* is not pacified.'

¹ L19 has 'he then gives nothing *as* his living, which is through gifts and charity.'

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to provide, for one's own hand, the treasure *and* wealth of the worldly *existence* through exertion, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'It is not possible to provide for one's self, through exertion, that benefit which is not ordained ; (5) but a morsel (kazd) of that which is ordained comes on by means of exertion. 6. Yet the exertion, when it is fruitless in the worldly *existence*, through the sacred beings not *being* with it¹, still comes, afterwards, to *one's* assistance in the spiritual *existence*, *and* outweighs in the balance².'

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is it possible to contend with destiny through wisdom *and* knowledge, or not ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Even with the might and powerfulness of wisdom *and* knowledge, even then it is not possible to contend with destiny. 5. Because, when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse³, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting (nîyâzân) in duty, and the astute in evil *becomes* intelligent ; (6) the faint-hearted *becomes* braver, and the braver *becomes* faint-hearted ;

¹ TD₂ has 'time not *being* with it.'

² The balance in which men's actions are weighed by the angel Rashnû (see Chap. II, 119-122).

³ L₁₉ has 'vileness.'

(7) the diligent *becomes* lazy, and the lazy acts diligently¹. (8) Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, (9) *and* thrusts out everything else.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'On account of the begging of favours, and the practice and worthiness of good works, do the sacred beings also grant anything to men otherwise², or not?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'They grant; (5) for *there are* such as they call thus: "Destiny *and* divine providence." 6. Destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, (7) *and* divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise. 8. But the sacred beings provide and manifest in the spiritual *existence* little of that grant, on this account, because Aharman, the wicked³, through the power of the seven planets extorts wealth, *and* also every other benefit of the worldly *existence*, from the good *and* worthy, *and* grants *them* more fully to the bad *and* unworthy.'

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Of the rich who is the poorer, and of the poor who is the richer?'

¹ LI9 has 'becomes diligent.'

² That is, otherwise than by destiny, as mentioned in the previous chapter, and in consequence of prayer and merit.

³ TD2 inserts 'through that cause.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the rich he is the poorer who is not content with that which is his, (5) and suffers anxiety for the increase of anything.

6. 'And of the poor he is the richer who is content with that which has come, (7) and cares not for the increase of anything.'

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Is a blind eye worse, or a blind mind (dīl)? 3. Is the ill-informed worse, or the bad-tempered?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'He who is blind-eyed, when he has understanding in anything, *and* accomplishes learning, is to be considered as sound-eyed. 6. *And* he who is sound-eyed, when he has no knowledge *and* understanding¹, and even that which they teach him he does not accept, then that is worse than even a blind eye.

7. 'The ill-tempered is less evil² than the ill-informed ; (8) because the ill-tempered, except by a decree, is not able to seize anything away from any one ; (9) and *as to* the ill-informed man, his desire of every kind is then³ for oppression and plunder. 10. Concerning him who is ill-informed *it* is declared that, apart from predestination, he is born *free* from fresh understanding⁴.'

¹ L19 has 'when he has no knowledge of anything.'

² L19 has 'is better.'

³ That is, when he has a decree in his favour.

⁴ § 10 is found only in TD2. It probably means that an ill-informed man is not likely to acquire any knowledge beyond that which is unavoidable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore have the people who *were* from Gâyô-mard¹, and those, too, who *were* lords and monarchs, from Hôshâng², the Pêsdâd, even unto Vistâsp³, the king of kings, been such doers of *their own* wills?

3. Much benefit *was* also obtained by them from the sacred beings, (4) *and* they have been mostly those who *were* ungrateful unto the sacred beings, (5) and there are *some* even who have been very ungrateful, promise-breaking, *and* sinful. 6. For what benefit then have they *been* severally created, (7) and what result and advantage proceeded from them?'

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: 'That which thou askest concerning them, *as to* benefit, or as to the reverse⁴, thou shouldst become aware of and fully understand. 10. Because the affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny and time and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (zôrvân), the king and long-continuing lord. 11. Since, at various periods, it happens unto every one, for whom it is allotted, just as that which is necessary to happen. 12. As even from the mutual connection of those ancients, who are passed

¹ Av. Gaya-maretan, the primeval man from whom the whole human race is supposed to have sprung, and who lived for thirty years after the advent of the evil spirit (see Bd. III, 22, XXXIV, 2).

² Av. Haoshyangha, the first monarch of the Irânian world, and founder of the Pêsdâd (Av. paradhâta, 'early law') dynasty. He was the great-grandson of Mâshya, the first earthly man that sprang from Gâyômarđ, and is said to have reigned for forty years (see Bd. XV, 21-28, XXXI, 1, XXXIV, 4).

³ See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

⁴ L19 has 'evil.'

away, it is manifest (13) that, ultimately, that benefit arose which was necessary to come from them to the creatures of Aûharmazd.

14. 'Because the advantage from Gâyômarđ was this, (15) first, the slaying of Ârzûr¹, and making delivery of his own body, with great judiciousness, to Aharman². 16. *And* the second advantage was this, (17) that mankind and all the guardian spirits of the producers of the renovation of the universe, males³ and females⁴, were produced from his body. 18. *And*, thirdly, this⁵, that even the metals were produced and formed⁶ from his body⁷.

19. 'And the advantage from Hôshâng, the Pêsdâd, was this, (20) that, of three parts, he slew two parts of the demons of Mâzendar⁸, who were destroyers of the world.

21. 'The advantage from Tâkhmorup⁹, the well-

¹ Written Aîrzûr in TD2. It has been suggested by Windischmann (Zor. Stud. p. 5) that this was the name of a demon, afterwards applied to the Arezûr ridge at the gate of hell (see Bd. XII, 8), but this requires confirmation. Regarding this ridge the following explanation occurs in the Pahlavi Rivâyât which precedes Dd. in many MSS. :—'They say that hell is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell exists is a ridge (grîvakô) such as the ridge named Arekzûr, and owing to that they assert that it is the ridge (pûstô) of Arekzûr.' The explainer appears to mean that the ridge at the gate of hell was named after the other Mount Arezûr, in Arûm (see Bd. XII, 16).

² Compare Bd. III, 21-23.

³ L19 has 'righteous males.'

⁴ Fifteen of each, as stated in Bd. XXX, 17.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.' ⁶ L19 omits the former verb.

⁷ See Zs. X, 2, Dd. LXIV, 7.

⁸ See Dd. LXV, 5, referring probably to the demon-worshippers of Mâzendarân, south of the Caspian.

⁹ Av. Takhmô-urupa, the Tahnûras of the Shâhnâmah; he

grown, was this, (22) that the accursed evil *one*, the wicked, *was* kept by him thirty years as a charger¹. 23. *And* the writing of penmanship of seven kinds, which that wicked *one* kept in concealment, he brought out to publicity.

24. 'The advantage from the well-flocked Yim-shêd², son of Vîvangha, was this, (25) that an immortality of six hundred years, six months, and sixteen days³ is provided by him for the creatures and creation, of every kind, of the creator Aûhar-mazd; (26) *and* they are made unsuffering, undecaying, *and* undisturbed⁴. (27) Secondly, this⁵, that the enclosure formed by Yim⁶ *was* made by him; (28) *and* when that rain of Malkôs⁷ occurs—since *it* is declared in revelation that mankind and

is said to have been a great-grandson of Hôshâng, whom he succeeded on the throne, and to have reigned thirty years (see Bd. XXXI, 2, XXXIV, 4). Written Takhmôrîdô in TD₂.

¹ See Râm Yt. 12, Zamyâd Yt. 29.

² Av. Yima khshaêta, 'Yim the splendid,' he was a brother of his predecessor, Tâkhmorup, and the Bundahîr states that he reigned six hundred and sixteen years and six months in glory, and one hundred years in concealment (see Chap. VIII, 27, Bd. XXXI, 3, XXXIV, 4).

³ TD₂ has only 'three hundred years,' by the accidental omission of a cipher; it also omits the months and days.

⁴ See Vend. II, 16, Râm Yt. 16, Zamyâd Yt. 33.

⁵ L19 has 'this advantage.'

⁶ See Chap. LXII, 15-19. The formation of this enclosure is ordered by Aûhar-mazd in Vend. II, 61-92, for the preservation of mankind, animals, and plants from the effects of a glacial epoch which he foretells, and which is here represented as the rain of Malkôs.

⁷ This term for 'deluging rain' may be traced either to Chald. ܡܠܟܐ 'autumnal rain,' or to Av. mahrkûsô, the title of a demon regarding whom nothing is yet known (see Dd. XXXVII, 94 n and SBE, vol. xviii, p. 479).

the other creatures and creations of Aûharmazd, the lord, are mostly those which shall perish¹—(29) *one* shall afterwards open the gate of that enclosure formed by Yim, (30) *and* the people *and* cattle, and other creatures and creations of the creator Aûharmazd, shall come out from that enclosure, (31) and arrange the world again. 32. Thirdly, (33) when² he brought back the proportion of the worldly *existences*, which that evil-producing wicked *one*³ had swallowed, from his belly⁴. Fourthly, when a goat (gôspend) *was* not given by him to the demons in the character of an old man⁵.

34. 'And the advantage from Az-î Dahâk, the

¹ L19 has merely 'shall mostly perish,' in place of these last six words.

² L19 has 'thirdly, this advantage, that.'

³ L19 adds 'who is Aharman.'

⁴ According to a legend preserved in the Persian Rivâyats (see MH10, fol. 52) Aharman, while kept as a charger by Tâkhmorup, induced the wife of the latter to ascertain from her husband whether he ever felt fear while riding the fiend, and, acting upon the information thus obtained, he threw the king from his back while descending from the Alburz mountains, and swallowed him. Information of this event was conveyed to Yim by the angel Srôsh, who advised him to seek the fiend and propitiate him. Yim, accordingly, went into the wilderness singing, to attract Aharman, and, when the fiend appeared, Yim ingratiated himself into his favour and, taking advantage of an unguarded moment, he dragged Tâkhmorup out of the fiend's entrails, and placed the corpse in a depository for the dead. In consequence of this feat his hand was attacked with leprosy, from which he suffered greatly until it was accidentally washed in bull's urine, which healed it. This legend is related for the purpose of recommending the use of bull's urine for purification of the body.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'as a substitute for an old man.' This fourth advantage is found only in TD2, where the text is as follows:— 'Kahârûm, amatar gôspend pavan gôharîk-î pîr va/ sêdân lâ yehabûntô.'

Bêvarâsp¹, and the accursed Frâstyâk of Tûr¹ was this, (35) that, if the dominion should not have come to Bêvarâsp *and* Frâstyâk, the accursed evil spirit would then have given that dominion unto Aeshm²; (36) and when it would have come unto Aeshm, it would not have been possible to take *it* away from him till the resurrection *and* future existence, (37) for this reason, because he has no bodily existence³.

38. 'And the advantage from Frêdûn⁴ was this, (39) such as the vanquishing *and* binding of Azî Dahâk, the Bêvarâsp⁵, who *was* so grievously sinful. 40. And, again too, many demons of Mâzendar⁶ were smitten by him, and expelled from the region of Khvanîras⁷.

41. 'And the advantage from Mânûskîhar⁸ was this, (42, 43) that, in revenge for Aîrîk, who was his grandfather, Salm and Tûg *were* kept back by him from disturbing the world⁹. 44. From the land of

¹ See Chap. VIII, 29.

² The demon of wrath (see Chap. II, 115).

³ And would, therefore, have continued to live and reign till the resurrection.

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 27. He is said to have reigned for five hundred years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6), but this period includes the lives of ten generations of his descendants who did not reign (see Bd. XXXI, 14).

⁵ He is said to have been confined in Mount Dimâvand (see Bd. XXIX, 9).

⁶ See § 20.

⁷ The central region of the earth, containing all the countries best known to the Irânians, and supposed to be as large as the six outer regions united (see Bd. XI, 2-6).

⁸ The successor of Frêdûn, who reigned one hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXIV, 6). He was a descendant, in the tenth generation, from Aîrîk, one of the sons of Frêdûn, who had been slain by his brothers Salm and Tûg (see Bd. XXXI, 9-14).

⁹ Lîg has 'that he slew Salm and Tûg, who were his great-

Padashkhvârgar¹ unto the beginning of Dûgakô², such as Frâsîyâk³ had taken, by treaty (*padmânô*)⁴ he seized back from Frâsîyâk, *and* brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân. *And as to* the enlargement of the sea of Kânsâi⁵, such as Frâsîyâk supplied, he also expelled the water from it.

45. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Kavâd⁶ was

uncles, in revenge for Aîrîk, *and* kept *them* back from disturbing the world.'

¹ The mountainous region in Taparistân and Gilân, south of the Caspian (see Bd. XII, 17).

² L19 has 'hell.' This Dûgakô may possibly be meant for the Duzakô of Vend. I, 34, of which Vaêkereta was the chief settlement, and this latter is identified with Kâzûl (Kâbul) by the Pahlavi translators. The name can also be read Gangakô, which might be identified with Canzaca, but this would not correspond so well with the legend, alluded to in the text, which relates how Mânûsîhar, having shut himself up in the impregnable fortress of Âmul in Taparistân, could not be conquered by Frâsîyâk, who was compelled to come to terms, whereby all the country within an arrow-shot east of Mount Dimâvand should remain subject to Mânûsîhar. The arrow was shot and kept on its flight from dawn till noon, when it fell on the bank of the Oxus, which river was thenceforward considered the frontier of the Irânians. This frontier would fully include all the territory between Taparistân and Kâbul mentioned in the text. In Bd. XXXI, 21 the success of Mânûsîhar is attributed to some dispute between Frâsîyâk and his brother, Aghrêrad.

³ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁴ L19 has 'such as was made the portion (*padmânô*) of Frâsîyâk.'

⁵ Called Kyânsîh in Bd. XIII, 16, XX, 34, where it is stated that it was formerly fresh, but latterly salt, and that Frâsîyâk diverted many rivers and streams into it. It is the brackish lake and swamp now called Hâmûn, 'the desert,' or Zarah, 'the sea,' in Sistân. In the Avesta it is called Kâsu, and the future apostles of the Mazda-worshipping faith are expected to be born on its shores.

⁶ Av. Kavi Kavâta, the Kaî-Qubâd of the Shâhnâmah. He

this, (46) that he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 47. Dominion, also, *was* well exercised by him, (48) *and* the family and race of the Kayâns proceeded again from him.

49. 'And the advantage from Sâhm'¹ was [this], (50) that the serpent Srôvar² and the wolf Kapûd³, which they also call Pêhñô⁴, the watery demon Gandarep⁵, the bird Kamak⁶, and the deluding demon *were* slain by him. 51. And he also performed many other great and valuable actions, (52) and kept back much disturbance from the world, (53) *as to* which, when one of those disturbances, in particular, should have remained behind, it would not have been possible to produce the resurrection and future existence.

54. 'And the advantage from Kât-Ûs'⁷ was this,

was the founder of the Kayân dynasty, and reigned fifteen years (see Bd. XXXI, 24, 25, XXXIV, 7).

¹ The brackets indicate the end of the passage taken from TDz and the Pâzand version, in consequence of the nine folios containing Chaps. XIV, 1-XXVII, 49 being lost from K43. From this point the translation follows the text of K43. Sâhm (Av. Sâma) was the family name of the hero Keresâsp (see Fravardîn Yt. 61, 136), who was a son of Thrîta the Sâman (see Yas. IX, 30, 31). For the legends relating to him, see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-382. His name is written Sâm in Pâzand.

² Av. *azi srvara* (see Yas. IX, 34-39, Zamyâd Yt. 40).

³ Or 'the blue wolf;' not yet identified in the Avesta.

⁴ Darmesteter (SBE, vol. xxiii, p. 295, note 4) identifies this name with Pathana of Zamyâd Yt. 41, which seems to mean 'highwayman;' but this identification appears to depend merely on similarity of sound.

⁵ Av. *Gandarewa* of Âbân Yt. 38, Râm Yt. 28, Zamyâd Yt. 41.

⁶ A gigantic bird mentioned in the Persian Rivâyats as overshadowing the earth and keeping off the rain, while it ate up men and animals like grains of corn, until Keresâsp killed it with arrows shot continuously for seven days and nights.

⁷ See Chap. VIII, 27 n. He was a grandson of Kât-Kavâd,

(55) as Siyâvakhsh¹ was produced from his body.
56. Many other actions also proceeded from him.

57. 'And the advantage from Siyâvakhsh was this,
(58) such as the begetting of Kaî-Khûsrôî², and the formation of Kangdez³.

59. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Khûsrôî was this, (60) such as the slaying of Frâstyâk⁴, (61) the extirpation of the idol-temples which were on the lake of Kêkêst⁵, (62) and the management of Kangdez. 63. And he is able to do good through his assistance of the raising of the dead⁶ by the restorer of the dead, the triumphant Sôshâns⁷, which is in the future existence.

64. 'And the advantage from Kaî-Lôharâsp⁸ was

whom he succeeded, and is said to have reigned a hundred and fifty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, XXXIV, 7), but perhaps this period may have included the reign of his father, whom tradition has nearly forgotten.

¹ Av. Syâvarshân, the Siyâvush of the Shâhnâmâh. Though both his father and son were kings, he did not reign himself. L19 has Kaî-Syâvash.

² See Chap. II, 95.

³ Av. Kangha. A fortified settlement said to have been 'in the direction of the east, at many leagues from the bed of the wide-formed ocean towards that side,' and on the frontier of Afrân-vêg (see Chap. LXII, 13, Bd. XXIX, 10).

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29. This name must have been applied rather to a dynasty than to a single individual, as he reigned in Irân in the time of Mânûskîhar, nearly two hundred years earlier.

⁵ See Chap. II, 95.

⁶ He is expected to assist in the renovation of the universe at the resurrection, together with Keresâsp and other heroes (see Chap. LVII, 7, Dd. XXXVI, 3).

⁷ See Chap. II, 95.

⁸ Av. Kavi and Aurvâdaspa. He was a descendant of Kaî-Kavâd in the fifth generation, being a second cousin once removed of his predecessor, Kaî-Khûsrôî, and reigned a hundred and twenty years (see Bd. XXXI, 25, 28, XXXIV, 7).

this, (65) that dominion was well exercised by him, (66) and he became a thanksgiver unto the sacred beings. 67. He demolished the Jerusalem of the Jews¹, and made the Jews dispersed *and* scattered; *and* the acceptor of the religion, Kai-Vistâsp², *was* produced from his body.

68. 'And the advantage from Vistâsp was this, (69) such as the acceptance and solemnization of the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, (70) through the divine voice (*bakân aêvâz*) of the Ahunavar³, the word of the creator Aûhar Mazda; (71) the annihilation and destruction of the bodies of the demons and fiends; (72) and the pleasure and comfort of water and fire and all the angels and spirits of the worldly existences⁴. 73. And *he was* full of the hope of the good and worthy, (74) through a virtuous desire for his own determination, (75) the compensation (*nôs dasnô*)⁵ and gratification of Aûhar Mazda, with the archangels, (76) and the affliction and destruction of Aharman and the⁶ miscreations.'

¹ Aûrisalêm-i Yahûdânô. The first fourteen words of § 67 do not occur in the Pâz.-Sans. version, but a corresponding statement is found in a Persian metrical version, described by Sachau in his Contributions to the Knowledge of Parsee Literature (J.R.A.S., New Series, vol. iv, pp. 229-283), also in the works of several Arab writers of the tenth century (see Nöldeke, Göt. gel. Anz. 1882, p. 964).

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ The most sacred formula of the Mazda-worshippers, consisting of twenty-one words, forming three metrical lines of sixteen syllables each, beginning with *yathâ ahû vairyo*, 'as a patron spirit is desirable.' It is supposed to have been uttered by Aûhar Mazda, for the discomfiture of Aharman, on the first appearance of that evil spirit in the universe (see Bd. I, 21).

⁴ L19 has 'all the angels of the spiritual and worldly existences.'

⁵ L19 has *u shnâisn*, 'and the propitiation.'

⁶ L19 has 'his.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Who is the more forgiving (vakhshayânîktar) ?
3. What is the more in strength ? 4. What is the swifter¹ ? 5. What is the happier ? 6. What is the more miserable² ?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus : 'Aû-harmazd, the lord, is the more forgiving. 9. He saw³ the nine thousand years' mischief⁴ among his own creatures, owing to Aharman, yet afterwards, through justice and forgiveness, he does not then smite him *for* it⁵.

10. 'And the *celestial* sphere is the more in strength. 11. The intellect⁶ of mankind is the swifter. 12. The souls of the righteous are the happier. 13. *And* those of the wicked are the more penitent⁷.'

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is it necessary to keep with more regard and more protection ?'

¹ Or 'sharper.'

² L19 adds 'what is the more hopeless ?'

³ L19 has 'who sees.'

⁴ The period appointed for the conflict between the good and evil spirits (see Chap. VIII, 11).

⁵ Reading êdînasas, which Nêr. has misread ainâs, 'otherwise him.' L19 has 'yet then, except with justice and patience, he does not smite him otherwise.' It is also possible to read 'he does not smite him without listening (agûshas).'

⁶ L19 has 'the thought.'

⁷ L19 has 'the more miserable and more hopeless.'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'It is necessary to keep a young serving-boy (*rasîk*)¹, a wife, a beast *of burden*, and a fire with more protection and more regard.'

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Which of any living *existence* (*ztvêndag-i*) is the worse? 3. And in wisdom who is the more unforeseeing²?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'A life of him is the worse, who lives in fear and falsehood³. 6. And in wisdom he is the more unforeseeing, who does not provide for⁴ the spiritual *existence*, and attends to the worldly *one*.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the priests, warriors, and husbandmen⁵, each separately?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the priests is to maintain the religion properly; (5) and to perform the ceremonial and invocation of the sacred beings well *and* with atten-

¹ L19 has 'a young boy (redak).'

² Literally, 'more unknowing (*apasdânîktar*). L19 has 'more unapprovable (*apasandasnîtar*).'

³ See Chap. XIX, 6.

⁴ L19 has 'does not believe in.'

⁵ The three classes which are often mentioned in the Avesta as constituting the *Mazda*-worshipping community. For their vices, see Chap. LIX.

tion, (6) and¹ the decrees, decisions², custom, and control³, as revealed by the pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 7. To make people aware of the goodness of good works⁴; (8) and to show the way to heaven, and the danger and avoidance of hell.

9. 'The business of the warriors is to defeat the enemy; (10) and to keep their own country and land (bûm)⁵ unalarmed and tranquil.

11. 'And the business of the husbandmen is to perform tillage and cultivation; (12) and, to the extent of *their* ability, to keep the world invigorated and populous.'

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'What is the business of the well-endeavouring⁶, the artizans?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The business of the artizans is this, (5) that *as to* that work which they do not understand, they do not bring a hand to it; (6) and that which they well⁷

¹ L19 inserts 'to keep true.'

² K43 has dâd dâdistân, 'decisions of the law;' but the repetition of the syllable dâd is probably a clerical blunder.

³ L19 omits va band, 'and control.'

⁴ L19 has 'aware of good works and sin.'

⁵ L19 has vîmand, 'frontier.'

⁶ The hûtkhshân (Av. hûiti) are the fourth class of the community, and are very rarely mentioned in the Avesta, possibly because they were originally enslaved outcasts or aborigines, as in other ancient communities. The passage where they are specially mentioned (Yas. XIX, 46) is probably taken from the Bagh Nask (see Sls. X, 26 n; XIII, 1 n, 9 n).

⁷ L19 omits 'well.'

understand (hû-dânend), they perform well *and* with attention; (7) and they demand wages lawfully. (8). For *as to him* who persists in doing that work which¹ he does not understand, it is *he by* whom that work is spoiled and becomes useless; and when, moreover, he is a man whose work makes himself satisfied, it then becomes even an origin of sin for him.'

CHAPTER XXXIII.



1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: '*As to* a ruler², (3) a chieftain, (4) a friend, (5) a kinsman, (6) a wife, (7) a child, (8) and a country, which is the worse?'

9. The spirit of wisdom answered (10) thus: 'That ruler is the worse, that is not able to keep the country unalarmed, and the people untroubled.

11. That chieftain is the worse, who is defective in ability, unthankful unto agents (*karḍârân*), and no helper and interceder for a servant (*asâk*)³.

12. That friend is the worse, who is not fit to be relied upon. 13. That kinsman is the worse, who is no helper in illness (*khastânak*)⁴. 14. That wife is the worse, with whom it is not possible to live with pleasure. 15. That child is the worse, who is no bringer of renown. 16. And that country is the worse, in which it is not possible to live in happiness, fearlessness, and permanence.'

¹ L19 omits 'work,' and K43 omits 'which.'

² L19 makes §§ 2-7 each a separate question, by adding 'which is the worse' to each, as in § 8.

³ L19 has *asâgardân*, 'disciples.'

⁴ Or, 'in accident (*hastânak*).'

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Has the creator Aûharmazd produced the creation of anything whatever for the worldly *existence*¹, unto which Aharman is not able to bring disturbance ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To him who is a wise and contented man it is *but* little possible to bring disturbance.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How many are those people whom it is necessary to consider as rich, and how many are those who are poor ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'These are the people it is necessary to consider as rich :— (5) one is he who is perfect in wisdom ; (6) the second, whose body is healthy, and he lives fearlessly ; (7) the third, who is content with that which has come ; (8) the fourth, he whose destiny is a helper in virtue ; (9) the fifth, who is well-famed in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *by* the tongues of the good ; (10) the sixth, whose trust is on this one, pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers ; (11) *and* the seventh, whose wealth is from honesty.

12. 'And these are the people to be considered as poor :—(13) one is he *with* whom there is no wisdom ; (14) the second, whose body is not healthy ; (15) the third, who lives in his fear, terror², and falsehood ; (16) the fourth, who is not ruling in his

¹ L19 omits these four words.

² L19 omits 'terror.'

own body ; (17) the fifth, whose destiny is no helper ; (18) the sixth, who is infamous in the eyes of the sacred beings, and *on* the tongues of the good ; (19) *and* the seventh, who is old, *and* no child and kindred exist.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which sin is the more heinous?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of the sin which people commit, unnatural intercourse is the more heinous. 5. The second is *he* who *has* suffered *or* performed intercourse with men. 6. The third, who slays a righteous man. 7. The fourth, who breaks off a next-of-kin marriage¹. 8. The fifth, who destroys the arrangement of an adopted son (*satôr*)². 9. The sixth, who smites the fire of Varahrâm³. 10. The seventh, who kills a water-beaver⁴. 11. The eighth, who worships an idol.

¹ See Chap. IV, 4 n.

² If a man has not appointed an adopted son during his lifetime, and leaves property producing an income of eighty-four *rûpîs* or more, but no privileged wife, or child, or domesticated brother, fit for the duty of guardianship, then an adopted son must be appointed by his nearest relations after his death (see Dd. LVI-LX).

³ The sacred fire, named after the angel Varahrâm or Vâhrâm (see Chap. II, 115).

⁴ The *baprakô-î âvîk* is the Av. *bawris upâpô*, with whose skins *Ardvîsûra*, the angel of water, is said to be clothed (*Âbân Yt.* 129). It is said to have been 'created in opposition to the demon which is in the water' (see Bd. XIX, 29). Whether it is the same as the Av. *udra upâpa*, 'water-otter,' is not quite certain ; but killing the latter was considered (for some reason not clearly ascertained) a very heinous sin, for which the proper atonement is fully detailed in Vend. XIV.

12. The ninth, who believes and wishes to worship in every religion. 13. The tenth, who consumes anything which is received into his custody, and becomes an embezzler. 14. The eleventh is he who, through sinfulness, provides support for wickedness¹. 15. The twelfth, who does no work, but eats unthankfully and unlawfully. 16. The thirteenth, who commits heresy (zandîkîh)². 17. The fourteenth, who commits witchcraft. 18. The fifteenth, who commits apostasy (aharmôkîh)³. 19. The sixteenth, who *commits*⁴ demon-worship. 20. The seventeenth, who *commits* theft, or abetting (avâgîdîh) of thieves. 21. The eighteenth, who *commits* promise-breaking⁵. 22. The nineteenth, who *commits* maliciousness. 23. The twentieth, who commits oppression to make the things of others his own. 24. The twenty-first, who dis-

¹ L19 has 'falsehood.'

² The term zandîk, according to Mas'aûdî (chap. xxiv), was first applied to the Manicheans, and afterwards to all others who followed the commentary (zand) in preference to the Avesta; finally, however, the Arabs applied the term to the Persians, probably with its acquired meaning of 'heretic' or 'infidel.' A different explanation of the term is given in Pahl. Yas. LX, 11, where it is stated that 'Zand is the apostle of the wizards, and through Zand it is possible to perform witchcraft.' The Sanskrit version here adds, 'that is, he thinks well of Aharman and the demons;' and in PA10 it continues thus: 'the atheist's religion, the wicked way *that* there is no creator, there is no heaven, there is no hell, there is no resurrection, and so on; such is the meaning.'

³ From Av. ashemaogha, 'disturbing righteousness.' Nêr. adds in Sanskrit, 'that is, having thoroughly known the meaning of the Avesta, he becomes deceived.'

⁴ As the verb in § 23 can apply, in Pahlavi, to any number of preceding sections, it is omitted by K43 in §§ 19-22. The verb is also omitted by K43 in § 25 for a similar reason.

⁵ Or 'breach of contract.'

tresses a righteous man. 25. The twenty-second, who *commits* slander. 26. The twenty-third, who commits arrogance. 27. The twenty-fourth, who goes to a professional courtesan¹. 28. The twenty-fifth, who commits ingratitude. 29. The twenty-sixth, who speaks false and untrue². 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes discontent as to the affairs of those who are departed³. 31. The twenty-eighth, whose pleasure is from viciousness *and* harassing the good. 32. The twenty-ninth, who considers sin as to be urged on, and a good work as a day's delay⁴. 33. *And* the thirtieth, who becomes grieved by that happiness which is provided by him for any one.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Through how many ways and motives of good works do people arrive most at heaven?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: 'The first good work is liberality⁵. 5. The second, truth. 6. The third, thankfulness. 7. The fourth, contentment. 8. The fifth, wanting to produce welfare for the good, and becoming a friend to every one. 9. The sixth, being without doubt as to this, that the

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of zan-ô-i kârân. L19 has zan-i kasân, 'the wives of others.'

² Or 'irreverent,' according as we read arâstô or anâstô.

³ L19 has 'secluded and departed,' similar to Chap. XXXVII, 23.

⁴ It is doubtful whether sîpang, 'a halting-place,' or sîpôg, 'setting aside,' should be read; but the meaning is practically the same.

⁵ Compare Chap. IV, which divides good works into seven classes.

sky and earth and every benefit of the worldly and spiritual *existences* are owing to the creator Aûhar-mazd. 10. The seventh, *being so* as to the unquestionableness of this¹, that all misery and affliction are owing to Aharman the wicked, who is accursed. 11. The eighth, freedom from doubt as to the resurrection and future existence. 12. The ninth, who for love of the soul effects² a next-of-kin marriage. 13. The tenth, who arranges adoption³. 14. The eleventh, who practises regular industry. 15. The twelfth, who is without doubt in this pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 16. The thirteenth, who is kindly regardful as to the ability and means of every one. 17. The fourteenth, who perceives⁴ the kind regard of the good, and becomes himself, also, kindly regardful as to the goodness which *one* wants among the good. 18. The fifteenth, who seeks the affection of the good. 19. The sixteenth, who keeps malice and uncharitableness far from *his* mind. 20. The seventeenth, who bears no improper envy. 21. The eighteenth, who forms no desire of lust. 22. The nineteenth, who produces no discord with any one. 23. The twentieth, who brings no distress into the affairs of a departed and unassisted *one* (a vigîd)⁵. 24. The twenty-first, who

¹ By the transposition of two words L19 has 'freedom from doubt as to this.'

² Whether for himself, or for another, is uncertain (see Chap. IV, 4n).

³ Nêr. explains in Sanskrit, thus: 'that is, whoever becomes a spirit childless, maintains any man, with his wealth, for his fame and his lineage, then thus the soul, too, is for an increase of good works.'

⁴ L19 transposes the two verbs, 'perceives' and 'wants.'

⁵ Nêr. reads *hvazîd*, which he identifies with Pers. *hazîd*, 'con-

lets¹ no wrath into *his* body. 25. The twenty-second, who commits no sin on account of disgrace². 26. The twenty-third, who forms no desire of lethargy on account of laziness. 27. The twenty-fourth, who is without doubt as to the sacred beings. 28. The twenty-fifth, who is without doubt as to the existence of heaven and hell, and the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul, the glory which is in heaven, and the misery which is in hell. 29. The twenty-sixth, who abstains³ from slander and envious looks. 30. The twenty-seventh, who causes the happiness of himself, and gives happy advancement also to others. 31. The twenty-eighth, who becomes the help⁴ of the good, and accuser of the bad. 32. The twenty-ninth, who restrains himself from deceit and evil (*dûsh*)⁵. 33. The thirtieth, who does not speak false and untrue⁶. 34. The thirty-first, who restrains himself firmly from promise-breaking. 35. The thirty-second, who, for the sake of seeking his own benefit and happiness, causes the abstinence of others from evil. 36. *And* the thirty-third, who provides lodging accommodation for the sick and secluded⁷ and traders.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when they do not allot the happiness

ceased, secluded ;' and which might also be taken in the sense of one who has 'crawled,' meaning a young child ; but the identification is doubtful.

¹ L19 has 'keeps.'

² That is, 'for fear of disgrace.'

³ L19 has 'restrains himself.'

⁴ L19 has 'helper.'

⁵ L19 has *hva d-dôshî*, 'self-conceit.'

⁶ See Chap. XXXVI, 29 n.

⁷ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

of the worldly *existence* according to worthiness, and they make the soul a seizer upon the spiritual *existences* by worthiness of action ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'On account of the compassion of Aûharmazd, the lord, as regards the creatures, he allots all happiness alike among the good and alike among the bad. 5. But when it does not always come upon them, *it is* on account of the oppression of Aharman and the demons, and the extortion of those seven planets ¹.

6. 'And they make *one* ² a seizer upon the spiritual *existences*, by worthiness of action, on this account, because the wickedness of any ³ one arises through the performance of his own actions.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which power is the more seemly? 3. In wisdom who is the more complete? 4. And in disposition who is the more faithful? 5. Whose speech is the more proper? 6. In whose mind is the goodness little ⁴? 7. And as a friend who is the worse? 8. In whose mind is the pleasure little? 9. In heart who is the more seemly? 10. In endurance who is the more approvable? 11. Who is not to be considered as faithful? 12. What is that which is worth keeping with every one? 13. And what

¹ Which are supposed to be agents of Aharman for causing misfortune to the creatures (see Chaps. VIII, 19, 20; XII, 7-10).

² L19 has 'the soul.'

³ L19 has 'every.'

⁴ L19 has 'much the more,' to correspond with a different reply in § 26.

is that which is not to be kept with any one? 14. What is to be preserved in conversation? 15. Who is he that is not to be accepted as a witness? 16. And unto whom is it necessary to be obedient? 17. What is it more necessary to mind and to keep praising? 18. What is that which is not to be made unrespected in any way? 19. What is he who, in his own degree, is said *to be* such as Aôharmazd and the archangels? 20. And what is he who, in his own degree, is¹ such as Aharman and the demons?’

21. The spirit of wisdom answered (22) thus: ‘In power he is the more seemly who, when he indulges his wrath, is able to allay the wrath, and not commit sin and gratify himself. 23. And in wisdom he is the more complete who is able to preserve his own soul. 24. In disposition he is the more faithful, in whom there is nothing whatever *of* deceit and pretence. 25. The speech of him is the more proper who speaks more true. 26. Goodness is little in the mind of a man of wrath². 27. As a friend, a malicious man who is a fighter is worse. 28. And pleasure is little in the mind of him who is an envious man. 29. In heart he is the more seemly who abandons the worldly *existence* and seizes the spiritual *one*; (30) and by his own will accepts righteousness as a yoke (*val kavarmān*)³. 31. And in endurance he is the more approvable who⁴,

¹ L19 has ‘is said *to be*.’

² L19 has ‘goodness is more in an humble-minded man,’ so as to correspond with the difference in its question in § 6.

³ Literally, ‘for the neck.’ Nêr. has misread *val-i-k valman* (Pâz. ô-ka ôi), and has ‘by his own will for it, also accepts righteousness.’

⁴ From this point to Chap. XL, 17, the Pahlavi text of K43 is missing, owing to the loss of one folio in that MS. The copy of

[contentedly and with a will, accepts, as a yoke¹,] the misery and affliction which [come upon] him [from Aharman and the demons and the vile; (32) *and* it, in no way, harasses his own soul. 33. He is not to be considered as faithful who has no fear of the sacred beings, *nor* shame as to mankind. 34. Those which are worth keeping with every one are peace and affection. 35. And those which are not to be kept with any one whatever are malice *and* discord. 36. All² these three are to be preserved in conversation: good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds in one's own thinking, speaking, *and* doing. 37. These three are not to be accepted as a witness: a woman³, a young serving-boy⁴, and a man-slave. 38. These are such as must be personally obedient *and* do service: (39) the wife unto the husband, (40) and the child unto the father and mother, the chieftain⁵ and high-priest, the teacher⁶, the adopted son⁷, and secluded⁸ kindred. 41. *And* unto rulers, chieftains, *and* teachers *one* is also to be obedient. 42. The sacred beings it is more necessary to mind and to keep praising. 43. And one's own soul is not to be made⁹ unrespected in any mode, (44) *and* is always to be kept

TD2 is, therefore, followed, and its translation is enclosed in brackets.

¹ See § 30 n.

² L19 omits 'all.'

³ Or 'a wife,' as both meanings are expressed by the same word, and, in fact, every woman is expected to become a wife.

⁴ L19 has 'a young boy,' as in Chap. XXIX, 4.

⁵ The word *sardâr* (Pâz. *sâlâr*) also means 'guardian.'

⁶ L19 inserts 'and fire.'

⁷ See Chap. XXXVI, 8 n. As the adopted son takes the place of the deceased father, he must be obeyed accordingly by the whole family.

⁸ See Chap. XV, 6 n.

⁹ L19 has 'considered.'

in remembrance. 45. The judge who exercises true justice, *and* takes no bribe, is¹, in his own degree, such as Aûharmazd and the archangels. 46. And he who exercises false justice is said *to be*, in his own degree, such as Aharman and the demons.'

CHAPTER XL.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is the colder and what is the warmer? 3. What is the brighter and what is the darker? 4. What is the fuller and what is the emptier²? 5. What end is the more fruitless³? 6. What is that thing of which no superfluity arises *for* any one? 7. What is that which no one is able to deprive *one of*? 8. What is that thing which it is not possible to buy at a price? 9. What is that thing with which every one is always⁴ satisfied? 10. What is that with which no one⁵ whatever is satisfied? 11. What is that one wish that Aûharmazd, the lord, *contemplates*⁶ as regards men? 12. What is that one wish that Aharman, the wicked, contemplates as regards men? 13. What is the end of the worldly *existence* and what is the end of⁷ the spiritual *one*?'

14. The spirit of wisdom answered (15) thus : 'The heart of the righteous is the warmer, and that

¹ L19 has 'is said *to be*.'

² Reading tôhîktar, both here and in § 17; L19 has tangîtar, as if for tangtar, 'narrower,' in both places.

³ TD2 has 'fearless,' but this does not correspond with § 18.

⁴ L19 omits 'always.'

⁵ L19 has 'nothing.'

⁶ The verb in § 12 is sufficient in Pahlavi for this section also.

⁷ L19 omits these five words.

of the wicked the colder. 16. Righteousness is the brighter, and wickedness the darker. 17. The hope and protection which *pertain* to the sacred beings]¹ are the fuller, and those which *pertain* to the demons are the emptier². 18. The end of the world-arranging and spirit-destroying man is the more fruitless. 19. It is knowledge of which no one knows a superfluity. 20. It is learning and skill which no one is able to deprive *one of*. 21. It is understanding and intellect which it is not possible to buy at a price. 22. It is wisdom with which every one and one's own self are untroubled and satisfied. 23. It is stupidity and ignorance with which every one and even one's own self are troubled and not satisfied.

24. 'That one wish which Aûharmazd, the lord, contemplates as regards men is this, (25) that "ye shall fully understand me; for every *one* who fully understands me, comes after me and strives for my satisfaction." 26. And that one wish which Aharman contemplates as regards men is this, (27) that "ye shall not understand me;" for he knows that whoever fully understands that wicked *one*, does not go after his evil deeds³, (28) and nothing whatever of power and help for him arises⁴ from that man.

29. 'And *as to* that which is asked by thee concerning the spiritual and worldly *existences*, the worldly *existence* is, in the end, death and disappearance, (30) and of the spiritual *existence*, in the end,

¹ From this point the translation again follows the Pahlavi text of K43.

² See § 4 n.

³ L19 has 'for whoever fully understands me *as* wicked, *his* deeds do not go after me.'

⁴ L19 has 'nothing whatever of advantage and help comes to me.'

that of a soul of the righteous is undecaying, immortal, and undisturbed, full of glory and full of enjoyment, for ever and everlasting, with the angels and archangels and the guardian spirits¹ of the righteous. 31. And the bridge² and destruction³ and punishment of the wicked in hell are for ever and everlasting⁴. 32. And the wicked soul, apart from the punishment, contemplates the existence, and even the appearance⁵, with the demons and fiends just as, in the worldly *existence*, a healthy man *does that* with him who is very grievously sick.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which man is the mightier ? 3. Which road is the more dreadful ? 4. Which account is the more

¹ The guardian spirits are the spiritual representatives of each individual being and thing of the good creation, which are supposed to have been all created by Aôharmazd in the beginning (see Chap. XLIX, 23, Bd. I, 8).

² That is the investigation into the character of the soul at the Kindvar bridge (see Chap. II, 115, 162). L19 omits this mention of the bridge.

³ Reading drûs, as in L19, but this is doubtful.

⁴ This phrase can be used either with reference to time or to eternity. Time which lasts for ever must end at the resurrection, as in this case (see Chap. II, 193), because time then ceases to exist. But eternity which lasts for ever can never end. If this phrase had the same meaning here as in § 30, it would contradict all the other statements regarding the fate of the wicked, which are to be found in Pahlavi literature, including those of the author himself.

⁵ L19 has 'the wicked soul contemplates being apart from the punishment, and also apart from appearance.'

perplexing? 5. Which tie¹ is the pleasanter? 6. Which work is the more regrettable? 7. And which gift is the more unprofitable?’

8. The spirit of wisdom answered (9) thus: ‘That man is the mightier who is able to struggle with his own fiends²; (10) and, in particular, *he* who keeps these five fiends far from *his* person, (11) which are such as greediness, wrath, lust, disgrace, and discontent. 12. The road in passing over the *Kîndvar* bridge³ is the more dreadful. 13. The account for a soul of the wicked is the more perplexing. 14. The tie of children is the pleasanter and more desirable. 15. That work is the more regrettable which they do for the ungrateful. 16. *And* that gift is the more unprofitable which they give to the unworthy⁴.’

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘How many kinds of man are *there*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘*There* are three kinds of man, (5) one is man, one is demi-man, and one is demi-demon.

6. ‘A man is he who is without doubt as to the creativeness of *Aûharmazd*, the destructiveness of *Aharman*, and the existence of the resurrection and future existence; and also *as regards* every other happiness and misery, in the worldly and spiritual

¹ K43 has bôî, ‘scent,’ which is distinguished from band, ‘tie,’ only by diacritical marks in Pahlavi.

² His own passions and failings personified as fiends.

³ See Chap. II, 115, 162.

⁴ L19 has ‘to the ungrateful and unworthy.’

existences, (7) that *its* origin is from both of those *beings*, from Aûharmazd and Aharman. 8. And his belief is in this one pure, good religion of the Mazda-worshippers; (9) and he does not believe in, and does not hearken unto, any heterodoxy.

10. 'A demi-man is he who performs the affairs of the worldly and spiritual *existences* according to his own opinion, self-conceitedly and obstinately; (11) be they duties and good works by the will of Aûharmazd, or be they by the will of Aharman, they proceed from him.

12. 'A demi-demon is he in whom *there* is only as *it were* the name of man¹ and the human race, *but* in his doing of every action *he* is then like unto a two-legged demon. 13. He understands no worldly and no spiritual *existence*, (14) he understands no good work and no sin, (15) he understands no heaven and no hell, (16) and even the account which is *to be rendered* by the soul he does not think of.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How is it possible to make Aûharmazd, the archangels, and the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven more fully for oneself? 3. And how is it possible to make Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the depreciated² and dark?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus: 'To make Aûharmazd, the lord, and the archangels, and

¹ L19 has 'humanity.'

² Reading dûs-vahâk. Nêr. has misread the word dus-gand, 'evil-smelling,' both here and in §§ 5, 14.

the fragrant, well-pleasing heaven for oneself, and ¹ Aharman, the wicked, and the demons confounded, and to escape from hell, the dark and depreciated, are possible thus: (6) that is, when they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back (pûstîk-pânakîh), (7) and wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour and valour, (8) and make the spirit of truth ² a shield, (9) the spirit of thankfulness a club, (10) the spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, (11) and the spirit of liberality an arrow; (12) and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, (13) the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection ³. 14. In this manner it is possible to come to heaven and the sight of the sacred beings, and to escape from Aharman, the wicked, and hell, the depreciated.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the sky and earth arranged? 3. How are the flow and arrangement of the water in the world? 4. Whereon do the clouds rest? 5. Where is the demon of winter more predominant? 6. And which country is the more undisturbed?'

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within .

¹ L19 repeats 'to make,' but this is no more necessary in Pahlavi than in English.

² L19 inserts 'like' in §§ 8-11, and omits the verb 'make' in §§ 8, 12.

³ §§ 6-13 bear some resemblance to Isaiah lix. 17 and Ephesians vi. 14-17, so far as mode of expression is concerned.

*them*¹ are egg-like (khâtyak-dîs), just as *it were*² like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth³, like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky⁴, is just like as *it were* the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]⁵

12. 'And the flow of the water of every kind which is in the world is from the region of Arzah⁶ (13) there where the sun comes up⁷; and *its* downward surge (nîgun bâlîsnö)⁸ is towards the region of Savah (14) where⁹ the sun goes down; and the

¹ L19 has 'within the sky.'

² L19 has 'are so arranged as.' The reading of dîs, 'like,' is rather uncertain.

³ L19 adds 'and below the earth.'

⁴ L19 has 'and the earth within the sky.'

⁵ § 11 is taken from PB6, but is not found in any other Pâzand or Pârsî MS. consulted, nor in the Pahlavi text of K43; it is, therefore, probably an interpolation.

⁶ See Chap. XVI, 10 n.

⁷ This clause and the corresponding one in § 14 seem to be at variance with the statements of Bd. V, 8, XI, 3, that Arzah is in the west, and Savah in the east; Nêryôsang has, therefore, transferred the conjunction 'and' to the beginning of the section in both cases, so as to make the eastern waters flow towards Savah, and the western waters into the sea. If, however, we understand 'there' to mean 'in those places,' and not to refer to the region whose name it follows, we may conclude that the statement here is to the effect that in the east the water flows from Arzah (the western region), and in the west towards Savah (the eastern region), which might be true if we place the east in China or Bengal, and the west in Armenia or Mesopotamia, but it is more probably meant merely to imply that the whole of the water flows through the central region of Khvanîras.

⁸ L19 has anbârisnö, 'accumulation,' both here and in § 14.

⁹ L19 has 'there where;' and we must understand '*in those places where,*' as in § 13.

surging on (âbâlisnô) of the water is into the sea Pûtik¹, (15) and from the sea Pûtik it goes back to the sea Varkash².

16. 'The abode and seat of the clouds are on Albûrz³.

17. 'The demon of winter is more predominant in Airân-vêgô⁴. 18. And *it* is declared by revelation⁵, (19) that in Airân-vêgô *there* are "ten months winter and two months summer," (20) *and* "even those" two months of warm weather "are cold *as to* water, cold *as to* earth, and cold *as to* plants." 21. And their adversity⁶ is the winter, (22) and the snakes therein are many, (23) while their other adversity is little.

24. '*It* is declared that Aûharmazd created Airân-vêgô better than other places and districts⁷.

¹ Av. Pûtika, which Bd. XIII, 8-11 appears to identify with the Persian Gulf, but in early times, if not altogether mythic, it was probably some inlet of the Caspian or Aral.

² Av. Vouru-kasha; in Pahlavi it is usually called 'the wide-formed,' and in Bd. XIII, 1, 8-10 it is identified with the ocean; but in early times it was probably a term for the Caspian and Aral, when not applied to the mythic sea of the sky.

³ Av. hara berezaiti, 'a lofty mountain-range,' which is said, in Chap. LVII, 13 and in the Bundahis, to surround the world and to be the origin of all mountains (see Bd. V, 3-5, XII, 1-4). In early times it appears to have been the name of mountains to the east of the first Irânian settlements, before it was transferred to the mountain range south of the Caspian (see Geiger's Ost. Kul. pp. 42-45).

⁴ Av. Airyanem vaêgô, the first settlement of the Irânians, which Geiger (Ost. Kul. pp. 30-33) places on the upper waters of the Zarafshân river, and which Bd. XXIX, 12 describes, in accordance with late tradition, as 'in the direction of Âtûr-pâtakân (Âdarbigân).'

⁵ Vend. I, 9, 10.

⁶ Produced by the evil spirit (see Vend. I, 7, 8).

⁷ This is inferred from Vend. I, 2-4.

25. And its goodness is this, that the life of the people is three hundred years¹, (26) and of the oxen and sheep one hundred and fifty years. 27. Their pain and sickness, also, are little; (28) they fabricate (*drûgênd*)² no lies, (29) they make no lamentation and weeping, (30) and the domination of the demon of greediness (*âz*) in their bodies is little. 31. When they eat one loaf among ten men, they are satisfied. 32. And in every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man³. 33. Their law, also, is goodness, and *their* religion the primitive faith⁴; (34) and when they die they are righteous⁵. 35. Their *spiritual* chief (*ratû*), likewise, is Gôpatô⁶, and *their* lord and king is Srôsh⁷.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'By what does Aharman most deceive and lead people to hell? 3. And from what is his pleasure most? 4. Where is the place he has a foundation?

¹ Compare Chap. LXII, 18.

² L19 has *drenzinend*, 'they cause to repeat.'

³ Compare Chap. LXII, 17.

⁴ Av. *paoiryô-âkaêsha*, a term applied to the true *Mazda*-worshipping religion of all ages, both before and after the time of Zaratûst.

⁵ That is, they go at once to heaven, as the righteous soul does (see Chap. II, 123-157).

⁶ L19 has Gôpatshâh, 'the king of Gôpat' (as in Chap. LXII, 8, 31), which land is described in Dd. XC, 4 as 'coterminous with Aîrân-vêgô.' Aghrêad and his son are called kings of Gôpat in Bd. XXIX, 5, XXXI, 22; and Gôk-patô is said to be 'in the non-Aryan countries,' in the *Sûdkar Nask* (see Dd. XC, 8n).

⁷ Apparently the angel Srôsh (see Chap. II, 115).

5. Where, also, is his coming, *together* with the demons, most? 6. And from what is his food?’

7. The spirit of wisdom answered (8) thus: ‘Aharman deceives people most by prosperity and adversity¹, the fiend of apostasy, scepticism, and covetousness. 9. His pleasure, also, is most from the discord of men. 10. And his food is from the impenitence² and reticence of men. 11. He has a foundation in the malicious³. 12. And his coming and going are most with the wrathful.’

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Which is the one⁴ oppression, as regards men, *that* Aharman considers as the more injurious and great?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘Aharman, when he wrings life and wife and child and worldly happiness of every kind away from men, does not consider, as to this, that any injury whatever is inflicted by him upon that person; (5) but when he wrings away the soul of a single *individual*, and makes it utterly depraved, he then considers, as to this, that “an injury which is complete would thereby be inflicted by me,” because this is done by him through his own depravity of wish and action⁵.’

¹ Or ‘superfluity and scarcity.’

² Assuming that *apatôtakîh* stands for *apatîtakîh*, ‘non-renunciation of sin.’ L19 has ‘immoderate eating.’

³ L19 has ‘in the slanderous and malicious.’

⁴ L19 omits ‘one.’

⁵ The last fourteen words occur only in the Pahlavi text of K43.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What is that thing *which* is the most perfect of all wealth ? 3. What is that which is predominant over everything whatever ? 4. And what is that from which no one is able to escape ?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'It is wisdom which is better than the wealth of every kind which is in the world. 7. It is destiny which is predominant over every one and everything. 8. And *it is* Vâê the bad¹ from whom no one is able to escape.'

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is the dwelling of the understanding and intellect and seed of men in the body ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'The place of the understanding and intellect and seed of men is in the brain of the head. 5. And when the brain of the head is sound, the understanding and intellect and seed are on the increase ; (6) *but* when a person attains unto old age, the brain of the head remains only at a diminution. 7. And he who is an aged man, on account of the diminution of understanding and intellect, sees less and knows less of that which it is necessary to do with wisdom. 8. Wisdom, in the beginning, mingles with the marrow of the fingers of men's hands ; (9) and, afterwards,

¹ The demon which conveys the soul to its account (see Chap. II, 115).

its seat and abode and place¹ are in the heart. 10. And its dwelling² in the whole body becomes such as the shape of the foot in various shoes (mûg-kakö).³

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'As to these stars which are apparent in the sky, and their number is so great, what is then their duty and influence? 3. And how is the motion of the sun and moon and stars?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'Of the stars which are in the sky the first star is Tistar⁴, which is said *to be* great and good, more valuable and more glorious⁵. 6. And prosperity of every kind and the fertility of the world are in the path of Tistar.

7, 8. 'And the star of water germs is for the increase of the star of plant germs⁶. 9, 10. And the star of plant germs is for the increase of cattle germs⁷.

¹ L19 has 'its seat and abiding place.'

² L19 has 'and the dwelling of the soul.'

³ L19 has 'in the shoe.'

⁴ Av. Tistrya, the eastern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Tîr (Mercury), which can be identified only with Sirius. It is personified as an angel who contends with the demon of drought and produces rain (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1, VII, 1-13).

⁵ The usual Avesta epithets of Tistar are 'the radiant and glorious.'

⁶ L19 has 'for the increase of water. And the star of earth germs is for the increase of earth.'

⁷ L19 has 'for the increase of plants. And the star of cattle germs is for the increase of cattle.' The stars of water, earth, and plant germs are mentioned in the formula of dedication to Tistar (Sir. 13), and the moon is said to possess the germs of cattle (Sir. 12).

11. And water, fire¹, plant, and cattle germs are created for the increase of man germs².

12. 'And the star Vanand³ is intrusted with the passes *and* gates of Albûrz⁴; (13) so that the demons and witches and fiends *may* turn from those gates and passes, (14) that *it may* not *be* possible for them to cut off and break up the road and passage of the sun and moon and stars⁵.

15. 'And the star Haptôk-ring⁶, with 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous⁷, is intrusted with the gate and passage of hell⁸, (16) for the keeping

Reference is also made to all of them in Rashnu Yt. 29-31, 33, and to those of water germs in Vend. XXI, 33, Tîstar Yt. 39, 45, 46.

¹ L19 has 'earth.'

² L19 has 'for the increase of men.' As both the Pahlavi and Pâzand versions of §§ 7-11 are complete and consistent in themselves, it is uncertain which of them gives the original text. The Pâzand corresponds more closely to certain passages in the Avesta, but a wish to produce such a correspondence may have led Nêr-yôsang to alter the text. That the Pahlavi writer was thinking of some other passage, as yet unidentified, is evident from the omission of the star Satavēs (which follows Tîstar in Sir. 13) and from the details he gives concerning the others.

³ The southern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Aûharmazd (Jupiter), which is perhaps best identified with Fomalhaut (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it in connection with Tîstar (Sir. 13).

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ Which are supposed to rise and set through openings or passes in the mountain range of Albûrz, which encircles the world (see Bd. V, 5).

⁶ Av. Haptôiringa, the northern leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Vâhrâm (Mars), which corresponds to Ursa Major (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1). The Avesta mentions it, in connection with the other stars named in the text, in Sir. 13.

⁷ See Fravardîn Yt. 60. The number here mentioned is that generally used in the Avesta to express an indefinitely large number.

⁸ Which is supposed to be in the north, so that the circumpolar

back of those 99,999 demons and fiends, witches and wizards, who are in opposition to the *celestial* sphere and constellations *of the zodiac*. 17. Its motion, also, is round about hell; (18) and its special business is this, as *it were* it holds the twelve signs of the zodiac by the hand, in *their* proper going and coming. 19. And those twelve constellations also proceed *in* like manner by the power and help of Haptôk-ring¹; (20) and every single constellation, when it comes in at Albûrz, provides support for Haptôk-ring², (21) and begs protection from Haptôk-ring.

22. 'The remaining unnumbered and innumerable constellations³ which are apparent are said *to be* the guardian spirits of the worldly *existences*. 23. Because, *as to* the creatures and creations of every kind, that the creator Aûharmazd created for the worldly *existence*, which are procreative and also which are developable (ârôdisnîk)⁴, for every single body *there* is apparent its own single guardian spirit of a like nature.

24. 'And the motion of the sun and moon is the special illumination of the world, (25) and the maturing of procreations and growths of all kinds. 26. And the correct keeping of the day, month, and year, summer and winter, spring and autumn, and other calculations and accounts of all kinds which men ought to obtain, perceive, and understand, (27)

constellation of Ursa Major seems to revolve around it, and to remain on the watch.

¹ Written Haptâôrig in §§ 19-21 in K₄₃.

² L₁₉ has 'holds to Haptôk-ring by the hand.'

³ L₁₉ has 'stars.'

⁴ L₁₉ has azâisnî, 'unprocreative.'

are more fully defined by means of the setting (nisīva kō)¹ of the sun and moon.'

CHAPTER L.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that opulent *person* who is to be considered as fortunate, and which is that *one* who is to be considered as evil-conditioned ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'That *one* who has produced opulence by proper exertion is to be considered as fortunate ; and that *one* who has produced *it* by dishonesty, as evil-conditioned.'

CHAPTER LI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when there are *instances* when a lazy, ignorant, and bad man attains to eminence and great welfare, (3) and there are *instances* when a worthy, wise, and good man attains to grievous misery, perplexity, and indigence ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : '*As to* him who is a lazy, ignorant, and bad man, when his destiny becomes a helper, that laziness of his then becomes like unto diligence, that ignorance unto² knowledge, and that vileness unto² goodness. 6. And *as to* him who is a wise, worthy, and good man, when his destiny is an opponent, that wisdom of his then turns to stupidity and foolishness (alākīh), and that worthiness to ignorance ; (7) and *his*

¹ Nêr. reads *vaheza* and translates 'new year's day.'

² L19 has 'like unto' in all three clauses.

knowledge, skill, and worthiness become manifestly secluded¹.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'How is it necessary to perform the ceremonial of the sacred beings and the thanksgiving for the welfare which is owing to the sacred beings? 3. *And* how is the renunciation of *sin* to be performed for the preservation of the soul?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'That ceremonial of the sacred beings is good which they perform in this pure, good religion of the *Mazda*-worshippers. 6. Its origin, also, is goodness and truth, and freedom from doubt in the sacred beings. 7. And for the little and the much that has come *there has* arisen thanksgiving unto the sacred beings; and *one* is to meditate upon the gratifications (*shnû-makân*) and prosperity which are owing to the sacred beings and to keep grateful². 8. And even when perplexity and misery come on from Aharman and the demons, *he* is not to become doubtful as to the treasure of the sacred beings, (9) and not to diminish the thanksgiving unto the sacred beings. 10. And every disaster which springs up *he* is to give back³ to the violence of Aharman and the demons. 11. *He* is not to seek his own welfare and advantage through the injury of any one else; (12) and he

¹ See Chap. XV, 6n. Nêr. has in Sans. 'are manifest in immobility.'

² The Pâzand version omits the latter half of this section, and also uses the present tense instead of the infinitive in several of the following sections.

³ Perhaps 'trace back' may be meant, but this is uncertain.

becomes compassionate as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd. 13. In duty and good works *he* is diligent and striving¹; (14) *and* especially in the care of water and fire² *he* is to persevere much. 15. And *he* is to be without doubt as to this, that, except happiness, the sacred beings do not then³ give anything whatever, *as* a modification⁴ of it, unto men; and Aharman and the demons, except misery, do not then³ give them any happiness.

16. 'For the existence of renunciation *of sin* the special thing is this, that *one* commits no sin voluntarily; (17) and if, through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation *of sin* before the high-priests and the good. 18. And after that, *when*⁵ he does not commit *it*, then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus a sweeping (êsvârakö)⁶ from his body; (19) just as the wind which is hasty and mighty, when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass (gîyyâkîka-kö-1) and anything which is broken *in* that place.'

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'How are the homage and glorifying of the sacred beings to be performed?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus:

¹ L19 has 'he acts diligently and strivingly.'

² L19 adds 'and plants.'

³ Reading êdînas; Nêr. has misread ainâ, 'otherwise.'

⁴ Reading gvîdarîh; Nêr. has misread vatarî, 'an evil.'

⁵ L19 has 'too,' and K43 omits the word.

⁶ Misread avâz, 'away,' by Nêryôsang.

'Every day three times, standing opposite the sun and Mitrô¹, as they proceed together², (5) and³ the moon and fire of Vâhrâm⁴, or the fire of fires⁵, in like manner, morning, noon, and evening, homage and glorifying are performed, (6) and *one has* become grateful⁶. 7. And if a sin, or a deficiency (frôd-mând-î)⁷, *has* occurred, especially⁸ as regards the angels of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, men and beasts of *burden*⁹, oxen and sheep, dogs and the dog species, and other creatures and creations of Aûhar-mazd the lord, (8) *one* is to become sorrowful, penitent, and in renunciation of *sin* before the sun and Mitrô, the moon and the fire of Aûhar-mazd¹⁰; (9) and, for the sake of atonement *for* the sin, good works are to be practised as much as is well possible.'

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: 'Wherefore *is it* when an ignorant man—when they bring advancement to him—considers the learning

¹ The angel of the sun's light (see Chap. II, 118 n).

² L19 adds 'homage and glorifying are to be performed;' but this is unnecessary.

³ L19 inserts 'opposite.'

⁴ The sacred fire (see Chap. XXXVI, 9 n).

⁵ A fire in which the remnants of all other fires are deposited from time to time.

⁶ We ought probably to read '*one* is to perform homage and glorifying, and to be grateful.'

⁷ L19 omits 'or a deficiency.'

⁸ Reading fraêstô; Nêr. reads pargast and translates 'somewhat.'

⁹ L19 omits the 'beasts of burden.'

¹⁰ These are four out of the five existences to which the daily Nyâyises or supplications are addressed.

and advancement of the wise and good mostly so¹, through greediness, that to teach *it* to him is difficult?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because the ignorant man considers, in thought, his own ignorance as good as the sage *does*, in thought, his own knowledge.’

CHAPTER LV.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus: ‘Wherefore is he who is an ill-natured man no friend of the good, *nor* an untalented man of a talented *one*?’

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus: ‘For this reason, because he who is an ill-talented² man is *at* [all]³ times *in* fear of the talented, (5) lest “they should trouble⁴ us by *their* skill and talent, and, owing to that circumstance, shame *may* come upon *us* before the good and *our* opponents.”

6. ‘And the ill-natured are no friends of the good for this reason, because *there* is a time for their annihilation and destruction by the hands of the good.’

¹ L19 has ‘such vexation,’ by reading *bêsh* instead of *vêsh*.

² L19 has ‘untalented.’

³ K43 omits ‘all,’ and its text may be translated thus:—‘because the position of him who is an ill-talented man is *in* danger from the talented.’

⁴ Reading *aê rangênd*. Nêr. has the doubtful reading *airôzi-nend*, ‘they enlighten,’ and also several other variations, so as to produce the following meaning:—‘lest “these enlighten *others* by the skill and talent which are not mine,” and shame come upon him before the good and *his* helpmates.’

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore are these mountains and rivers¹ made, which are in the world?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of these mountains, which are in the world, there are *some* which are moderators of the wind, and there are *some* which are² warders off; (5) there are *some* which are the place and vent, the resting-place and support of the rainy cloud; (6) and there are *some* which are smiters of Aharman and the demons, and maintainers and vivifiers of the creatures and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord.

7. 'And these rivers, which are in the world, the creator Aûharmazd has formed, from the borders of Albûrz³, for providing the protection and *for* the vivification of his own creatures and creation.'

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when the knowledge and sagacity of the spiritual and worldly *existences*, both united, are connected with thee?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'For this reason, because, from the first, I, who am the innate wisdom, *apart* from the spiritual and worldly existences, have been with Aûharmazd. 5. And

¹ Or it may be 'seas,' as the Sanskrit version translates the word, both here and in § 7, but this hardly agrees with the context.

² L19. omits these five words.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

the creator Aûharmazd created (âfrîdō) the angels of the spiritual and worldly creations, and all the other creatures and creations through the power and mightiness, the wisdom and sagacity of innate wisdom; and I produce¹ and he maintains and stimulates *them*. 6. And at the end of the renovation of *the universe* it is possible to cause the annihilation and destruction of Aharman and his miscreations more fully by the power of wisdom; (7) and Sôshâns², with Kaî-Khûsrôî², and those who cause the resurrection and future existence are able to act more fully, by means of the power and help of wisdom.

8. 'The knowledge and sagacity of the worldly *existence*, the learning and teaching in³ every profession, and all advancement of temporal *beings*⁴ are through wisdom. 9. The souls of the righteous, in escaping from hell⁵ and coming⁶ to heaven and the supreme heaven (garôdmân), arrive much better by means of the power and protection of wisdom. 10. And it is possible to seek the good living, pleasure, good repute, and every happiness of people in the worldly *existence*, through the power of wisdom.

11. 'And the maintenance of the seeds of men

¹ So in K43, but Nêr. has taken this verb in the third person, in place of the nearly synonymous âfrîdō, so as to state that the creator 'created, maintains, and stimulates the angels' and all other existences through the power of innate wisdom. The object of the Pahlavi text, however, seems to be to emphasize the fact that the creation was specially due to the innate wisdom of the creator, while its maintenance is dependent on all his powers and attributes.

² See Chaps. II, 95, XXVII, 63.

³ L19 has 'of.'

⁴ L19 has 'times.'

⁵ That is, in escaping from the risk of being sent to hell.

⁶ L19 omits 'and coming.'

and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, and also every other creature and creation of Aûharmazd, the lord, the seating¹ of *them* in the womb, and making manifest what is their food in the womb, so that they shall not die from hunger and thirst, and the allotment and maturing of the limbs are effected² more fully by means of the durability (dôrângarîh) and great potency which are in the force³ of wisdom.

12. 'The arrangement of the earth and the mingling of the water in the earth, the growth and increase of plants, colour of various kinds, and the scent, taste, and pleasantness of various things are allotted and produced more fully through wisdom.

13. And the arrangement of Albûrz⁴ around the world, the manifestation of the earth of the seven regions⁵ and the sky above the mountain of Albûrz, the motion of the sun and moon and twelve constellations⁶, the six times of the season festivals (gâsân bâr)⁷, the five times *devoted* to the guardian spirits (fravardîkân)⁸, the heaven which is in the place of good thoughts, the place of good words, the place of good deeds, and the perfect supreme

¹ Nêr. has read shâyastan, 'possibility,' instead of nishâstanô, 'seating.'

² Reading vâdûnî-hênd. L19 has 'are possible to effect.'

³ L19 has 'by means of the great potency and force.'

⁴ See Chap. XLIV, 16 n.

⁵ See Chap. IX, 2 n.

⁶ The signs of the zodiac, whose apparent movement, due to the motion of the earth, is here alluded to.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 5 n.

⁸ The five supplementary days, named after the five Gâthas or sacred hymns, which follow the twelfth month in order to complete the Parsi year of 365 days. Together with the five preceding days they are specially devoted to the homage of the guardian spirits or Fravashis.

heaven (garôdmân) of all gloriousness¹, the path of the spirits and worldly *existences*, and the *Kindvar* bridge² are produced and allotted through the power of wisdom.

14. 'The watery-looking³ cloud's seizing water from the sea, advancing in the atmosphere, and gradually breaking away⁴, drop by drop, to the earth, and Aûharmazd's⁵ creatures' thoroughly understanding the nature of heaven and hell, the compassion of Aûharmazd, the archangels, and other angels as regards their own creatures, and the devastation and destructiveness of Aharman and the demons as regards the creatures of Aûharmazd it is possible to comprehend through the more complete power⁶ of wisdom. 15. And the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, the sayings and teaching of the spirits⁷, and the demons' demolishing the worldly body *and* making *it* imperceptible by the sight of men are apprehended⁸ more fully by means of the most perfect means of wisdom. 16. And even the struggle and warfare of Irân with foreigners (an-aîrân), and the smiting of Aharman and the demons it is possible to effect through the power of wisdom.

¹ The four grades of heaven (see Chap. VII, 9-12).

² See Chap. II, 115 n. By omitting 'and' Nêr. identifies this bridge with the path mentioned before it, but it forms only one portion of the path to the other world.

³ Assuming that mâ-vênakô stands for mayâ-vênakô.

⁴ Pahl. vîkhtanô is more probably connected with Pers. kîkhtan, 'to break,' than with Pers. pîkhtan, 'to sift.'

⁵ The Sanskrit version adds 'and Aharman's.'

⁶ L19 has 'more fully through the power.'

⁷ L19 has 'worldly *existences*.'

⁸ Reading girî-hastô. L19 has 'are effected.'

17. 'To occasion the sun's inspection of the hidden water also, below the earth, it is expedient to convey *it* for tillage and cultivation, and the advantage, comfort, and enjoyment of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen and sheep, through the power of wisdom. 18. The thorough understanding of the pain and sickness of men and beasts *of burden*, oxen, sheep, and other animals, and the bringing of medicine and remedies, health of body and comfort unto them are much more possible to effect¹ by means of the power of wisdom.

19. 'And *as to* every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more. 20. Even *as to* Vistâsp², Zaratûst³, Gâyô-mard⁴, and those others whose share of heaven *was* much the more⁵, *it was* on account of the much coming of wisdom unto them. 21. And *as to* Yim, Frêdûn, Kât-Ûs⁶, and those other rulers who obtained splendour (*vargô*) and mightiness (*tagakîh*)⁷ from the sacred beings—just as the participation of Vistâsp and other rulers in the religion occurred⁸—and their not attaining to the religion, and also as to the *times* when they have become ungrateful unto their own lord⁹, *it was* on account of the little coming of wisdom unto them.

22. 'And Aharman, also, and the demons deceive that man more, and lead *him* to hell, who is poorer

¹ L19 omits 'to effect.'

² See Chap. XIII, 14 n.

³ See Chap. I, 10 n.

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 2 n.

⁵ L19 has 'who more fully obtained a share of heaven.'

⁶ See Chap. VIII, 27, where all three are mentioned.

⁷ L19 has 'opulence.'

⁸ This clause occurs only in K43.

⁹ They all three suffered misfortunes in their old age, attributed by the priesthood to neglect of religion, which is here traced to diminution of intellect.

of wisdom and unsteadier in disposition. 23. And *it* is manifest, that, unto *him* who is virtuous in disposition, habit, and demeanour¹, praise is then *due*, owing to his maintenance of wisdom. 24. For *it* is declared, that Aharman shouted to Zaratûst thus²: "If thou desist from this good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, then I *will* give thee a thousand years' dominion of the worldly *existence*, (25) as *was* given to the Vadakân³ monarch Dahâk⁴." 26. On account of complete wisdom, the virtuous disposition and demeanour of Zaratûst not *having* hearkened and not being deluded, he did not become deceived and longing through that temptation of the accursed evil *one*, the wicked⁵. 27. And he spoke to Aharman (28) thus: "I *will* shatter and cause to run (dûkânâ⁶)⁶, and *will* make downcast (nigûtsâr) for thee⁷, the bodies of your demons and fiends, wizards and witches, through the Hô⁸ and sacred twigs⁹, and the good, true

¹ L19 has 'virtuous in disposition and virtuous of demeanour.'

² This is stated, in other words, in Vend. XIX, 23-32.

³ As Vadak is said (Dd. LXXII, 5) to have been the mother of Dahâk, this term may be a matronymic implying 'son of Vadak.'

⁴ See Chap. VIII, 29 n.

⁵ This section is a good deal altered in the Pâzand version, but the general meaning is the same.

⁶ L19 has *va vânom*, 'and I *will* smite.'

⁷ L19 has 'and *will* make withered (*nizâr*).'

⁸ A plant growing in Persia, small twigs of which are pounded in water, and the resulting juice is tasted by the priest during the ceremonial. It is a symbol of the mythic Hô⁸, the producer of immortality (see Chap. LXII, 28). Originally, no doubt, the Hô⁸ (Av. haoma) and the Sans. soma were the same plant (see Dd. XLVIII, 16 n).

⁹ The baresô⁸ (Av. baresma) is a bundle of slender twigs or wires, prepared in a particular manner, to be held in the left hand

religion which the creator Aûharmazd *has* taught to me." 29. Aharman, when those words *were* heard by him, became confounded and stupefied, and rushed to hell, and remained confounded a long time.

30. 'This, too, is declared, that Aûharmazd, when Aharman, by agreement¹, had further operated.² with his (Aûharmazd's) creatures and creation of every kind, afterwards formed an assembly with the angels and archangels of every kind³, and the welfare (âvâdîh) due to his own wisdom *was* mentioned and recounted by him.

31. 'This, too, is declared, that *for* the nine thousand years of renovation⁴, until the resurrection and future existence, wisdom maintains and stimulates the creatures and creation of every kind.

32. 'And this, too, is declared, that, *as to* him who is an ignorant and bad-tempered man, when he attains even to much eminence, opulence, and authority, even then he is not fit to elevate into that welfare and authority.'

of the priest while reciting certain parts of the liturgy (see Dd. XLIII, 5 n).

¹ The covenant between the good and evil spirits, by which their conflict was limited to nine thousand years (see Bd. I, 18, 19).

² That is, transformed and vitiated them. The Av. frâkerentad (Vend. I, 7), describing the modifying work of the evil spirit upon the creation, is here expressed by frâgō vâdûnd.

³ Such an assembly is mentioned in Vend. II, 42, but its proceedings are not stated.

⁴ So in all versions, but, as the renovation is generally considered as confined to the end of the nine thousand years, we ought perhaps to transpose the words and read '*for* the nine thousand years, until the renovation, resurrection, and future existence.'

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Wherefore *is it* when *one* turns the ignorance and foolishness of an ignorant king back to knowledge and cleverness, on account of the sovereignty which is his ; (3) and, *as to* a poor man, who is wise¹, *one* turns the knowledge and sagacity, which are his, back to foolishness and uselessness, on account of the poverty ?'

4. The spirit of wisdom answered (5) thus : 'On account of the deceit and violence of the fiend² of greediness (6) men utter more words as to the manliness of every one whose wealth and power are more, and recount *his* deeds and actions more fully ; (7) but, in the eyes of the angels and archangels, a poor *man* who is innocent and wise is better and more precious than a king *or* opulent *man*³ who is ignorant.'

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'What are the vices of priests ? 3. What are the vices of warriors ? 4. What are the vices of husbandmen ? 5. And what are the vices of artizans⁴ ?'

6. The spirit of wisdom answered (7) thus : 'The vices of priests are heresy, covetousness, negligence,

¹ L19 adds 'and innocent.'

² L19 has 'demon.'

³ L19 has 'than an opulent king.'

⁴ Literally 'the well-endavouring,' the lowest of the four classes of the community here mentioned (see also Chaps. XXXI, XXXII).

trafficking (sûdākîh)¹, attention to trifles, and unbelief in the religion.

8. 'The vices of warriors are oppression, violence, promise-breaking, unmercifulness (an-avôkhshâgâ-vandîh), ostentation (dakhshîh)², haughtiness, and arrogance.

9. 'The vices of husbandmen are ignorance, enviousness, ill-will, and maliciousness.

10. 'And the vices of artizans are unbelief, want of thanksgiving, improper muttering of *prayers*, moroseness, and abusiveness.'

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Of mankind which are more conversant with good and evil ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'Of mankind *he* whose sojourn³ and business are with the bad⁴, and they provide him a name for good repute and goodness, is the man more conversant with good. 5. And he whose sojourn and business are with the good⁵, and they provide him a name for disrepute, is the man more conversant with evil.

6. 'Because it is said, (7, 8) that whoever joins with the good brings good with *him*, and whoever

¹ Or, perhaps, 'usuriousness.' The Sanskrit version has 'laziness,' as if Nêr. had read âsûdākîh.

² Nêr. has read gahî, and translated 'incontinence.'

³ Reading nisastô. L19 has 'whose business is most (vêstast), both here and in § 5.

⁴ L19 has 'the good.'

⁵ L19 has 'the bad.'

joins with the bad *brings*¹ evil—(9) just like the wind which, when it impinges on stench, is² stench, (10) and when it impinges on perfume, is perfume,—(11) *it* is, therefore, notorious³, (12) that he whose business is with the good receives good, (13) and *he* whose business is with the bad *receives*⁴ evil; (14) but, even then, both are to be considered as an experiment (aûzmâyisnō)⁵.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is the chief of men? Which is the chief of women? 3. Which is the chief of horses? Which is the chief of flying creatures? 4. [Which is the chief of oxen?]⁶ Which is the chief of wild animals? Which is the chief of grains?'

5. The spirit of wisdom answered (6) thus : 'The man who is wise, who is steadfast in the religion, who is well-praising, who is true-speaking is chief over *his* associates.

¹ L19 has 'will bring with *him*' in both clauses, but the repetition is unnecessary in Pahlavi.

² L19 has 'will bring with *it*,' both here and in § 10.

³ L19 has 'proper to know.'

⁴ K43 does not repeat this verb.

⁵ L19 has 'by the result (anzâmesn).' The meaning is that, though a man's character is generally in accordance with the company he keeps, this must not be assumed without proof; and when the contrary is the case, as stated in §§ 4, 5, his own disposition must be of a very decided nature. Nêryôsang seems to have misunderstood the author's argument, and, supposing §§ 6–13 to contain a mere illustration of §§ 4, 5, he considered it necessary to transpose 'the bad' and 'the good' in §§ 4, 5, so as to make the illustration applicable.

⁶ K43 omits the question in brackets.

7. 'The woman who is young¹, who is properly disposed, who is faithful, who is respected, who is good-natured, who enlivens the house, whose modesty and awe are virtuous, a friend of her own father and elders², husband and guardian, handsome and replete with animation³ is chief over the women who are her own associates.

8. 'The ox which is glorious, which is tall-eared, which has a herd *of cows* is chief over oxen.

9. 'The *Kîharâv*⁴ is the chief of birds. 10. The horse which is swift⁵ is the chief of horses. 11. The hare⁶ is the chief of wild animals; *and* wheat⁷ is the chief of grains.'

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'In what place stands Kangdez? 3. Where is the enclosure formed by Yim constructed⁸? 4. In what

¹ L19 has 'talking, eloquent.'

² Nêr. translates nîyâk by 'father's brother,' an elder who is considered as a special protector in India.

³ Reading namag-âkûn, which epithet is omitted in L19.

⁴ A name of the Karsipt, who is said to be the chief of birds in this world (Pahl. Visp. I, 1, Bd. XXIV, 11), the Vis Karsipta who brought the religion to the enclosure formed by Yim (see Vend. II, 138, 139), and which is said, in the Pahlavi version, to be 'a *Kâhâr-vâk* (or *Kâhâr-nâk*) who goes back into the existence of the spirits.' To determine the meaning of this name (which Nêr. translates by Sans. *ĥakravâka*, 'Brahmany duck') we have to consider not only the two forms *kîharâv* and *kâhâr-vâk*, but also the term *kark*, 'falcon,' used in Bd. XXIV, 11. The *kâmrôs* of Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29 (the *kînâmrôs* of Chap. LXII, 40) is also said to be the chief of birds, but probably mythic birds are meant.

⁵ L19 has 'white,' as in Bd. XXIV, 6.

⁶ See Bd. XXIV, 9.

⁷ See Bd. XXIV, 19.

⁸ L19 omits 'constructed.'



place lies¹ the body of Sâhm? 5. Where is the abode of Srôsh? 6. *In* what place stands the three-legged ass? 7. Where is the Hôrn grown, the preparer of the dead, with which they restore the dead and produce the future existence? 8. In which place is² Gôpâtôshah? 9. With what work is the Kar fish intrusted? 10. Where has the griffon bird a nest (âsîyân)³? 11. *In* what place sits Kînâmros, and what is his work?'

12. The spirit of wisdom answered (13) thus: 'Kangdez⁴ is intrusted with the eastern quarter, near to Satavâyês⁵, (14) on the frontier of Airân-vêgô⁶.

15. 'The enclosure formed by Yim⁷ is constructed in Airân-vêgô, below the earth⁸. 16. And every species and seed of all the creatures and creations of Aûharmazd, the lord, whatever is better and more select of man and beast of *burden*, of cattle and flying creatures is brought thither⁹. 17. And every forty years one child is born from one woman and one man¹⁰ who are of that place; (18) their life,

¹ L19 has 'remains.'

² L19 has 'remains.'

³ L19 has 'a resting-place.'

⁴ See Chap. XXVII, 58, 62.

⁵ Av. Satavaêsa, the western leader of the stars and special opponent of the planet Anâhîd (Venus), which may, perhaps, be identified with Antares (see Bd. II, 7, V, 1), though Geiger (Ost. Kul. p. 313) thinks Vega more probable. It also protects the southern seas, and its name is applied to the gulf of 'Umân in that direction (see Bd. XIII, 9-13, Zs. VI, 16, 18). But its connection with the east, as implied in our text, requires explanation, and throws some doubt upon the reading.

⁶ See Chap. XLIV, 17-23.

⁷ See Chap. XXVII, 27-31.

⁸ So stated in Bd. XXXII, 5, and probably meaning that its position could no longer be discovered on earth. Bd. XXIX, 14 states that it is in the middle of Pârs, below Mount Yimakân.

⁹ See Vend. II, 106-113.

¹⁰ Perhaps we should understand 'from each woman and each

too, is three hundred years¹, (19) and their pain and disturbance are little².

20. 'The body of Sâhm³ is in the plain of Pê-sândas⁴, near to Mount Dimâvand⁵. 21. And on that plain, except corn and the eatable things they sow and reap *and* live upon, there is not so much as a single other tree⁶, *or* shrub, *or* plant; (22) and its golden colour is mostly wormwood⁷. 23. And the angels and archangels have appointed 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous as a protection for the body of Sâhm⁸, (24) so that the demons and fiends *may* not injure it.

25. 'The abode of Srôsh⁹ is mostly in Arzah¹⁰, and afterwards also in Savah and the whole world.

man,' that is, a couple of children from each couple, which would agree with Vend. II, 134.

¹ Pahl. Vend. II, 136 has 150 years.

² The characteristics mentioned in §§ 17-19 are ascribed to the whole of Aîrân-vêgô in Chap. XLIV, 25, 27, 32.

³ See Chap. XXVII, 49.

⁴ L19 has Pust Gustâspâ, 'the ridge of Vistâsp,' which appears, from Bd. XII, 18, 34, XVII, 8, to have been somewhere in the central desert of Persia. In Bd. XXIX, 7-9, 11 we are told that Sâm lies asleep in the plain of Pêsyânsâf (evidently the Pêrândas of our text) in Kâvulistân, till he is waked hereafter to slay Dahâk, who escapes from Mount Dimâvand. This legend may have led to the perplexing juxtaposition of Pêrândas and Dimâvand in our text, and the perplexity occasioned by this may have led Nêr. to substitute Pûst-î Vistâspân for the former name, as being nearer Dimâvand.

⁵ The highest peak of the modern Albûrz, in which Dahâk is said to be confined (see Bd. XII, 31).

⁶ Reading hânô drû-aê; L19 has han mûrd, 'another myrtle-bush.'

⁷ With yellow blossoms.

⁸ As stated in Fravardîn Yt. 61.

⁹ See Chap. II, 115.

¹⁰ The western region, as Savah is the eastern one (see Chap. XVI, 10).

26. 'The three-legged ass¹ sits² amid the sea Varkash³; (27) and *as to* water of every kind that rains on dead matter, the menstrual discharge, and other bodily refuse⁴, when it arrives at the three-legged ass, he makes every kind clean and purified, with watchfulness.

28. 'The Hô⁵, which is the preparer of the dead, is grown in the sea Varkash, in that which is the deepest place; (29) and 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous are appointed *as* its protection⁶.

30. The Kar fish⁷, too, ever circles around it, and always keeps the frog and other noxious creatures away from it.

31. 'Gôpaîtôshah⁸ is in Atrân-vêgô, within the region of Khvantras⁹. 32. From foot to mid-body *he* is an ox, and from mid-body to the top *he* is a man. 33. And *at* all times he sits on the sea-shore, (34) and always performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and pours holy-water into the sea. 35. On account of which¹⁰, through the pouring of that holy-water, innumerable noxious creatures in

¹ A prodigious monster of benevolent character, described in Bd. XIX, 1-12; possibly some local divinity.

² L19 has 'stands,' as is also stated in Yas. XLI, 28.

³ See Chap. XLIV, 15.

⁴ L19 adds 'and pollution.'

⁵ The white Hô⁵ or Gôkarn, the tree of immortality (see Bd. XVIII, 1, XXVII, 4). It is 'the preparer of the dead,' because the elixir of immortality is expected to be prepared from it at the resurrection (see Bd. XXX, 25).

⁶ Those who watch over the sea Vouru-kasha (see Fravardîn Yt. 59).

⁷ Ten such fish, of enormous size and intense watchfulness, are said to be employed to protect the Gôkarn from a lizard or frog sent by Aharman to injure it (see Bd. XVIII, 2-6).

⁸ See Chap. XLIV, 35n.

⁹ See Chap. XXVII, 40.

¹⁰ L19 omits these four words.

the sea will die. 36. Because, if he does not specially perform that celebration of the ceremonial, and does not pour that holy-water into the sea—where those innumerable noxious creatures shall utterly perish¹—then, whenever the rain shall rain, the noxious creatures *have* to rain just like rain.

37. 'The nest of the griffon bird² is on the tree opposed to harm, the many-seeded³. 38. Whenever he rises aloft a thousand twigs will shoot out from that tree, (39) and when he alights he breaks off the thousand twigs and bites the seed from them. 40. And the bird *K'înâmrôs*⁴ alights likewise *in* that vicinity; (41) and his work is this, that he collects those seeds which are bitten from the tree of many seeds, which is opposed to harm, and he scatters (*pargandêd*) *them*, there where *Tîstar*⁵ seizes the water; (42) so that, while *Tîstar* shall seize the water, *together* with those seeds of all kinds, he shall rain *them* on the world with the rain⁶.'

¹ L19 has 'and those innumerable noxious creatures do not utterly perish.'

² The *Sênô-mûrûv* (Av. *saênô mereghô*) or Simurgh, a mythic flying creature said to suckle its young and to be of three natures like the bat (see Bd. XIV, 11, 24, XIX, 18).

³ L19 has 'of all seeds.' This tree, from which all wild plants are supposed to spring, is said to grow in the sea near the *Gôkarn* tree, and also in *Aîrân-vêgô* (see Bd. IX, 5, 6, XVIII, 9, XXVII, 2, XXIX, 5).

⁴ The chief of mythic birds next to the *Sênô-mûrûv*; he is said to defend Irân from invasion by occasionally picking up foreign districts like grains of corn (see Bd. XIX, 15, XXIV, 29).

⁵ The angel who personifies the star *Tîstar* (Sirius, see Chap. XLIX, 5, 6), after a conflict with the demons of drought and thunder (see Bd. VII, 1-13), pours down rain from the cloud, in which he had brought the water from the sea.

⁶ Originally, the archangel *Amerodad* (see Chap. II, 34) is said

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sage asked the spirit of wisdom (2) thus : 'Which is that good work which is greater and better¹ than [all²] good works, and no trouble (angīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance³ ?'

3. The spirit of wisdom answered (4) thus : 'To be grateful in the world, (5) *and* to wish happiness for every one. 6. This is greater and better than every good work, and no commotion (angegīnakō) whatever is necessary for its performance⁴.'

Peace and prosperity⁵.

to have mingled the plants with the rain (see Bd. IX, 2) ; but afterwards this was done by the mythic bird (see Bd. XXVII, 3). This legend was evidently intended to account for the rapid appearance of wild plants after rain in dry climates, where all traces of vegetation often disappear during the summer droughts.

¹ L19 inserts 'more valuable and more advantageous.'

² K43 omits 'all.'

³ L19 has 'no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

⁴ This reply is much altered by Nêr. and stands as follows, in L19 :—'To wish happiness for every one ; (5) to be grateful unto the sacred beings and the good ; (6) in every position and time to consider and keep in remembrance Aôharmazd, as regards creativeness, and Aharman, as regards destructiveness ; (7) and to be without doubt as to the existence of the sacred beings, the religion and soul, heaven and the account in the three *days*, and the reality of the resurrection and future existence. 8. This, most especially, is the good work which is greater and better, more valuable and more advantageous than all good works, and no trouble and expense are necessary in it.'

The text of all versions ends abruptly at this point, without any peroration.

⁵ Only in K43.

SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR,

OR

THE DOUBT-DISPELLING
EXPLANATION.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. For the division into chapters the translator is responsible, but the sections are divided according to the alternating Pâzand-Sanskrit text of Nêryôsang.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

AK (probably written A.D. 1568) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji Jâmâspji of Poona ; it is now defective, and contains only Chaps. I, 16-XI, 145, but this translation is based upon its text so far as it extends.

BM a modern fragment, Pahl.-Pers., in the British Museum (additional Oriental MS. No. 22,378), containing Chap. I, 1-31.

JE (written A.D. 1842, by Jamshedji Edalji) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Hôshangji and as complete as this translation, the latter half of which is based upon its text.

JJ (written A.D. 1768, by Jamshedji Jâmâsp Âsâ) Pâz.-Sans., belonging to Dastûr Khurshedji Jamshedji of Nâwsârî, and as complete as this translation.

K28 (about 150 years old) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans., No. 28 in the University Library at Kopenhagen ; it is now defective, but contains Chaps. I, 1-II, 8 ; III, 1-25 ; III, 36-IV, 106 ; VIII, 103-IX, 16 ; IX, 30-X, 13 ; X, 71-XI, 28 ; XI, 55-61.

L15 (written about A.D. 1737) Pahlavi, No. 15 in the India Office Library at London. It contains Chaps. I, 4-V, 71.

L23 (written by the same hand) Pâzand, No. 23 in the same library ; containing Chaps. I, 34-VIII, 23.

MH19 (about 150 years old) Pâz.-Gug., No. 19 of the Haug Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 1-XI, 201.

PB3 (more than a century old) Pâz.-Sans., No. 3 of the Bur-nouf Collection in the National Library at Paris. It contains Chaps. I, 5-X, 66.

R (modern) Pahl.-Pâz.-Sans.-Pers., formerly belonging to Mr. Romer, and now partly in the India Office Library at London, and partly in No. 10 of the Müller Collection in the State Library at Munich. It contains Chaps. I, 25-V, 57.

SIKAND-GÛMÂNÎK VIGÂR.

CHAPTER I.

1. *In* the name of Aûharmazd, the lord, the greatest and wise, [the all-ruling, all-knowing, and almighty, (2) who is a spirit even among spirits, (3) and from his self-existence, single in unity, *was* the creation of the faithful. 4. He also created, by his own unrivalled power, the seven supreme arch-angels¹,] all the angels of the spiritual *and* worldly *existences*, (5) and the seven worldly characteristics² which are man, animals, fire, metal, earth, water, *and* plants.

6. And man *was* created by him, as a control of the creatures, for the advancement of *his* will. 7. From him likewise came³ *at* various times, through

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in several Pahl. MSS., many of which commence at this point, but it is found in K28, BM, and others, and also in the Pâz. MSS. and Sans. version. The first epithet, 'all-ruling,' which it contains is likewise omitted in a few Pâz. MSS., while others add a further laudatory passage at that point, which is evidently a modern interpolation. The seven archangels include Aûharmazd himself (see Bd. I, 26 n).

² So in the Pahl. MSS. and Sans. version, and also in MH19 and PB3, which latter follows the oldest Pâz. MS. (AK) very closely; but §§ 1-16 have been lost from AK itself. Several other Pâz. MSS. substitute 'creations.'

³ So understood by Nêryôsang, but the original Pahlavi could have been translated by 'he likewise sent,' because the Huzvâris yâtûnd, 'came,' and sedrûnd, 'sent,' are written alike.

his own compassion, mercifulness to his own creatures, religion, and a natural desire of the knowledge of purity *and* contamination. 8. So, also, *as to* the intellect, understanding, wisdom, knowledge, consciousness, *and* guardian spirit—which are the appliances of the soul that are seeking information of these spiritual appliances, the five which are the sight, hearing, smell, taste, *and* touch, (9) through the five worldly appliances, which are the eye, the ear, the nose, the mouth, and the rubbing surfaces of the whole body—(10) he likewise created man with the accompaniment of these appliances, for the management of the creatures.

11. He also created the religion of omniscience like an immense tree, (12) of which *there* are one stem, two branches, three boughs, four twigs, *and* five shoots¹. 13. And its one stem is agreement. 14. The two branches are performance and abstinence. 15. The three boughs are Humat, Hūkht, *and* Huvarst, which are good thoughts, good words, *and* good deeds. 16. The four twigs are the four classes of the religion, by whom the religion *and* world are prepared, (17) which are priesthood, warriorship, husbandry, *and* artisanship. 18. The five shoots are the five rulers whose scriptural names are the house-ruler, the village-ruler, the tribe-ruler, the province-ruler, *and* the supreme Zaratûst. 19. And the one chief of chiefs, who is the king of kings, is the ruler of the world.

20. Likewise, the work manifested by him in the world—which is man—is in the likeness of these four

¹ The last two terms were, no doubt, Pahl. sâk and barg-gâh, of which the Pâz. dêraa and brîraa are merely misreadings.

classes of the world. 21. As unto¹ the head is priesthood, (22) unto the hand is warriorship, (23) unto the belly is husbandry, (24) *and* unto the foot is artisanship.

25. So, also, of the four capabilities (*hunarân*) that are in man—which are temper, ability, wisdom, *and* diligence—(26) unto temper (*khîm*) is priesthood, as the greatest duty of priests is the temper that they do not commit sin on account of shame and fear; (27) unto ability (*hunar*) is warriorship, that is, the most princely adornment of warriors is the ability which is expended, the manliness which is owing to self-possession (*khvadîh*); (28) unto husbandmen is the wisdom (*khîrad*) which is strenuous performance of the tillage of the world, *and* continuance unto the renovation of the universe; (29) *and* unto artisans is the diligence (*tukhshâkîh*) which is the greatest advancement of their class.

30. This arrangement² of every kind is upon one stem, truth and agreement, opposing the fiend and his appliances which are co-existent. 31. These³, which are recounted by me, are of many kinds *and* many species, as many are religious *and* many believing at a period that all are mutually afflicting⁴,

¹ Or 'over.' This comparison of these four parts of the body to the four classes of men is mentioned several times in the *Dinkard*, especially in the latter part of the fourth book.

² That is, the ordinances of religion (see §§ 11-13).

³ The various heterodox religions, here assumed to be appliances of the fiend for misleading mankind, which the author discusses in the course of his arguments hereafter.

⁴ Assuming that *Pâz. aṇbasā* stands for *Pahl. hanbêshin*, as in *Mkh. I*, 37. It might be *hû-bêshin*, 'well-afflicting,' but this would not be so easily reconciled with the meaning 'inconsistent' which the word often assumes, as in *Chaps. XIII*, 145, 147, *XV*, 77, *XVI*, 42.

co-existent destroyers *and* injurers, one as regards the other. 32. *And* with the mutual afflictiveness, destructiveness, and combativeness which are theirs, one towards the other, they¹ afterwards also contend against the one truth co-operatively *and* with united strength.

33. The possession of truth is the one power of the faithful, through the singleness of truth. 34. The many kinds of falsehood, *which* must become confused *and* mutually afflicting to many, are, in the aggregate, from one source of deceitfulness.

35. *As to* that, this composition is provided by me, *who* am Mardân-farukh² son of Aûharmazd-dâd, as I saw in the age much religiousness *and* much good consideration of sects (kêshân) of many species; (36) and I have been fervent-mindedly, *at* all times in my whole youthful career, an enquirer *and* investigator of the truth of them. 37. For the same reason I have wandered forth also to many realms and³ the sea-shore. 38. And of these compendious statements which, owing thereto⁴, are an enquiry of those desiring the truth, and⁵ a collection and selection (vigîdanô) of

¹ The heterodox religions.

² As this name has not been found elsewhere, nothing further is known about the author of this work than can be gathered from the few statements he has made in the work itself. He lived probably in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era, as he mentions the *Dînkard* edited by Âtûr-frôbag in Chaps. IV, 107, V, 92, IX, 1, 4, X, 57, XII, 1, and also the *Rôshan* commentary prepared by Âtûr-frôbag's son (see Chaps. X, 53, 54, XI, 213); but he does not allude to the later edition of the *Dînkard*, prepared by Âtûr-pâd, son of Hêmîd, who was living in the latter part of the ninth century (see Bd. XXXIII, 11 n).

³ Sans. 'on.' This statement is very similar to that in Mkh. I, 35.

⁴ Reading *agas*, instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and of it.'

⁵ Reading *afas*, instead of *agas* here.

it, for these memoranda, from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages *and* high-priests of the just—and especially those of the glorified Âtûr-pâdîyâvand¹—the name Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr² is appointed by me. 39. As it is very suitable for explaining away the doubts of new learners about the thorough understanding of the truth, the blessedness and truth of the good religion, and the inward dignity of those free from strife.

40. And it is composed and arranged by me not for the wise and talented, but *for* preceptors (farhangîkân)³ *and* those newly qualified. 41. So that, while many become freer from doubt about the miraculousness and blessedness of the statements of the good religion and primitive faith, (42) I am still begging of distinguished sages, (43) that whoever wants to look, should not look⁴ to the religion of the particular speaker *and* composer, but to the greatness of the truth, blessedness, and definite statements of the ancient sages. 44. Because I, who am the composer, do not hold the station of teaching, but that of learning.

45. And it seemed to me, through liberal thought, a statement, from that knowledge of the religion, destined and important even for new learners. 46. Because *he* who distributes to the worthy, out of the little knowledge which is his, is more acceptable than *he* who knows much *and* the worthy are without benefit *and* without help from him.

47. Since those ancient sages decided, (48) that liberality is of three kinds, of thought, of word, *and*

¹ See Chap. IV, 106.

² 'Doubt-dispelling explanation.'

³ Sans. has 'students.'

⁴ Sans. has 'you should not look.'

of deed. 49. Liberality of thought *being* that whose wishing of happiness for any others whatever, of a like disposition, is as much as for its own. 50. Liberality in word *being* that which teaches to the worthy *something* out of every virtuous knowledge and information which have come to it; (51) just as that which a *certain* sage said (52) thus: 'I desire that I *may* understand all information which is advantageous, and I *will* teach *it* to friends and acquire the result which is obtainable.' 53. *And* the liberality which is in deed *being* that which, out of any benefit whatever that has come to it, is a benefit to the worthy.

54. Again, *it* is a reminding of the good as to the preservation of the soul; (55) *and* for the same reason I *have* arranged that while the wise are kindly observant of me, through their own compassion, they *may* remember about the immortality of the soul. 56. Since it is said, that the eye of him who observes all good creatures with kind eyes is the eye of the sun; (57) because the sun is, indeed, an observer and beautifier with kind eyes for all creatures.

CHAPTER II.

1. The first subject (2) is about several questions *that* the ever-successful Mitrô-aîyyâr¹, son of Mah-

¹ This person, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was probably a layman and evidently a *Mazda*-worshipper, although his father's name seems to be Muhammadan, either Ma'hmûd or Mu'hammad. The Parsis under a Muhammadan government often adopted Muhammadan names, as they also took Hindu names in India; but, in this case, it is perhaps more probable that the father had become

mâd, from Spâhân¹, asked with good intent *and* not in search of defects, *and* the answer *thereto*.

3. *As to* that which is asked thus: 'Why did Aharman hurry on to the light², and how was it possible to be *so* when *he* is not *of* a like nature with it, though we always see that whatever is not *of* a like nature abstains from a different nature as much as water *does* from fire?' 4. The answer is this, that the cause itself of the hurrying on of Aharman, which *was* to the light, *was his* different nature. 5. And on account of the desire of a destroyer, which was perpetually in his nature, *he* is a destroyer of different natures.

6. Being injured *and* injuring, however they occur, do not take place except from difference of nature and those of a different nature. 7. Because *in* those of a like nature *there* exist similarity of will and unanimity, one towards the other, not injuring *and* being injured. 8. And those of a different nature, on account of *their* opposing nature, are destroyers *and* injurers, one of the other, however they come together. 9. Those of a like nature, on account of unanimity and similarity of nature, are lively³, efficient, and mutually helping, when they come together.

10. The disintegration and separation of like natures is the disunion of different natures. 11. Just

a convert to Muhammadanism, and changed his name accordingly, after his son had grown up.

¹ The Pahlavi form of Ispahân.

² In Bd. I, 9, 10 we are told that when the evil spirit arose from the abyss, he rushed in to destroy the light which he then saw for the first time, but was frightened away by its bravery and glory.

³ So understand by Nêr., but zîvihend may mean 'they are graceful,' or it may be a misreading of zênîhend, 'they are armed.'

as heat *and* cold which, on account of *their* opposing nature, are destroyers and injurers, resisting *and* disintegrating one another, through *their* perpetual nature. 12. Because every disintegration is owing to the laws (rastagân) of cold and dryness, heat and moisture, (13) *and their* destruction, injuring, *and* opposition of one another. 14. For the disintegration of bodies is owing to the perpetual struggling of heat and cold, dryness and moisture; (15) *and* owing to their struggling, one with the other, bodies are disintegrated *and* disabled.

16. Of water and fire, through their own nature, no injury whatever is manifest; (17) but the cold of *their* fraternization¹ is mingled with the moisture of the water, *and* is an opponent of the heat of the fire; (18) and the dryness of *their* fraternization is mingled with the heat of the fire, *and* is counteractingly an injurer of the moisture *of* the water.

CHAPTER III.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'Why does not the creator Aûharmazd keep Aharman back from evil doing and evil seeking, when he is the mighty maker?' 3. As I assert that no mighty maker is afterwards imperfect *nor* yet unresisting.'

4. The answer is this, (5) that the evil deeds of Aharman are owing to the evil nature and evil will which are always his, as a fiend. 6. The omnipotence of the creator Aûharmazd is that which is over all *that* is possible to be, and is limited *thereby*.

¹ When water comes in contact with fire.

7. That which is not possible to be is not stirred up *by* a capable *or* an incapable being. 8. Whoever says *it is so* is not within the limits of understanding the words. 9. Because, though he said that it is not possible to be, he says again that the sacred being is capable of it, *and* that *has* brought it out of the limits of *what* is not possible to be. 10. For then *it* is not the not-possible, but the possible to be.

11. As his capability is limited, so also is *his* will, thereby. 12. For *he* is sagacious, (13) and the will of a sagacious *being* is all for that which is possible to be, (14) and his will does not pass on to that which is not possible¹, (15) because he wills all that which is possible *and* fit to be.

16. If I ^{say} that the creator Aûharmazd is able to keep Aharman back from the evil which is his perpetual nature, (17) it is possible to change that nature which is demoniacal into a divine *one*, and that which is divine into a demoniacal *one*; (18) and it is possible to make the dark light, and the light dark.

19. *Of* the changing of a nature by its own self those not understanding nature speak, (20) who are uninformed of the nature of the result² in actions *and* propensities³; (21) and they account the wolf *and* noxious creatures as a benefit.

¹ Sans. adds 'to be,' and is followed by most of the modern MSS.

² Pâz. vazîhasn, probably a misreading of Pahl. uzdahisn.

³ Pâz. gadasni, both here and in Chaps. IV, 56, VIII, 122, 123, 126, XII, 64, evidently means 'disposition, peculiarity.' It is probably a misreading of Pahl. guzinisn, occasioned by some writer connecting the two letters sn and so converting them into a t (d).

22. Since the harm and evil which *arise* from mankind and cattle are not naturally their own, but are owing to the havoc, deceit, solicitation, *and* deluding¹ of the fiend, (23) *they* are from the like vileness of other fiends who are such as the malice, wrath, and lust² which are mingled with mankind. 24. Just as the swallowing of bitter medicine, which is mingled with poison, is not the accomplishment of happiness, but for the removal of the pain and sickness which are owing to an extraneous nature (*barâ gôhar*). 25. As of a statement which is true *or* false—(26) though it *may* be that, connected with a false statement, a righteous man is preserved from much harm, and is ruined by that which is true—(27) mostly that benefit is not from the false statement, but from the removal of the destruction and evil which are mingled with the vile, (28) and that harm is not from the true statement, but from the evil which is mingled with the vile.

29. Also, as regards that which *happens* when opponents have appeared *in order* to remove each one its own competitor, (30) every one is unrestricted³ *in* keeping away that which is its own opponent, (31) such as light *and* darkness, perfume *and* stench, good works *and* crime, erudition *and* ignorance. 32. That *which* is not unrestricted is the

¹ Nêr. reads *vyâwānî*, which he understands to mean 'bewildering,' but it is doubtful if we can derive this meaning from *vyâwān*, 'a waterless wilderness,' which word occurs in Chap. XIV, 30. The original Pahlavi word can be also read either *nîyâzânîh*, 'cause of longing, temptation,' or *nîhâzânîh*, 'intimidation.'

² Evil passions which are personified as fiends (see Mkh. XLI, 10, 11).

³ Reading *atang*, instead of the similarly-written *âtûk* which would be the equivalent of the Pâz. *atû* (Sans. *sakta*) used by Nêr.

light to keep away stench, nor the perfume darkness; (33) but they have each separately appeared *in order* to keep away their own opponent.

34. *As to* that, too, which they say¹, that in the dark night a righteous man is preserved from the lion, wolves, dogs, and robbers, (35) *while* in the light day he becomes a captive² in their hands, (36) it is not proper to consider that as a benefit owing to darkness, nor yet as an evil owing to light. 37. Because light is created for the removal of darkness, not for the keeping away of the lion, wolf, and noxious creatures. *And there are* many other *things* which are of this nature. 38. On account of tediousness *this* is collected *merely* as a summary; the virtue *and* understanding of you triumphant *ones* (39) are so much, that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER IV.

1. And *as to* that which is asked (2) thus: 'When I always see that all things ever arise from the *celestial* sphere and stars, (3) and who created this sphere, then it is like that *which* those of the Vîrôd³ religion say, that he created good and evil. 4. If Aharman

¹ For the purpose of arguing that evils are sometimes advantageous, and may, therefore, form part of the design of a beneficent spirit.

² Or grôh may mean 'a hostage.'

³ Compare Sans. viruddha, 'perverse, contradictory,' or Pers. bulûd, 'antiquity.' It is possible that Muhammadanism is alluded to, as that religion is hardly ever mentioned by name in Pahlavi writings, probably from motives of policy.

created *anything*, how did he become able to create the effect of these marvellous things, (5) *and* why is *it* when they are stars by which assistance of virtue is always bestowed? 6. If Aûharmazd and Aharman created in conference, then that way *it* is manifest that Aûharmazd is an accomplice *and* confederate, with Aharman, in the harm and evil which ever arise from the *celestial* sphere.' 7. The answer is this, (8) that the *celestial* sphere is the place of the divinities (baghân), who are the distributors of happiness, from which they always justly bestow their distribution of every happiness. 9. And the forms of the seven planets (star) are witches who rush below them, despoilers who are antagonistic distributors, (10) whose scriptural name is Gadûg¹.

11. *Through* the creator Aûharmazd *was* the arrangement of these creatures and creation, methodically *and* sagaciously, and for the sake of the continuance of the renovation of the universe. 12. As the evil spirit *was* entangled in the sky, that fiend, with evil astuteness *and* with lying falsehood, encompassed² *and* mingled with the light, *together* with the fiends of crimes of many kinds, who are those of a gloomy race, *thinking* thus: 'I *will* make these creatures *and* creation of Aûharmazd extinct, or I must make *them* for my own.'

13. Those luminaries, the highest of those of the

¹ Av. gadha, a term for 'a brigand' which is used in conjunction with witches and other evil beings in the Srôsh Yt. Hâdôkht, 5, 6.

² Supposing that the Pâz. frawast (fravast in § 16) stands for Pahl. parvast, as in Chaps. VIII, 96, 97, XIV, 73, XVI, 56, 60, 66-69, 71, 72; but as Nêr. uses Sans. prasarpita, pravish/a, pravartita, samudgata, and samutpatita to translate the word, he must have assumed that it stood for frazast (Pahl. fragast, 'sprang forth').

good *being*, became aware, by means of omniscience, of the blemishing operation and the lies *and* falsehoods of the fiend, (14) *and* of this too, that is, of what extent *was* this power of his, by which this blemishing operation and work of ruin creep on¹, (15) so that, henceforth, *there* exists no power whatever for its restoration, which is *free* from the complete daubing of restraint, pain, and entanglement that is inside the sky.

16. It is they² who are sagaciously mingled by him (the good being) with the substance of the luminaries, because that fiend encompassed and *was* entangled with his luminaries, therefore all his powers and resources are for the purpose of not allowing the fiends of crimes of many kinds their own performance of what is desirable for them each separately; (17) such as the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures which the four elements (*zahakân*), pertaining to *Aûharmazd*, [keep enveloped³. 18. For if this fiendish venom of the noxious creatures] does not remain entangled [with the four elements of the bodily formations pertaining to *Aûharmazd*—which are water, fire, earth, and air—*it is* just as though they came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*. 19.

¹ Sans. 'will retreat,' as if Nêr. understood the pronoun 'his' to refer to the good spirit, instead of the evil one; the application of the pronouns in §§ 14, 15 being by no means clear in the original text.

² The spiritual representatives of the luminaries, who are angels.

³ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, L₂₃, so that §§ 17, 18, in those MSS., stand as follows:—'Since the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures, that the four elements pertaining to *Aûharmazd*—which are water, fire, earth, and air—have not entangled, is just as though they (the creatures) came to the sky *and* spiritual *existence*.'

And if they attained to spirituality and a disembodied existence, it would not be possible for those creatures of Aûharmazd to avoid *and* escape from that demoniacal venom of theirs. 20. It would be in the grasp (grôhê)¹ and mingled with the breath (vâd) of mankind *and* the other creatures, *and their* restoration, support, increase, *and* growth would not be possible.

21. So they² also keep those planets enveloped in light, because the fiendish venom of the noxious creatures is in the substance of *those* luminaries.

22. On account of that, too, the existence of somewhat of advantage is manifest from the serpent species, which are dissolving venom from the multitudes of other wild animals *and* noxious creatures³.

23. So also from the planets; on account of the commingling of the inferior splendour of *those* luminaries, benefit is manifested by them.

24. A similitude of these planets *and* the benefit which they always bestow (25) is such as the brigands (gadûgân)⁴ *and* highwaymen who interrupt the path of traders in a caravan. 26. They abstract important things *from* many, (27) *and* do not grant and give *them* to the diligent *and* worthy, but to sinners, idlers, courtezans, paramours, *and* the unworthy.

28. *Observe* this, too, that this performance of good works which astrologers compute and state from those planets is for this reason, (29) when they have not preferred the method of the divinities

¹ Or grôhê may mean 'an assemblage.'

² The angels of the luminaries.

³ Which they eat, and thereby diminish the number of such objectionable creatures.

⁴ See § 10 n.

(*baghân*) who are distributing welfare, and that, also, of the five constellations pertaining to *Aûhar-mazd*—which are the great *one*¹ that is supreme and measurable², *Haptôiring*³, created by *Mazda*⁴, and the stars *Vanand*⁵, *Satavês*⁶, and *Tistar*⁷—as regards the brigands (*gadûgân*)⁸ and distributors of evil. 30. And those are the five planets that rush below them in the shape of stars, and they keep *them* enveloped in light, which are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. 31. Since the supreme constellation, the great *one* of the north-opposing⁹ (32) *Haptôiring*, is opposing Saturn, (33) *Haptôiring*, created by *Mazda*, is opposing Jupiter, (34) *Vanand*, the smiter of noxious creatures, is opposing Mars, (35) the star *Satavês* is opposing Venus, (36) and the star *Tistar* is opposing the planetary Mercury¹⁰, (37) the welfare, which they say is from those brigands (*gadûgân*), is from those five constellations per-

¹ Called 'the great *one* of the middle of the sky' in Bd. II, 8, V, 1, which has not yet been identified, but may be Regulus or Orion.

² Sans. 'very visible.'

³ See Mkh. XLIX, 15-21, where it is called *Haptôk-ring*.

⁴ This epithet is often applied to *Haptôiring*, *Vanand*, and *Satavês*.

⁵ See Mkh. XLIX, 12-14.

⁶ See Mkh. LXII, 13.

⁷ See Mkh. XLIX, 5, 6.

⁸ The planetary witches (see § 10).

⁹ Or it may be 'planetary-opposing,' or 'north-accepting.' The dislocation, and probable corruption, of these sections is due to Nêr., who evidently considered the epithet *mazdadhâta*, 'created by *Mazda*,' as the name of one of the constellations, and 'great' and 'supreme' as mere epithets of *Haptôiring*. But he found it difficult to adapt the text to this opinion of his.

¹⁰ These oppositions agree with those mentioned in Bd. V, 1, except that *Haptôiring* is there opposed to Mars, and *Vanand* to Jupiter.

taining to Aûharmazd, (38) as they obtain the triumph of much power *and* little injury.

39. And for the sake of not leaving these five planets to their own wills, they are bound *by* the creator, Aûharmazd, each one by two threads (*gîk*) to the sun (Mihir) and moon. 40. And their forward motion and backward motion are owing to the same cause. 41. There are *some* whose length of thread is longer, such as Saturn and Jupiter, (42) and there are *some of* which *it* is shorter, such as Mercury and Venus. 43. Every *time* when they go to the end of the threads, they draw *them* back from behind, (44) and they do not allow them to proceed by their own wills, (45) so that they *may* not injure the creatures.

46. And those two fiends that are greatly powerful, who are opponents of the planetary sun and moon, move below the splendour of *those* two luminaries¹. 47. Another—even that which is called the brigand (*gadûg*) of the stars, as regards the welfare that exists²—is likewise confined below the splendour of the sun. 48. And when it³ gets far from control, it commits damage and harm on the constellation into which it springs, *and* on the quarter which is the particular concern of that constellation, (49) until it

¹ Referring to the supposed cause of eclipses, which are said to be occasioned by two dark bodies revolving below the sun and moon, so as to pass between them and the earth whenever an eclipse occurs (see Dd. LXIX).

² Referring to the supposed injurious influence of comets which, as they usually appear one at a time to the unassisted eye, are here assumed to be a single evil being, the Mûspar of Bd. V, 1, 2.

³ We should perhaps say 'she,' as a *drûg*, 'fiend,' is usually considered to be a female being, and the Mûspar or Mûs-pairika is a witch.

becomes again, a second *time*, bound *and* fettered to the sun.

50. The statement which they offer about it¹ (51) is this, the conflict of the superior beings within the star station. 52. Out of the inferior of those are the conflicts of Tistar and the demon Spenzagar², (53) *of* the fire Vâzist³ and the demon Avâush⁴, (54) *and of* other good spirits with gloomy ones, for the formation of rain and allotment of welfare to the creatures.

55. Below them are mankind and cattle, noxious creatures and deadly *ones*⁵, and other creatures that are good and bad. 56. Because propensities (*gadasni*) are mingled with mankind, (57) which are greed, lust, malice, wrath, and lethargy, (58) wisdom, temper, skill, knowledge, understanding, and intellect, (59) as the good influences and bad influences are called, which are the causes of good works and sin.

60. All this welfare of the creatures⁶ is specially owing to the creator of the creatures, (61) who is himself the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer of protection, nourisher, and caretaker, preserving his own creatures. 62. And, for his own creatures, he

¹ Meaning, probably, the reason given by the astrologers for the good works mentioned in § 28.

² The demon of thunder (see Bd. VII, 12).

³ The lightning (see Bd. XVII, 1).

⁴ The demon of drought (see Bd. VII, 8, 10, 12, XXVIII, 39). These two conflicts represent the struggle between rain and drought, which culminates in the thunderstorm; Tistar (Sirius) being the bringer of rain.

⁵ So in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but other MSS. have *mâr*, 'serpent,' instead of *mar*, though Nêr. uses Sans. *nṛisamsa*.

⁶ Which is manifest in the world around us.

has thoroughly created and taught the means of preservation from evil, and the appliances for abstaining from crime.

63. A semblance, too, of him is such as a wise orchard-owner and gardener who wishes to diminish the wild animals and birds which are mischievous and destructive for his orchard by spoiling the fruit of the trees. 64. And that wise gardener, effacing (*padasâê*) his own little trouble, for the sake of keeping those mischievous wild animals away from his own orchard, arranges the appliances which are necessary for the capture of those wild animals, (65) such as springes, traps, and snares for birds. 66. So that when a wild animal sees the snare, and wishes to proceed with suspicion of it, through unconsciousness of the springe and trap he is captured therein.

67. This is certain, that, when a wild animal falls into a trap, *it* is not a victory of the trap, but that of the arranger of the trap, (68) *and* through him the wild animal is captured in the trap. 69. The proprietor *and* orchard-owner, who is the arranger of the trap, is aware through sagacity that the wild animal is powerful, *and* to what extent and how long a time. 70. The power and strength of that wild animal, which are in its body, are exhausted and poured *out* by struggling, as much as it is able, in demolishing the trap and *in* endeavouring to destroy *and* spoil the springe. 71. And when, on account of imperfect strength, its power of struggling totters *and* is exhausted, that wise gardener then, by his own will and his own result of determination, wisely throws that wild animal out of the trap, with *its* existing nature *and* exhausted strength. 72. *And*

he consigns his own trap and springe, rearranged *and* undamaged, back to the storehouse.

73. Even like him is the creator Aûharmazd, who is the preserver of creations and arranger of creatures¹, the disabler of the evil original evolution² and protector of his own orchard from the injurer. 74. The mischievous wild animal, which is the spoiler of the orchard, is that accursed Aharman who is the hurrier *and* disturber of the creatures. 75. The good trap is the sky, in which the good creations are lodging, (76) *and* in which the evil spirit and *his* rudimentary³ miscreations are captured. 77. And *pertaining* to the springe and trap of the wild animal, who is mischievous owing to his own wilfulness, is the exhauster (78) time that, for the struggling of Aharman and his powers *and* resources, is for the long period⁴ (79) which, through the struggling of the wild animal in the springe and trap, is an exhaustion of its strength. 80. The sole⁵

¹ Nêr. has 'of the trap' in Sanskrit. The Pâz. dām, meaning both 'creature' and 'trap.'

² Reading būn gastak instead of būn yastak, as the word has evidently no reference to any form of worship. It cannot be translated 'original perversion' (a possible meaning of the word) because there are two of them (see § 103 and Chap. VIII, 101), one competing with the other (see Chap. VIII, 1), which, as one of them is here said to be evil, implies that the other is good and cannot, therefore, be a perversion; nor would this term be applicable in Chap. VI, 6 or XV, 56.

³ Or it may be 'primitive,' as kâdmon is the Huzvâris form of the Pâz. khâmast (superlative of Pers. 'ââm, 'immature') here used.

⁴ So in all the older MSS., but in Sans. it 'is the long-time lord,' a common Avesta epithet of 'time,' and this alteration has been introduced into JE, R, and a few other modern MSS.

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. awâz stands for ewâz. The word is omitted by Sans., K28, L15.

creator of the creatures arranges a preservation again, which is the preparation of an eternal happy progress *free* from his adversary, which that wise orchard-owner *does with* his own trap and springe¹.

81. Then² the scanty power and want of ability of that fiend for it, in his struggling for the luminaries, are manifest even from this. 82. When as with lying falsehood he thought thus³: 'I *will* make this sky and earth and the creatures of Aôharmazd extinct, or I *will* turn *them* from their own nature and bring *them* to my own,' (83) even then, with *all* the power, desire of destruction, and perpetual struggling of the fiend, no slaughter whatever *by* the demons is *free* from effectual limits; it is this earth and sky, and these creatures, (84) *that* are propagating from few to many, as is manifest, (85) and innumerable *persons* are convinced of it. 86. For, if in this struggling any victory should have specially occurred, it would have been impossible to attain from few to many.

87. Moreover, if the births of the worldly *existence* are mostly manifest through the occurrence of death therein, even then it is seen that that death is not a complete dissolution of existence, but a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty⁴. 88. For, as the existence of all these creations is *derived* from the four elements, *it* is manifest to the sight *that* those worldly bodies of theirs are to be mingled again with the four elements. 89. The spiritual *parts*, which are the rudimentary appliances of the life

¹ As stated in § 72.

² Reading adînas, 'then for it,' which is the original Pahlavi indicated by the Pâz. ainâ of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ See § 12.

⁴ Compare Chap. XII, 79.

stimulating the body, are mingled with the soul—(90) on account of unity of nature they are not dispersed—(91) and the soul is accountable (amâr-hômand) for its own deeds. 92. Its treasurers¹, also, unto whom its good works and offences are intrusted, advance there for a contest. 93. When the treasurer of the good works is of greater strength, she preserves it, by her victory, from the hands of the accuser², *and* settles it for the great throne and the mutual delightfulness of the luminaries; (94) and it is assisted eternally in virtuous progress. 95. And when the treasurer of its offences is of greater strength, it is dragged, through her victory, *away* from the hands of the helper³, (96) *and* is delivered up to the place of thirst and hunger and the agonizing abode of disease⁴. 97. And, even there, those feeble good works, which *were* practised by it in the worldly *existence*, are not useless to it; (98) for, owing to *this* same reason, that hunger and thirst and punishment are *inflicted* on it proportionately to the sin, *and* not lawlessly, (99) because *there* is a watcher⁵

¹ Nêr. divides the word gangôbar, 'treasurer,' into the three words gang u bar, 'treasure and produce.' These treasurers are the female spirits who meet the soul after death, with its stores of good works and sins (see Dd. XXIV, 5, XXV, 5), and symbolize its good and bad conscience, represented by a beautiful maiden and a frightful hag, respectively.

² The accuser is any person or thing of the good creation that has been injured by any sin, and who must be satisfied by atonement before the sin can be remitted. The question, therefore, to be settled, when the account of the soul is rendered, is whether its good works are sufficient to atone for its sins. In this case the treasurer of offences represents the accusers.

³ The treasurer of good works.

⁴ That is, to the torments of hell.

⁵ Either the treasurer of its good works, or the good works themselves.

of the infliction of its punishment. 100. And, ultimately, the compassionate creator, who is the forgiver of the creatures, does not leave any good creature captive in the hands of the enemy¹. 101. *But*, one day², he saves even those who are sinful, *and* those of the righteous through atonement for sin, by the hands of the purifiers, *and* makes *them* proceed on the happy course which is eternal.

102. The conclusion is this, that the creator is the healer and perfect ruler, the maintainer and nourisher, protecting *and* preserving the creatures³; not a producer of the disease, a causer of the pain, and an inflicter of the punishment of his own creatures. 103. And it is more explicitly written below, with the arrangement of the two original evolutions⁴, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being⁵, and the contemplators of unity⁶.

104. As ordered and requested by you it is provided (padarâst); do you direct and observe *it* with kind regards. 105. Because, as written above⁷ by us, I do not hold the station of teaching, but really that of learning. 106. Even this teaching of doctrines is that which *was* obtained by me, through the religion of wisdom⁸, from the writing (nipîk) of Âtûr-pâdlyâvand⁹, and is here indicated. 107. And his teachings

¹ Compare Chap. XII, 59.

² Assuming that Pâz. gumê is a misreading of Huz. yôm-1.

³ Compare § 61.

⁴ See § 73 n, Chaps. V, 46-IX, 45.

⁵ Chap. V.

⁶ Chap. X.

⁷ Chap. I, 44.

⁸ It is doubtful whether this dîni-i-khard was the name of a book now unknown, as the phrase admits of reasonable translation.

⁹ This writer is also mentioned in Chaps. I, 38, IX, 2, X, 52, but his name has not yet been found elsewhere. As he does not

are in the *Dīnkard*¹ manuscript (*nīpīk*), which the supremely learned *Ātūr-frōbag*², son of *Farukh-zād*, who was the leader of those of the good religion, explained out of *his* knowledge of the religion, and which consists of a thousand subjects³.

108. Of that, too, which is asked by you about unlimitedness and limitation, I have written below⁴, through the will of the sacred beings.

CHAPTER V.

1. Another subject, among the assertors of the non-existence of a sacred being, is about the existence of the sacred being and his competitor.

2. Of the knowledge approvable by wisdom and the statements of the limits of evidence, *about* the existence of the sacred being and his competitor, (3)

appear to be mentioned in that portion of the *Dīnkard* known to be extant, his writings were probably embodied in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered.

¹ The most extensive Pahlavi work in existence, of which only Books III-IX are extant; they contain about 170,000 words and are a summary of the religious opinions, customs, legends, and literature of the *Mazda*-worshippers, compiled probably in or before the eighth century of the Christian era from earlier records.

² An early editor of the *Dīnkard*, 'acts of the religion.' His selections from various religious writings form the fourth and fifth books of that work. He appears to have been succeeded in the editorship by his son *Zaratūst*. And when their manuscript became worn out, it was finally re-edited by *Ātūrpād*, son of *Hēmīd*, who lived in the latter part of the ninth century. All these three editors were 'leaders of the good religion,' and are mentioned in the last paragraphs of the third book of the *Dīnkard*.

³ *Pāz. daraa* means rather 'subject' than 'chapter' (*Pāz. dar*).

⁴ See Chap. XVI, 53-107.

this is a summary :—*One* knows it should be enjoined, that the supreme first knowledge, most *suitable* for the well-discerning, is comprehending the sacred being. 4. He, of whom this knowledge is not the leader of knowledge, is unaided by other knowledge. 5. Comprehending the sacred being is possible through undecayed¹ understanding, fervent intellect, and decisive wisdom.

6. Since comprehending the sacred being is not, thus far, more than *that one* knows that a sacred being exists, (7) because whoever is acquainted with the existence of a certain thing, and is unaware of its nature, is thinking thus, that that thing is good or bad, erudite or ignorant, antidote or poison, cold *and* frozen or hot and scorching, dry *and* withering or damp, (8) and, when unaware of its nature, his only knowledge of it is then useless—(9) for it is possible to cause the commendation and condemnation of any person *or* thing, not through *its* existence but through *its* nature—(10) *therefore one* knows this should be also enjoined, that a knowledge of² anything is *acquired* in three modes :—(11) by knowing *what* is inevitable, or by knowing *what* is analogous, or by *what* is possible *and* fit to exist.

12. Inevitable knowledge is such as once one is one, and twice two are four. 13. For within the bounds of the really inevitable it is not possible to say, (14) that *there was or will* be a time, or a place, where twice two are said *to be* five or three.

15. Knowledge *by* analogy is that which announces, from anything manifest, something which is not

¹ Assuming that Pâz. agunast (Sans. anâvila) stands for Pahl. agôndîd; but it may stand for Pahl. agûngîd, 'unsilenced.'

² Sans. inserts 'the nature of.'

manifest, (16) and brings, out of anything visible, something invisible, in the likeness of a hand put up¹, for the household service of the perception of wisdom, (17) through complete similarity, resemblance, *or* partial resemblance.

18. Complete similarity is such as *that of* a man of Pârs to a man of another district. 19. Resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to the white of an egg. 20. And partial resemblance is such as *that of* cheese to chalk, (21) since this is about the limit of partial resemblance, because cheese is like unto chalk only in whiteness, (22) *but to* the white of an egg in whiteness and also *as* food.

23. And there is also *that* which is called more resembling than resemblance, and more partially resembling *than* partial resemblance. 24. That which is more *than* complete similarity is not spoken about, (25) because completion does not become more complete.

26. By this mode *it* is set forth a second time at more length. 27. To demonstrate an invisible from a visible thing is such as from a thing made and maintained, which is not domestically serving the maker and maintainer, (28) and from a thing written, whose writer is not declared, (29) are manifest a maker of that *which is* made, a maintainer of that *which is* maintained, *and* a writer of that *which is* written, who are inevitable, (30) because that which is not manifest *and* is invisible is demonstrated by the thing which is manifest and visible.

31. Information of that which is within the possible *and* fit to exist is credible, (32) such as what *one*

¹ As a finger-post.

states thus: 'I saw a man by whom a lion, or a lion by whom a man, *was* slain outright.' 33. And this, *being* that which is within the limits of the possible *and* fit to exist, may be a lie. 34. But when a man announces that intelligence, who is renowned for truth and tested in judgment, it is within the limits of truth and reality. 35. If a man announces *it*, who is disgraced by falsehood and tested in misjudgment, it is within the limits of falsehood and unreality.

36. Another mode, outside of these *and* within the limits of the inevitable, is *by knowing what has* not occurred *and* is not possible; (37) such as what *one* states thus: 'It is possible to bring the world, in secrecy, into the inside of an egg,' (38) or 'it is possible *for* an elephant to pass into an eye of a needle,' (39) *in* such a manner *as* though one *of them* really becomes no greater and no less, (40) or *its* substance is something which is not a rudiment.

41. A struggle which should not be limited, (42) an existing thing which is not temporary and localised, (43) or is localised *and* not limited, (44) the working of a vain miracle, (45) and other *things* of this description of speaking *and* imagining are faulty and false and not possible.

46. Then¹ the knowledge of the existence of him who is the exalted sacred being, apart from tangibility of nature and other evidence, is through the inevitable and analogy, (47) as much visible before the sight of wisdom as from the prosperity², formation, and organization which are, according to dif-

¹ Reading a dīnas, 'then of him,' for Pâz. ainâ, as in Chap. IV, 81. Having explained the modes of arguing, in §§ 12-45, the author now returns to the argument itself.

² So in Sans., but bâhar-hômandîh also means 'divisibility.'

ferent statements of many kinds, the formation of the things of the world and mankind whose particles, *and* the appliances which are owing thereto, are such as the elements of the body *and* life, from which¹ they are prepared *and* formed, (48) which are fire, water, air, *and* earth, (49) that are, each separately, a stimulus so qualified and ennobled for their own operations, (50) that the operation of fire, through its own quality (*kîharîh*) and nobility (*vâspûhara-kânîh*), is such that the operations of water, air, *and* earth are not to stimulate unrestricted (*atang*)² by it. 51. Thus, also, the operation of water, through its own quality, is such that the operations of air, fire, *and* earth are not *unrestricted* by it. 52. So, also, of air, the operations of fire, water, *and* earth are not *unrestricted by it*. 53. So, also, of earth, the operations of these *others* are to stimulate not unrestricted *by it*. 54. But each separately is for its own operation, just as they are ennobled *and* qualified (55) by him who is, sagaciously *and* methodically, a qualifier, a constructor, and an ennobler. 56. *And* the organization is constructed, prepared, qualified, *and* ennobled as is suitable for those operations.

57. So, also, *as to* mankind and the other creatures, who are the germinating of these elements, (58) whose organization of bone, fat, sinew, veins, and skin, each separately (59) without sympathy, one for the other, is visible altogether. 60. Thus, too, are the nobility *and* qualification of the internal organs, (61) such as the liver, heart³, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, *and*

¹ Reading *mûn azas* for *Pâz. ke vas*.

² See Chap. III, 30 n.

³ Assuming that *Pâz. dawur* is a misreading of *Pahl. dîl*.

other appliances, *for* every one of which a function of its own is manifest. 62. They are qualified *and* ennobled for their defence by those functions which are their own.

63. So, also, is the qualification of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, mouth, teeth, hand, foot, *and* other external appliances, whose own functions are each separate. 64. And *it* is visibly manifest therein; inasmuch as, when one of these organs is disabled, any *one* of the rest is not suitable for the work of that other *one*, for which it is not qualified. 65. And when only the construction of one of the organs of the body is examined into—that is, how *it is*—it is wonderfully sagaciously constructed¹.

66. Such as the eye, which is of many natures of different names and different purposes, (67) as the eyelash, the eyelid, the white, the eyeball (khâyak), the iris (sâyak), *and* the pupil (têdak), (68) *in* such way that the white is fat², (69) the iris is water which *has* so stood in the prison³ of fat that the turning of the eye, from side to side, occurs through it, (70) *and* the pupil, itself the sight, is like a view into the water. 71. The iris stands in the prison of white, like the standing of water in a prison of fat; (72) *and* the pupil is within the iris, like the view of a thing within clear water, (73) *or* the form of a column in

¹ So in Sans., but the Pahl. text may be translated 'how wonderful *it is*, it is sagaciously constructed.'

² Assuming that Pâz. pēgh, as well as pih in § 69 and peh in § 71, stands for Pahl. pîk (Pers. pî), 'fat.' It might also be connected with Pers. pikah, 'a veil,' as Nêr. seems to have understood it here; but 'fat' suits the whole context better.

³ Reading lag, instead of rag, 'a vein,' which latter is adopted by Nêr. both here and in § 71.

a shining mirror. 74. And the arrangement of the white *in* the orbit is for the reason that the dust whirling from the atmosphere, when it arrives at the eye, shall not be concealed in it, (75) *but* shall turn to the lid (gumb) of the eye, (76) and shall not injure the sight of the eye. 77. Just as the construction of the tube (rag) of the ear is undilated (afâhal), for the reason (78) that whirls of dust and winged noxious creatures shall not rightly enter therein. 79. And the moisture of oneself, the secretion of the ear, and the venom of noxious creatures are manifestly as *useful*¹.

80. When the appliances of life and soul are observed—(81) such as the smell, hearing, sight, taste, and touch which are causing the intelligence of living beings, (82) as also the wisdom of every pontiff (rad), *which* is pronounced decisive, (83) the knowledge which is acquiring, (84) the intellect which is a seeker *and* transmitter, (85) the understanding which is a treasurer *and* defender, (86) the consciousness which is itself the sight of the soul, (87) the guardian spirit (fravash) which is itself the nature that is a maintainer of the body, (88) the spiritual life (ahû) which is pure, (89) and the other spiritual *existences* that are maintaining the body, which are each separately qualified, in that manner², *for* their operation and duty—(90) they are perfect in their own operation, as to duty such as they are ennobled *and* qualified *for*. 91. As to that *for* which they are not qualified, they are not suitable.

92. The two *arguments* which are each separate

¹ As means of defence.

² By the assistance of the senses mentioned in § 81.

in the *Dīnkard* manuscript, as the supremely learned *one*¹ has explained *them* out of *his* knowledge of the religion, are here set forth at length. 93. *He* whose wish is to fully understand the wonderfulness of the Mazda-worshipping religion and the statements of the primitive faith, (94) examines into it in a manuscript of that character, (95) *and* shall understand more fully the wonderfulness and truth of the religion².

CHAPTER VI.

1. *As to* another delusion³ of those asserting the non-existence of a sacred being—(2) whom they call atheistical (*daharī*)⁴—(3) that they are ordained *free* from religious trouble (*alag*) and the toil of practising good works, (4) and the unlimited twaddle (*drāyisn*)⁵ they abundantly chatter, (5) you⁶ should observe this:—6. That they account this world, with the much change and adjustment of description of its members *and* appliances, *their* antagonism to one another, and their confusion with one another, *as* an original evolution⁷ of boundless time. 7. And this, too, that there is no reward of good works, no punishment of sin, no heaven and hell, and no stimulator of good works and crime. 8. Besides

¹ *Ātūr-frōbag* (see Chap. IV, 107).

² Nearly all the Pahlavi manuscripts of this work terminate here.

³ *Pāz. vyāwānī* (see Chap. III, 22 n).

⁴ *Sans. digambara* refers this term to Buddhist ascetics, the nearest approach to atheists with which *Nēr.* was acquainted.

⁵ A contemptuous term for the speech of evil beings.

⁶ Or it may be '*one*,' as the Sanskrit uses the third person.

⁷ See Chap. IV, 73 n.

this, that things are only worldly, and there is no spirit.

9. As I *have* written and shown above¹—(10) that to be made without a maker, and decided without a decider, is as impossible as to prepare *what* is written without a writer, *or* a house without a mortar-mixer (râz)² and building (dêsâk)—(11) things made, of all kinds, cannot arise without making.

12. And this worldly *existence* is owing to the mingling of competing powers. 13. So *its* numerous possessions are so constructed, selected, *and* made of diverse races (kîharân), diverse colours, diverse scents, diverse characteristics, *and* diverse species as I *have* stated above³ about the body, (14) that it is constructed *and* made out of many things, such as bone, fat, sinew, veins, skin, blood, breath, hair⁴, fundament⁵, hand, foot, head, belly, *and* other members, internal and external, (15) in two series⁶ of things of many kinds, of which *to be* never made by means of the diverse nature of diverse powers, (16) or to arise without a maker, the impossibility is certain.

17. And *in* like manner of the other creatures, plants *and* trees, water *and* fire, earth and air, their stimulus, too, which is not themselves, is to their own duty; and they are not stimulators, (18) but there is a stimulator, a building (dêsâk), and a making for

¹ Chap. V, 27-30.

² Sans. has 'carpenter.'

³ Chap. V, 57-63.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. vas is a misreading of Pahl. varas. Nêr. has Sans. rasa, 'liquid secretion.'

⁵ Supposing that Pâz. daryam (Sans. nish/hâ) stands for Pahl. dar-î dum.

⁶ Literally 'columns.'

them. 19. And the usage (vâzâr) which is changing *and* urging them, from stimulus to stimulus, from statement to statement, *and* from time to time, is not according to the will and requirement of those made, but according to those that are stimulating and making.

20. Even so, indicative of the rotation of the years, months, days, *and* hours, is the revolution of the *celestial* sphere and stars which are settled (pasâkhtak), and *of* the sun and moon which are adjusted (nîvârdak), a well-horsed¹ progress *and* conspicuous revolution. 21. This, too, is an indication that the movements of every appearance (kîharîh) are owing to an exhibitor, by whom the movement of that appearance is exhibited.

22. Owing to other differences and different management in the worldly *existence* (23) it is possible to know, from the worldly *existence* at various times *and* various periods, that this worldly *existence* is not without a manager. 24. Or *that* its manager is not a sacred being², who is learned, acting reasonably, of unlimited power, and illuminating³ the sky, is also that which is visible when the development, decay, and death of the world are such, that the nature alike of mankind and animals, and alike of races and trees, is to come from youth to old age, *and* from old age to death. 25. No one whatever is seen *that has* come from old age back to youth, *or* from death back to life, and *it* is not

¹ Alluding to the supposed horses of the sun. Sans. has 'brilliant.'

² That is, the world cannot be controlled by a sacred being alone, on account of the evil it contains.

³ Sans. has 'making,' another meaning of varz.

possible to say *so*. 26. Nor yet is it proper to think, say, *or* believe this, (27) that there is no recompense of good works and punishment of crime, (28) nor even an appearance of an attainable creator of all the creatures, and *of* the daubing of a destroyer.

29. Moreover, *as to* this *latter*, that is precious to those who are more friends of penury than *of* the comfort of ill-famed vileness—(30) because they produce their happiness thereby¹, and are grateful, (31) and when they see distress they become suppliants (32) even from this destiny and dispensation which cannot become spiritual except by the spirits—(33) even so, in the appearance of every one *of* the hungry, (34) *and* in every one hurrying and straitened², who is imploring favours, is a manifestation of the maintenance of a hope for a supreme inspection over mankind, *and*, indeed, over wild animals, birds, *and* quadrupeds.

35. *As to* this, too, which they call sophistical³, (36) that there is no assurance of even one of *these* things, (37) because all are jaundiced⁴—(38) for whoever says that honey is bitter and honey is sweet, is right *in* both, (39) since *it* is bitter to those abounding in bile, *and* sweet to others; (40) also bread is pleasant and bread is unpleasant are both

¹ By performing the good work of charity, which is necessary for the future happiness of their own souls.

² Assuming that Pâz. *hvastâw u vadang* is a misreading of Pahl. *âstâvō va tang*.

³ Pâz. *suwastâi* (Sans. *suvastâyîka*) is evidently traceable to σοφιστικός through Pers. *sûfis/âtyah*.

⁴ Paz. *tahal* (Sans. *ka/uka*) is transposed in Pers. *tal'h*, 'bitter,' in which sense the word is used in §§ 38, 39, and Chap. III, 24.

true, (41) since *it* is pleasant to the hungry, *and* unpleasant to the surfeited; (42) *and* many other *statements* of this description—(43) that *which* should be said in reply to their twaddle is summarily (44) such as the wise *have* told them (45) thus:—‘Even this statement of you sophists, about the jaundiced nature of everything, is alike jaundiced, and there is no truth *in* it.’

46. Many other *things* are said among them; (47) and this that is indicated by us is the predominant information *for* you victors, (48) so that you *may* obtain more from revelation.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Another *subject* is about the existence of a competitor of a different nature, as shown above¹, (2) that, from the constructing, qualifying, *and* ennobling of things so sagaciously, *and* even from the circumstances of an unimproving (akârīk) hand put upon the concentrated light, *it* is manifest that its maker, constructor, concentrator, *and* qualifier is sagacious. 3. Also his constructing sagaciously is manifest, from each separately, through the qualifying *and* ennobling of his own works severally. 4. And his working sagaciously is an indicator that his work is purposed *and* caused, (5) because every one of the works of the sagacious ought to be purposed *and* caused. 6. The purpose and cause of a work arise first, the work *itself* afterwards.

7. From the many kinds of his work *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 8. For *there*

¹ Chaps. IV, 11, 12, V, 54–56.

are two modes of doing a work, (9) either the willed is *of* the many kinds which are his will, (10) or the quality is *of* one kind which is as it is qualified¹; (11) *so* from the many kinds *of* work of the creator *it* is manifest that his work is willed and requisite. 12. And his will is owing to a necessity of different limit², (13) because his will *was* a requisite for the power of the original evolution.

14. The purpose and cause of a work are before the necessity, (15) because while the purpose of the necessity of a work does not occur, the necessity does not exist. 16. The purpose of a work arises from the cause, towards which the necessity of that work instigates. 17. The necessity *and* willing of a thing which is caused exist; (18) and a cause of the necessity of a thing owing to its own self is not well suited, (19) because the cause arises from progression, (20) concerning which an indicator is the purposed work that is sagacious. 21. The purpose is owing to a cause, the cause is owing to promptitude (*aûstâv*), the promptitude is owing to an exception (*barâ*), the exception is owing to an injurer, and the injury is owing to an opponent, without *further* words.

22. I *have* also shown³, on this subject, through inevitable knowledge and through analogy, the making and qualification of the world and its circumstances *and* appliances. 23. From the making and qualification of the world is manifested a maker and qualifier; (24) and⁴ [through the purposely-made

¹ By necessity, and not exhibiting any freedom of will on the part of its maker.

² That is, not limited by anything in his work of creation.

³ In Chap. V, 46-91.

⁴ The passage in brackets is omitted by AK, PB3, MH19, L23,

work of the sagacious creator, (25) owing to] the purposely-made work¹, is manifested the existence of an injurer from without.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Again, about the existence of a competing *and* different original evolution², *there* are these (2) that are manifest from the good and evil which are in the world, (3) and the particulars of *its* good maker which are self-limited. 4. Such as darkness and light, (5) erudition *and* ignorance, (6) perfume and stench, (7) life and death, (8) sickness and health, (9) order (*dâd*) and disorder, (10) distress and freedom from care (*âzâdîh*), (11) *and* other co-existing³ factors whose certain existence is visible in every district *and* land, and every age. 12. So that no district *or* land whatever is discovered, nor yet any age *has* existed *or* shall exist, (13) wherein these good and bad terms and particulars *have* not existed *or* do not exist. 14. And it is not possible to say, as to any place *or* age, that good and evil are changeable in themselves by their own nature.

15. So, moreover, of the other co-existences whose difference is not through different duty, through different species, *or* through different quality—(16) as the difference of those of a like nature among one another, such as male *and* female, (17) *of* the varieties

evidently by mistake, as it is necessary to complete the meaning of the sentence.

¹ Made for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the fiend, which he foresaw (see Chap. VIII, 51, 71).

² See Chap. IV, 73 n.

³ And, therefore, competing, as their natures are different.

of scents *and* flavours, and *of* the sun *and* moon *and* stars, whose difference is not through different nature, but through different duty, through different qualification, and through different construction, which are such as are attainable for various duties—(18) the good and evil, light and dark, *and* other different natures are then their distinction not through different duty, but through different nature, (19) the incompatible quality and the injuriousness which are manifest *in* them, one towards the other. 20. Therefore, when good is there¹, the non-existence of evil is unquestionable; (21) when light *has* come, darkness is removed. 22. Even so *of* the other co-existences² whose incompatibility and injuriousness together are owing to the cause of difference of nature, (23) because, in the worldly *existence*, *there* is a manifestation of the competing nature and injuriousness of the things, one towards the other.

24. The worldly *existence* is the fruit of the spiritual, and the spiritual is its root, (25) because fruit is obtained through a root. 26. *In* like manner the giver of the evidence arisen among the intelligent is clear. 27. Of the worldly *existence being* the fruit, *and* the spiritual being the root, the evidence is this, (28) when the progress (*maḍanō*) of every visible *and* tangible thing from imperceptibility to perceptibility is explicitly manifest. 29. Because the arising of mankind and other creatures,

¹ Sans. has 'so that where (*yatra*) good is,' which has induced JE to insert Pâz. *edar* for Sans. *yatra*, so as to make the author say 'when good is here (in this world), the non-existence of evil there (in the other world) is unquestionable.' A noteworthy instance of punctilious blundering, on the part of a revising copyist, making an author say more than he means.

² Mentioned in §§ 5-11; those in § 4 having been just referred to.

who are visible *and* tangible, from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible is known, (30) as much as the mirrored length *and* breadth of the body *being* an emanation of itself. 31. And the perceptibility of the body of man and other creatures was imperceptible *and* invisible in the semen which is *derived* from *their* fathers; (32) the semen itself, too, came into perceptibility, visibility, *and* tangibility in the skin¹ of the fathers.

33. It is now possible to know inevitably² that this worldly *existence*, which is visible *and* tangible, is produced *and* has arisen from a spiritual *existence* which is invisible *and* intangible. 34. *In* like manner the lapsing (yehevûntanö) from visibility *and* tangibility into invisibility *and* intangibility³, which are themselves a spiritual *state*, is unquestionable.

35. When *these* are seen by us, in the worldly *existence*, the competing nature, formation, and injuriousness of one towards the other, even as to the property of the spiritual *existence*, (36) which is the root of the worldly *one*; (37) and, *in* like manner, *there* is no doubt of the existence of its fruit of worldly possessions; (38) this is that which is manifest as regards a competing nature. 39. Then⁴ its purpose and cause *were* indicated by me above⁵, which are the sagaciously working of the creator, (40) who created the creature which is an indicator *of* the existence of an opponent.

¹ That Nêr. thus read pôst is shown by his Sanskrit translation of the word, but the original word was probably pôst, 'the back.'

² See Chap. V, 12-14 for the technical meaning of this word.

³ As in the case of death and decay.

⁴ Reading adînasam, 'then its by me,' which is the Pahlavi form indicated by the Pâz. ainâum of Nêr. (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

⁵ Chap. VII, 4, 5, 19-21.

41. For *it* is known that work due to workers is *of* two kinds, designed or qualified. 42. That which is designed is *of* three kinds. 43. Two are due to the wise *and* sagacious; (44) either through seeking for their own working of advantage and benefit, (45) or *through* removing *and* keeping away the harm and evil which are from without. 46. And one is due to the ignorant *and* unwise, (47) *done* defectively *and* without a purpose. 48. From the wise *and* sagacious, work ought¹ not to arise without a purpose *and* without a cause.

49. As the sagacious creator, who is all-knowing, perfectly capable, *and* fully complete in his own self, *has* sought that which is not a necessity for any advantage and aggrandizement of his from without², (50) it is, therefore, necessary to understand that the purpose *and* causes of his works are *of* that one kind³, (51) to remove *and* keep away the harm which is due to his opponent and the injurer who may arise from without, which is itself the purpose and cause of the creation of the creatures. 52. Also this, that that sagacious creator is good-willed, (53) and his will is all goodness. 54. The creatures *were* also created by him predominantly of his own will. 55. And the completely-stirring desire of him who is good-willed *and* sagacious is to subdue⁴ evil *and* make *it* extinct, (56) for while evil is not subdued the

¹ Reading *sazêd*, as in JE, because, although AK, PB₃, MH₁₉ have Pâz. *sa he d*, 'seems,' Nêr. uses Sans. *saknoti*.

² And, therefore, cannot have been actuated by the design mentioned in § 44.

³ Mentioned in § 45.

⁴ Reading *khvâftanô*, instead of Pâz. *anâftan*, which is almost identical in writing; and making a similar correction in § 56.

will of him who is good-willed is not fulfilled. 57. *And* this, that the goodness of that sagacious creator is manifest from creativeness, cherishing, and protection, *and from* commanding *and* teaching the means of putting away the path of evil and causing forbearance from crime; (58) also from the qualities and powers of the body in pain and sickness from without.

59. And, as a cause of the body, (60) to remove and keep away the opponent who comes to the body, *and to be* the maintenance, the cause of maturity, and the cause of growth of animals *and* sprouting plants¹, through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing *their* qualities, *there* is a co-operator who is scripturally called the Fravash². 61. And through those four powers that are accumulative, which are the powers of attracting, seizing, digesting, *and* extracting—(62) and which, owing to the creator's sagacity of every kind, are co-operators with proportionate power for keeping away the pain and sickness of various kinds which are owing to the opponent, who is working defectively *and* desirous of evil—(63) and *through* others *that* are of like strength *and* auxiliary, the good will of the creator is manifest.

¹ Pâz. rôdamānā, which Nêr translates by the Sanskrit for 'trees and grains;' and the occurrence of the latter word has induced some reviser of AK to alter the following words zôr-i dârâ, 'power of maintaining,' into zôridâêâ, 'grains,' which alteration has been adopted by MH₁₉ and PB₃, but the latter has also zôr-i dârâ inserted in the margin, while JE has both readings in the text which thus means 'through the power of maintaining *and* cherishing the quality of grains.'

² The guardian spirit or spiritual representative of each object created by Aûharmazd, which acts for that object in the spiritual world (see Mkh. XLIX, 23).

64. Of this, too, that this *one* is no creator of the pain and death which are dissipaters of the body, who is good-willed *and* a maintainer and cherisher of the body, (65) the evidence is even from this, when the sagacious creator is not a sufferer from sorrow (apakhshadâr) and performing penitence, (66) and is no dissipater and disabler of his own achievements¹, (67) because *he* is sagacious and all-knowing.

68. *As to this other and* the sorrow *and* penitence of the kind which is owing to his own work, it is fitting to speak about him *as* of deficient knowledge, incomplete wisdom, and inconclusive understanding.

69. As work does not arise from the wise and sagacious without a purpose *and* without a cause², (70) *in* like manner work from the unwise *and* ignorant *and* those of inconclusive understanding is all defective, without a purpose, *and* without a cause³.

71. And that sagacious *one* is a contriver, working sagaciously *and* methodically, for keeping away that defective work and inconclusive understanding from his own creatures.

72. He who is working defectively produced distorted⁴ *and* entangled scriptures among the creatures; (73) because this is known, that it is not possible so to keep away *and* cramp⁵ him who is a moving *and* living nature in a boundless void, *and*

¹ Sans. has 'creatures.'

² See § 48.

³ See §§ 46, 47.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. faršînmand (Sans. gumphita) stands for Pahl. paršîn-hômand.

⁵ Pâz. awêfsûidan (Sans. sañkoṣayitum); but it may be noted that the Pahlavi equivalent of this word might be easily read apasagagînîdanô, 'to disorganize.'

to become without risk of injury¹. 74. But, though he does not become entangled, fenced in, and captive, (75) *he* is spreading anguish into the entanglement and captivity, and *it* is a means of grievous punishment. 76. Only while a complete wiping away of the anguish *due to* him, and complete information as to his own ignorant activity do not arise, he *has* meditated² with lying falsehood on that which is connected therewith. 77. And the complete capability of the almighty creator is the wiping away of the anguish.

78. Owing to the complete wiping away of anguish, through the almightiness of the sagacious creator, he casts *him* back impotent into the boundless void. 79. *And* the good creatures thereby become fearless, immortal, *and* undistressed (80) *through* the completely methodical sagacity and discernment of means of that omniscient creator of good beings.

81. From observation of possessions the difference of things is manifest. 82. And the difference is *of* two kinds, as mentioned above³. 83. One is difference of operation, and the other is difference of nature. 84. Difference of operation is owing to mutual assistance and united strength⁴, (85) and difference of nature is owing to want of an adapter

¹ From him, the evil spirit, who is said to have left his native abyss and come on towards the light, through the void which intervened (see Bd. I, 3-5, 9).

² So in Pâz.—Sans.; but 'he meditates' is more probable, and would be written in the same manner in Pahlavi.

³ Perhaps referring to the 'two series of things' mentioned in Chap. VI, 13-15, but the connection is not very clear.

⁴ Because co-operation in complicated work tends towards division of labour.

and *to* opposition. 86. And not in a single place is a permanence of possessions manifest.

87. If one of anything shall exist *and* one does not exist, *its* name shall exist, (88) for the sake of recognising things, one from the other, and preserving the name. 89. The bad, by separation from the good existence, is originally evolved *in* such a manner that the one is really no cause of the other. 90. Because each one is existent (aît-hômand) through its own self, (91) owing to the perpetual injury *and* antagonism which are manifestly theirs, one towards the other.

92. If any one shall say that, as the competing *formations* of the competitors are numerous—(93) such as good *and* evil, dark *and* light, perfume *and* stench, life *and* death, sickness *and* health, pleasure *and* vexation—(94) there ought to be many other such original evolutions, many *in* number and of many species; (95) then they *may* give this reply¹, (96) that, even when *there* are many names and many species of competitors, still then all are within the compass² of two names. 97. And these two names are their including-source, which are good and evil. 98. Their different names and different species are tokens of these two sources.

99. *There* is nothing whatever that is not *in* the compass of these two names. 100. *There has* not been and *will* not be anything which is not good or evil, or a mixture of both. 101. On which account

¹ Sans. has 'others give a reply;' but the Pâz. anyê, 'others,' is certainly a misreading of Pahl. adîn aê, 'then this,' or adînas, 'then to him,' in which latter case the phrase would be 'then they may give a reply to him.' The proper Pâzand for 'other' is aware or han.

² See Chap. IV, 12 n.

it is explicitly manifest that the original evolutions are two, *and* not more; (102) *and* also this, that it is not possible *for* good to arise from evil, and evil from good.

103. From this, too, it is possible to understand¹, (104) that it is not possible *for* complete evil to arise from that thing which is filled with goodness. 105. If it be possible, then *it* is not full; (106) because *any* one thing, when said *to be* full, is no place *for* anything else; (107) and when *there* is no place *for* anything else, other things are not improved by it.

108. If the sacred being *be* perfect in goodness and wisdom, the folly and evil of *any* one are known not to arise from him. 109. If it be possible for them to arise from him, then *he* is not perfect. 110. If *he be* not perfect, it is not proper to glorify *him* for the sacredness of complete goodness. 111. If good and evil have crept on from the sacred being, *he* is imperfect in goodness. 112. If *he be* imperfect in goodness, *he* is imperfect in good information. 113. If *he be* imperfect in good information, so also *he* is imperfect in wisdom, understanding, knowledge, intellect, and other appliances of sagacity. 114. If *he be* imperfect in wisdom, understanding, intellect, *and* knowledge, *he* is imperfect in health. 115. If *he be* imperfect in health, he is apt to become sick. 116. If he be apt to become sick, *he* is imperfect in life.

117. If any one shall speak thus: 'I always see that from one nature, such as *that of* mankind, alike good and alike evil have always crept on, through actions owing to them,' (118) that is for this reason,

¹ MH19 has 'to maintain.'

because mankind are not perfect even in one *thing*. 119. And, on account of imperfection in goodness, evil has crept on from them; (120) and also on account of imperfection, even in health, they become sick. 121. For the same reason they die, (122) because the cause of death is the struggling of two competing propensities within one nature. 123. There where two competing propensities exist within one nature, the occurrence of sickness and death is known.

124. If any one shall say that there are good and evil actions which, until they are done, do not exist, (125) then they *may* give this reply¹, (126) that the occurrence of an action apart from doing is as impossible as any propensity apart from a nature; and, as to the nature, (127) its² continuance and arrangement are then known thereby not to occur through its own self. 128. For when a man indulges in wrath, Vohûman³ is far from there; (129) and when Vohûman holds the position, wrath is not there. 130. When a man tells a lie, truth is far from there⁴; (131) and when he speaks true, falsehood has no position there, and that man is called truthful. 132. So also when sickness *has* come, health is not there; (133) and when health *has* come, sickness *has* gone.

¹ See § 95 n.

² Reading *adînasas*, 'then its thereby' (with a double nominal suffix), which is the original Pahlavi indicated by Pâz. *ainâs* (see Mkh. IX, 6 n).

³ The archangel 'good thought,' who is said to hold the position and vanquish 'evil thought,' while the angel *Srôsh* does the same as regards 'wrath' (see *Dînkard*, quoted in Dd. XCIV, 1 n; also Bd. XXX, 29).

⁴ Sans. adds 'and that man is called false,' which JE also inserts in Pâzand in the margin, but all other manuscripts omit.

134. Just as a substance which is not moving can exist, (135) but movement, except in a substance, cannot exist.

136. About this chapter, too, collected as a summary, (137) do you reverently¹ and discreetly observe and instruct thereon.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Other information about the existence of the competitor, similarly testified by the *Dīnkard*² manuscript (nīpīk), is here well noted for you. 2. For both this *which is* written above and that which is written *here* are all grown from the seed which the glorified Âtūr-pādīyāvand sowed, (3) and *from* the original thanksgiving (spâs) of the supremely learned Âtūr-frôbag, son of Farukh-zâd, himself.

4. The fourth³ subject, which is from the *Dīnkard*, is about the existence of an opponent of the creatures and of an opponent earlier than the creatures, and is from the exposition of the good religion⁴.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. dâramaihâ (Sans. sūkshmatayâ) is a misreading of Pahl. garâmîkîhâ. It would more easily be a misreading of sharmakîhâ, 'modestly,' but this term seems rather less likely to be applied by the author to his readers.

² See Chap. IV, 106, 107 for the names in these §§ 1, 2.

³ Assuming that Pâz. ardium (Sans. balish/ho me) is a misreading of Pahl. arbâûm. The first subject (see Chap. II, 1) consisted of the three questions of Mitrô-aîyyâr discussed in Chaps. II-IV. The second subject, about the existence of God, is contained in Chaps. V, VI. And the third subject, about the existence of an evil spirit competing with the creator, is debated in Chaps. VII, VIII.

⁴ The third book of the *Dīnkard*, which treats of a multitude of subjects 'from the exposition of the good religion,' does not appear

5. *That* is, a knowledge of the existence of an opponent of the creatures is obtainable from the innermost *recesses* of the body of man even to the outermost *objects* of which¹ sight is susceptible, (6) and beyond those, within the certain limits of analogy. 7. The innermost *recesses* of man are the innermost of life, (8) *and* are seen through complete observation, within the same limits.

9. This is, as ignorance is to erudition, (10) deceit to good disposition, (11) and falsehood to truth, (12) other defects of the capabilities which are the source of erudition, good disposition, and truth are the opponent, (13) and the cause of the wickedness of the soul. 14. Again, these irregularities of the rules of arrangement of the body, within the compass of the body, are the opponent, and the cause of the disintegration of the body. 15. Again, *as to* these among the emanations, cold is the opponent of heat, dryness is of moisture, *and* the other doers of mischief are *opponents* of the operations of existence.

16. Within time darkness is the opponent of light, stench of perfume, ugliness of handsomeness, unsavouriness of savouriness, poison of *its* antidote, noxious creatures and the wolf of the well-yielding cattle, *and* the vile felon (*mar*) of the good man. 17. Beyond time the brigand *planets* (*gadûgân*)² are the opponents of the work of the divine bestowers.

18. Beyond the knowledge obtainable of all these

to contain the materials for this chapter. The author is, therefore, probably alluding to one of the two earlier books which have not yet been discovered.

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *andâ ne* (for *be*) *thûm-i vas* (Sans. *yâvat bîgam asya*) stands for Pahl. *vad barâtûm-i agas*.

² See Chap. IV, 10.

champions susceptible to sight, are those who are within the limits of analogy¹ and the certain information of multitudes, the demons who are the opponents of the sacred beings.

19. The existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures, and his coming to the creatures (20) after the creation of the creatures, *and* also to the creator, are presented comprehensibly through reasons which are suitable² *and* presentable, *and* through the provision of a remedy, a creation which is for a purpose. 21. This one statement (vâḱak) possesses five arguments (sâmân). 22. One is the *being* presented comprehensibly. 23. One is the *being* presented through reasons. 24. One is the reasons which are presentable *and* suitable that the creation existed. 25. One is the remedy appointed for the creation. 26. *And* one is the creation of the creatures of the creator for a purpose.

27. The existence of these five arguments is manifest through the creations *and* achievements themselves. 28. The presenting comprehensibly is wisely arranging the testimony of the effect³ of the creatures, (29) through the reasons presented, which are a declaration owing to the same sagacity. 30. The reason obtainable, that the creation existed, (31) with the arrangement of the creation so methodically, ought to arise from the suitable *state* of the

¹ Referring to the two kinds of evidence, direct and indirect, mentioned in §§ 5, 6.

² So in § 24 and in Sans., though Pâz. has 'obtainable' here.

³ Assuming that the Pâz. awar dugâê of AK stands for Pahl. bar gôkâs (or gôkâsih). MH19 has duvâê, and PB3, JE have dusâê, while Sans. means 'about the magnitude.'

creation ; (32) and the suitable design of the creation itself possesses the testimony, through *its* appearance.

33. The remedy appointed is a comprehensible *and* presentable demonstrator, (34) because it becomes a desire of knowledge and an appearance of the desire. 35. The *being* created for a purpose is manifest through the desire of activity of the creation, both severally and naturally.

36. The evidences of the existence of an opponent before the creation of the creatures are many. 37. And one of them is the suitable *state* of the creation of the creatures, (38) because the limit of suitability is not well fitted for anything except necessity. (39) That *which* is *inferred* from suitability is necessity, from necessity haste, *and* from haste the existence of an opponent who is before the suitable work which is the creation.

40. The evidence of the coming of the destroyer to the creatures, after the creation of the creatures, is the formation of the means of the creator, for encountering an opponent, before the arrival of the opponent, (41) which are omnisciently a provision before creation by the creator. 42. And there is a demonstrator of *these* same means of the creatures that is prepared, which is the struggling opposed to the opponent through the arrangement of *their* nature. 43. One duty of the nature of the creatures is the subduing of so much vexation. 44. Their preparation, too, is like a contest that is forming an enemy opposing the opponent, (45) and their natural desire for duty is removing all haste.

CHAPTER X.

1. Another subject is about the deliberating of the deliberators on unity, from which even the preparation of the duality is manifested.

2. It should be known, that whoever wishes to understand a creator, except when he gives trouble to his own life, (3) should meditate reverently¹. 4. First, he fully understands his own body and soul, (5) that is, who produced *them*, out of what, and for what purpose? 6. Also, who is his accuser and adversary; (7) and who is his friend and helper? 8. Likewise, who instigates him to commit crime, (9) of what nature *is he*, (10) and how is it possible to escape him?

11. Then *he* is not able to understand him² *as* the creator through his nature and his coming to himself. 12. For when he bore the name of creator, then, with it, he brought these three creations³:—(13) creation, religion, and soul. 14. Because the name of creator is known from the occurrence of creation. 15. This *implies* that the creator of the creation created the creations for duty, (16) but does not release *them* from duty. 17. And the duty of the creatures is to understand *and* perform the will of the creator, (18) *and* to abstain from *what is* disliked *by him*. 19. To act by the will of the creator, and to abstain from *what is* disliked by him, is to preserve the soul. 20. The will of the creator is not under-

¹ See Chap. VIII, 137 n.

² His accuser and instigator.

³ All MSS. have 'he bore these three names;' but Nêr. has evidently misread *sem*, 'name,' instead of *dâm*, 'creature,' both words being written alike in Pahlavi.

stood, except from the religion of the creator. 21. *And* the religion is appointed by the creator free from doubt.

22. Now it is expedient to know that the sacred being appointed the religion for the understanding of his will, (23) and from the understanding of his will for the preservation of the soul are manifested the compassion and mercifulness of the sacred being.

24. From the preservativeness of the religion for the soul are manifested the grandeur and valuable-ness of the religion; (25) from the necessity of preserving the soul are manifested the defilement and delusion¹ of the soul; (26) *and* from the defilement and delusion of the soul is manifested a defiler and deluder of the thoughts, words, *and* deeds of mankind. 27. On the whole a corrupter of souls is manifest.

28. And now it is expedient for us to well recognise² and know, as to that defiler who is a corrupter of souls, of what nature *he is*. 29. Because, if the creation *and* achievement of the sacred being are said *to be* of a like nature, then how did the sacred being appoint the religion for the preservation of the soul? 30. That is not expedient for him—*if* a defiler and deluder of souls—to produce³ as his own creation and will⁴. 31. For if he be himself the creator, and be himself the defiler and corrupter of souls, *and* nothing occurs except by his will, (32)

¹ Pâz. vyâwānī (see Chap. III, 22 n).

² Assuming that Pâz. huzvârdan (Sans. *samsodhayitum*) is a misreading of Pahl. hû-zinhârdanô.

³ Sans. 'to announce.'

⁴ Because it (the religion) is opposed to his supposed work as a deluder.

then, when it is necessary for us to write of preservation from the sacred being¹, whom *shall* we make as a refuge²?

33. Now it is necessary *for* every intelligent person to understand *and* to know thus much, (34) that is, from whom it is necessary for us to flee and to abstain, (35) and with whom is the hope, and with whom the maintenance, of our protection. 36. The method for this acquisition is nothing else but to understand the sacred being in *his* nature, (37) because, as I wrote above³, *it* is not only to know *his* existence, but it is necessary to understand *his* nature and his will.

38. And I *have* observed, in the world, the sectarian belief of all maintainers of sects who hold [the two fundamental *doctrines*]⁴. 39. One is that which asserts that all the good and evil, which are in the world, are owing to the sacred being. 40. *And* one is that which asserts that all the good of the world, besides the hope of preserving the soul, is owing to the sacred being; (41) and the cause of all evil of the body, besides the risk of the soul, is owing to Aharman; (42) *and* all *things* have started from appointment *by* these two origins into various formations *and* various subdivisions.

43. Now I have been an enquirer everywhere, for understanding the sacred being, as written above⁵,

¹ As it would be, if he were the corrupter of souls.

² The exclamation of the wicked soul after death, derived from Yas. XLV, 1 (see Mkh. II, 159).

³ See Chap. V, 6-9.

⁴ The words in brackets are omitted in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but occur in Sans. and the later MSS.

⁵ Chap. I, 36, 37.

fervent-minded in the investigation of his religion and will; (44) as likewise I have wandered, for the sake of investigation, to the region without and the land of the Hindûs, and to many different races. 45. Because, *as to* religion, I did not admire that which *was* in supremacy¹, (46) but *I* sought that which *was* more steadfast and more acceptable in wisdom and testimony. 47. I went also into association with many different races, (48) until a time (49) when, owing to the compassion of the sacred beings, and the strength, glory, and power of the good religion, I escaped from much gloomy depth and ill-solvable doubt.

50. By the united power of knowledge of the religion (51) and the well-reflecting writing of the wise, (52) the marvellous allegorical² writings of the learned Âtûr-pâdyâvand³, (53) and by that writing which the glorified Rôshan⁴, son of Âtûr-frôbag, prepared—(54) for which he appointed the name of the Rôshan manuscript (nîpîk)—(55) *and* likewise that *for* which the supremely learned *and* righteous Âtûr-frôbag⁵, son of Farukh-zâd, (56) who *was* the

¹ Probably a guarded allusion to Muhammadanism which it was then unsafe to disparage openly, as is evident from the rarity of its name in Pahlavi writings.

² Or 'the miracle-resembling.'

³ See Chap. IV, 106.

⁴ A commentator whose opinions are often quoted in Pahlavi writings (see Sls. I, 4 n). His father was probably the early editor of the *Dînkard* mentioned in §§ 55-57, though it is hazardous to rely upon a single name for identifying an individual. In that case he must have been a younger brother of the Zaratûst-i Âtûr-frôbagân who succeeded his father as 'leader of the good religion,' and revised the *Dînkard*, as mentioned in the last paragraphs of its third book.

⁵ See Chap. IV, 107.

leader of those of the good religion, (57) appointed the name of the *Dīnkard* manuscript—owing to *its* explaining the religion¹—(58) I am saved from the many doubts, delusions, deceits, and follies of sects, (59) and, especially, from those of the deceivers, the very great *and* very mighty, very evil-teaching *and* empty-skulled² Manicheans³, (60) whose devotion is witchcraft, *whose* religion is deceitfulness, and *whose* teaching is folly and intricate secret proceedings.

61. I have been deliberately confirmed by the power of wisdom and the strength of knowledge of the religion, (62) not through obstinate faith⁴, but by the pure revelation opposed to the demon⁵, which is the decision of Aûharmazd (63) that *was* taught by the creator Aûharmazd to the righteous Zaratûst⁶.

64. Zaratûst came alone, on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kai Gustâsp⁷, (65) and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kai Gustâsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words, through explanation of many doubts, and through presentation of the visible testimony of the

¹ The probable meaning of *dīnkard* is 'acts of the religion.' See also Chap. IV, 107 n.

² Reading *rat-mastarg*. For *rat Nêr*, has read *rad*, 'pontiff,' which is written in the same manner; his translation being Sans. *guru*, while his *Pâz. rad* has become *raê* in AK, PB₃, MH₁₉, but has again become *rad* in JE.

³ See Chap. XVI.

⁴ Assuming that *Pâz. sakht-virôdasnihâ* stands for Pahl. *sakht-virôyisnfhâ*.

⁵ That is, the *Vendîdâd*.

⁶ See Mkh. I, 10.

⁷ See Mkh. XIII, 14, XXVII, 68-76.

archangels, *together* with many miracles. 66. And a greatness in power which is not the destiny of worldly existences was theirs who saw him of the vehement guardian spirit. 67. And Kaî Spend-dâd¹ and Zargar² and other *royal* sons (zâdak), instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke³, (68) while they even wandered to Arûm⁴ and the Hindûs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.

69. Owing to *progress* onwards it came in succession to the descendants of the divinities⁵, the rulers who *were* those of the Kayân race who *were* exalted ones. 70. *And* still onwards even until the achievement with melted metal pouring upon the chest of the glorified Âtûr-pâd⁶, son of Mâraspend, in the reign of that divinity (bagh) Shâhpûr, the king of kings who *was the son of* Aûharmazd⁷, in a controversy with apostates of different species of many kinds. 71. *He was* preserved from those most

¹ Misread Spudâkht by Nêr. He was a son of Kaî Gustâsp, and called Spentô-dâta in the Avesta, and Isfendiyâr in Persian.

² Av. Zairivairi, Pers. Zarîr, a brother of Kaî Gustâsp (see Bd. XXXI, 29).

³ Literally 'for the neck,' assuming that Pâz. ô-ka ôi is an erroneous reading of Pahl. val kavarmān, as in Mkh. XXXIX, 30.

⁴ Asia Minor was so called from having been a portion of the Roman empire in Sasanian times.

⁵ Pâz. bayānā (Sans. mahat) is evidently a misreading of Pahl. bagânân, a term referring to the Sasanian kings who adopted the title of bagî, 'divinity,' in their inscriptions (see also § 70), and claimed to be descended from the old dynasty of Kayân kings.

⁶ The supreme high-priest and prime minister of king Shâhpûr II (A.D. 309-379), who underwent the ordeal of melted metal for the sake of proving the truth of the religion.

⁷ King Aûharmazd II (A.D. 300-309).

mighty apostates, who are called even by *the name* of their desires¹.

72. And the Arûmans², who have been, at various periods, termed untruthful³, *have* asked many ill-solvable questions of this religion; (73) *but there has* been no doubtfulness of any question that is explained by this religion, (74) and the learned of the country of Irân have always been sustainers of victory among them. 75. Not like other sects whose religion is secretly progressive and deceiving, delusively for the deceived, *and* undutifully among the customs and assemblages of the less-informed, unintelligent, and demon-natured whose information was nothing whatever of knowledge and understanding of wisdom. 76. Then, so far as the assemblages that are very secretly deceived and deluded by them, nobody is presented for detection (âskârâkîh); (77) *but* afterwards, owing to the capture of the many of little knowledge and unintelligent opinions who are deluded by them, it is discovered they are *provided* with much mutually afflicting speech, falsehood, *and* disconnection, which are their religion.

78. So that I here⁴ notice *some* of *their* much inconsistency and disconnection, for informing the judgment of new learners, (79) for the reason that when the writings of the learned ancients have specially minutely and reverently⁵ discoursed of

¹ That is, they are called âshmôg (Av. ashemaogha, 'perplexing righteousness').

² The Greeks of the eastern empire of the Romans.

³ Pâz. anâst may be either 'irreverent,' or else stand for Pahl. arâst, 'untruthful.' Sans. has 'atheistical.'

⁴ In the next chapter.

⁵ Or, perhaps, 'modestly' (see Chap. VIII, 137 n.).

what is most astute in evil, to impel *one* to good knowledge, (80) you *should* observe with kind regards *what* is ordered.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Henceforth I write¹ *of* the inconsistency of their twaddle, and *of* just observations (2) you should estimate with wise regard.

3. First, *as to* the full consideration of that one original evolution (4) which they state thus: 'The sacred being is one, doing good works, wise, powerful, compassionate, *and* merciful, (5) so that good works *and* crime, truth *and* falsehood, life *and* death, good *and* evil are² owing to him³.'

6. Now do ye ask of them (7) thus: 'Is the sacred being always compassionate *and* showing mercy, doing good works *and* judicious, and does he know all *that* is, was, *and will* be; *and* is *he* advancing the desire of *one's* wishes in everything, even *in* this where judiciousness is interference, or when such is not so?

8. Because, if *he be* compassionate, doing good works, *and* showing mercy, why then are Aharman and the demons and all these evil faiths⁴ of hell admitted⁵

¹ Pâz. 'I have written.'

² Sans. and JE insert 'all.'

³ Most of this statement can be found in the Qur'ân in isolated texts, such as 'God there is no god but he . . . He knows the unseen and the visible; the mighty, the wise . . . verily God is forgiving, compassionate . . . It is God who created you . . . and then will make you die.' (Qur'ân LXIV, 13, 18, 14, XXX, 39; SBE. vol. ix.)

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. *vîrôraa* (Sans. *âmnâya*) is a misreading of Pahl. *virôyâk*.

⁵ Tracing Pâz. *awagad* (Sans. *avâkirat*) to Av. *aiwi + gata*.

by him to his own creatures, through his own compassion, doing of good works, *and* showing of mercy? 9. If not known by him, where are that knowledge and omniscience of his? 10. If he did not wish to keep misery and evil away from the creatures, and to produce only happiness *for* every one, where are that judiciousness and interference of his? 11. If it were not possible that it should not be produced by him, for what is that omnipotence of his (12) which we¹ every one, as *it were*, observe *and* well consider?’

13. Whenever they say *that* every good and evil *has* arisen from the sacred being—except when they separate from him these four attributes (hûnar), requisite for divinity, which are omniscience, omnipotence, goodness, *and* mercifulness—(14) there is then no possibility of it. 15. When, indeed, they separate from him *only* one of these four attributes, even then *he* is not complete in divinity. 16. For if a sacred being be he *who is* omniscient, omnipotent, good, and merciful, then he who is not omniscient, *or* not omnipotent, *or* not good, *or* not merciful is not a sacred being.

17. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* a ruler, advancing desires in every person *and* thing, why are that country and empire of his own not so kept, without help, from every enemy and adversity *apart* from his own work, so that *there* would not be anything whatever of distress, oppression, injustice, and complaint for any one in his empire? 18. Since the

¹ So in Sanskrit; but, as the two Pâz. verbs end in -un, the original Pahlavi termination may have been -yên (3d pers. optative), and we might read ‘which every one may, as *it were*, observe.’

rule *and* empire of a man, *who is* ruler and emperor, are then commendable when *it* is possible for him so to protect *and* keep his own country *and* empire, through his own wisdom, that they *may* not assist his enemy to detract from his work, and to produce sin *and* harm. 19. Or, when his enemy covets *some* of his work, he is enabled to keep him away from his own thoughtful friends, *and* to make every one free from distress.

20. Again, *observe* this, that when *he is* triumphant, victorious, and prevailing, (21) over whom are that triumph, victory, and prevailing of his? 22. Since triumph and victory are over enemies, a competitor exists. 23. It is not expedient¹ to become himself a competitor *and* enemy to his own; (24) while when there is no enemy *and* competitor of his, over whom does he become triumphant and victorious? 25. That *sort of* triumph and victory is not spoken about, (26) because even cattle and sheep, when they have no opponent and injurer, are victorious and triumphant over themselves.

27. Again, *observe* this, is a wise *being* contented with his own divinity and grandeur, or not? 28. If the wise *being* be contented, then he *-has* become contented to produce an enemy and criminal, *and* to admit all *that is* devastating into a country, through his own knowledge and will, for the benefit of the

¹ K28 inserts *shâyad*, '*and possible*,' and JE inserts *Pâz. tvâ*, which has the same meaning; but these insertions have probably originated in a blunder of the writer of AK, who first wrote Sans. *saknoti*, the usual equivalent of *Pâz. shâyad*, but afterwards interlined Sans. *samyugyate* to correspond with *sazed*, '*it is expedient*,' the word he had written in the *Pâz.* text.

country and creatures. 29. *But* why¹ is it expedient to seek a disposition of crime *and* evil, to become himself an enemy *and* curser as regards them, *and* to provide a hellish *existence*, becoming the misery of mankind?

30. Again, *observe* this, *as to* whatever he says, does he speak truly *and* credibly, or not? 31. If he speaks that truly *and* credibly which he states thus: 'I am a friend of good works and an enemy of crime,' (32) *and* always produces more crime *and* criminals than good works *and* doers of good works, (33) where is that truthful speaking of his?

34. Again, *observe* this, is his desire goodness, or vileness? 35. If his desire *be* vileness, whence is that divinity of his? 36. If his desire *be* goodness, then why are the vile and vileness more than the good and goodness?

37. Again, *observe* this, is he merciful, or not? 38. If he *be* not merciful, whence is that divinity of his? 39. If he *be* merciful, then why does he speak thus: 'The hearts, ears, *and* eyes of mankind are bent about by me, so that it is not possible for them to think, speak, *or* do *anything* but that which is wanted by me²; (40) *be* it what *has* made them great *and* noble, through *being* without want; (41) *or* *be* it what *has* admitted them to eternal hell, slain *and* exterminated by death of many kinds. 42. So that while those whom I force back become good *and* more active in good works, (43) yet still those who

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *ki*, 'what?' stands for *kim*. Sans. has 'how?' (Pâz. *kun*.)

² 'Yet the Lord hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day' (Deut. xxix. 4).

are forced back do only a little¹, (44) *and* are much more criminal *and* more sinful than those who are forward.'

45. Again, *observe* this, that if, whatever he does, he does wisely and for a purpose, (46) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why *did* the first achievement which *was* prepared by him *become* servants to demoniacal disobedience, who are perverted thereby, among mankind, to wickedness *and* a hellish *existence*²? 47. If *it were* not known by him that they *would* become perverted, it was expedient (*sazîd*) for him to order the making of a trial of them, (48) because now many thousands *and* myriads who *are* prepared by him, so that they *may* serve him and exhilarate (*mastend*) his rule, have become in every mode disobedient *and* unhappily advised. 49. For with that scanty knowledge that mankind *possess*, which is not so prepared *and* organized as is the wish of mankind, (50) if even anything arises, that they construct *and* prepare, which does not so come on *and* become³ as is their wish, they do not stop again, a second *time*, for the preparation of that thing, *but* they refrain from it.

51. *As to* him, that omnipotent *and* omniscient ruler, of the abundant *and* innumerable things *he has* hitherto made and prepared not even one comes on *and* becomes such as is his wish, yet still he never refrains from the preparation *and* production of many new *things*. 52. Just as when *he was* the creator of

¹ Assuming that Pâz. khvazâr stands for khûgâarak; but, as Sans. has 'injury,' the Pâzand may be a misreading of âzâr.

² Referring probably to the fall of man, detailed in §§ 61-77.

³ So in Sans. and JE, as in § 51; but AK and MH19 have 'go' here.

that *one* of his first angels whom, on account of affection, he prepared out of fire, *and for* several thousand years, (53) as they say, *they* always performed his worship; (54) at last *that one* was undone by one command that was given by him (the creator) thus: 'Offer homage to this first of mankind, who is prepared by me out of clay.' 55. And deliverance, as to *what* is not expedient to offer, *was* expressly mentioned by him. 56. Then *that one* acted scornfully *and* contemptibly as to his clay and curse and wrath; (57) *and, being* perverted to devilry and fiendishness, *he was* forced out of heaven, (58) *and was* given a life of millenniums *and* an eternal dominion, (59) so that *he said*, 'I will go *and* make my servants and worshippers astray *and* deluded¹.' 60. And he *was* made an injurer and adversary at his own will.

61. At last also that man, to whom he, the supreme angel, was ordered to offer homage with many worshippers, for the sake of affection and respect, (62) is appointed to the garden of paradise (vahist), (63)

¹ 'And we did create man from crackling clay of black mud wrought in form. And the *ginns* had we created before of smokeless fire. And when thy lord said to the angels, "Verily I am creating a mortal from crackling clay of black mud wrought into shape; and when I have fashioned it, and breathed into it of my spirit, then fall ye down before it adoring." And the angels adored all of them together, save Iblis, who refused to be among those who adored. . . . He said, "Then get thee forth." . . . Said he, "O my lord! respite me until the day when they shall be raised." He said, "Then, verily, thou art of the respited." . . . He said, "O my lord! for that thou hast seduced me I will surely make it seem seemly for them on earth, and I will surely seduce them all together, save such of thy servants amongst them as are sincere."' (Qur'ān XV, 26-40; SBE, vol. vi.)

so that he *may* cultivate *it* and eat all the fruit, (64) except *of* that one tree of which *it* is ordered thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*'.¹ 65. And with them (mankind) the deceiver, who is the deluder prepared by him (the creator), (66) is let into the garden. 67. There are *some* who say *he is* a serpent², *and* there are *some* who say *he is* Aharman³. 68. And an inclination *for* eating *and* greediness is given by that same *one* himself to mankind. 69. Then, being deceived *by* that deluder *saying*: 'Eat of that tree'—(70) there are *some* who say *he spoke to* Adam—(71) they ate through that inclination for eating⁴.

72. After eating they became so imbued with knowledge that good and evil *were* understood and known by them⁵. 73. *Deprived* of that so-great respect and affection, through that one injunction which *was* forgotten by them—(74) and that forgetfulness *being* likewise owing to that cause—(75) they are forced out of the garden of paradise⁶—*he* with *his* wife—by grievous wrath and disrespect, (76) *and* are delivered into the hand of that enemy who is a deceiver and deluder; (77) so that he *has* propagated

¹ 'And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it"' (Gen. ii. 15-17).

² 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made' (Gen. iii. 1).

³ 'That old serpent, called the Devil and Satan' (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2).

⁴ Compare Gen. iii. 1-6.

⁵ 'And the eyes of them both were opened' (Gen. iii. 7).

⁶ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

his own will among them, *and has fashioned it upon them.*

78. Now which *was* unjust, the unreasonable command, the after-wisdom, *or* the scanty knowledge that *was* more faulty and more mischievous than these? 79. Also this, that is, why *was* that garden not made by him fortified and strong, so that that deluder could not have gone into *it*?

80. Even now *he (the deceiver)* has made and makes multitudes *of* his (the creator's) servants *and* worshippers deluded; (81) and, for the same reason, multitudes *of* apostles *and* prophets (vakhshvarân) are appointed by him (the creator) for the worldly *existence at* various times, (82) so that, *as he says*: 'They *may* save my servants from the hand of that deluder, (83) *and* bring *them* into the true path and way¹.' 84. And even those worshippers of his, *in* every way through their own will, have slain *and* subdued (khvâft), by a wretched death, his own apostles², whose diligence had brought mankind into the proper path and doctrine.

85. That original deluder and misleader is allowed an eternal life. 86. *And*, even till now, his will is more triumphant *and* absolute than that of the sacred being, through deluding *and* misleading, (87) because those deluded *and* astray are much more numerous than those *in* the true path *and* undeluded.

88. Again, *observe* this, does he do whatever he

¹ 'For the Lord will not forsake his people for his great name's sake; because it hath pleased the Lord to make you his people . . . but I (Samuel) will teach you the good and the right way' (1 Sam. xii. 22, 23).

² 'I will send them prophets and apostles, and *some* of them they shall slay and persecute' (Luke xi. 49).

does for a purpose, or not? 89. If he does *it* without a purpose, *he* is working foolishly; (90) and it is not proper to praise him who is working foolishly as a sagacious divinity. 91. If he does *it* for a purpose, (92) then, when no opponent and adversary of his existed, why is the production of all these creatures which are even like demons, disobedient men *with* the opposing will of that contentious deluder, and innumerable unprofitable creatures?

93. Again, *observe* this, that, if he knows all *that* is, was, *and will* be, it was not expedient for him to produce, through his own knowledge and will, anything of that of which he *may be* sorry, and *which* remains opposing his will and command, (94) and becomes an adversary of his apostles *and* the doers of *his* will.

95. If they say that this adversary *was* produced good and virtuous from the beginning, *and* afterwards became an evil and a misleading of the creatures, (96) that *implies*, you should say, that, when he is all-powerful, the purpose *and* will of the adversary, in changing into an evil and a misleading of the creatures, are more successful and more powerful than those of the sacred being; (97) because the evil in *any* period is stronger than the good.

98. Again, *observe* this, that when a criminal *arises* wholly through his will¹, (99) and the minds of criminals are defiled by him himself, (100) and the seed of crime is sown by him himself, (101) when² *it* *has* grown who *has* maintained *its* origin? 102.

¹ The will of the adversary is probably meant (see § 95).

² So in Sans. and JE, but AK has 'so that.'

And by what power of adjudication is one executed *and* one rewarded¹?

103. Again, *observe* this, *was* this world made and created by him (the creator) for a purpose, for his own pleasure *and* for the sake of the comfort and happiness of mankind, or without a purpose, for his own discomfort and the hurry, trouble, pain, *and* death of mankind? 104. For if made by him without a purpose, *he was* acting foolishly; (105) a thing without a purpose *being* not acceptable by the wise. 106. If made by him for a purpose, and created by him for his own pleasure and the comfort and happiness of mankind, (107) why *was* it not made by him prosperous *and* full of happiness?

108. If his pleasure and happiness *arise* from the preparation of mankind and the creatures, what is the advantage from their slaughter and devastation? 109. If thoughts of crime are not given by him himself to mankind, who is he who gives thoughts of crime different from his command and will? 110. If *they* are given by him himself, and he now considers them a fault, what is that justice and arbitration of his owing to? 111. For when mankind, with little knowledge and little wisdom, even then, so far as they are able, do not let the lion and wolf *and* other noxious creatures in among their own young ones *and* pregnant *females*, (112) so long as they *can* destroy them, (113) why *has* the merciful sacred being now let² Aharman and the demons in upon his own creatures, (114) so that they have

¹ That is, why is the sinner punished while the adversary, who occasions the sin, remains unmolested and triumphant?

² AK has 'let' written above 'admitted.'

made them vile¹, defiled, wicked, *and* hellish? 115. If done for the sake of experiment, just as that which they assert, that evil *was* created by him for the sake of an experiment as regards the creatures, (116) why *was* it not understood by him before those men and creatures *existed*? 117. Because *he* whose custom² is experiment is not to be called omniscient.

118. The conclusion is this, that the sacred being, if *there* existed no opponent and adversary of his, was able to create all those creatures and creations of his free from misfortune; why did *he* not *so* create *them*? 119. Or was it not possible for him to wish *it*? 120. If it were not possible for him to wish *it*, *he* is not completely capable. 121. If it were possible for him not to wish *it*, *he* is not merciful. 122. If *it were* known by him that *he might say*: 'Something *or* some one *will* arise, from these creatures *and* creations which I create, that *will* not *be* according to my will,' (123) and ultimately he made *them*, (124) then to attach now all this wrath and cursing *and* casting away for punishment in hell, discontentedly to his own performance, is unreasonable.

125. Again, *observe* this, that if all the crime-meditating *and* crime-committing sin which mankind think *and* speak *and* do, as well as pain, sickness, poverty, *and* the punishment *and* misery of hell, cannot arise, except by the will and command of the

¹ Pâz. khôr, which Nêr. seems to have identified with Pers. kar, as his Sans. gives 'deaf.' It may, however, mean 'blind' (Pers. kûr), as in Chap. XII, 64, 70.

² The Sanskrit takes Pâz. dastûr in its more usual sense of 'high-priest.'

sacred being—(126) the will *and* power of the sacred being *being* eternal¹, (127) because his self-existence is also eternal—(128) the hopelessness of eternally saving any one whatever from misery and punishment is now certain. 129. For *it* is repeatedly declared that there is no learned teacher whatever who keeps one away from these mischievous evil desires, (130) if the worshipper *be even of* the same kind *as* those worshippers *and* high-priests who *have* issued to mankind this admonition: 'Commit no crime *and* sin.' 131. Because they wish to set aside the will *and* command of the sacred being². 132. *Observe* this, too, that, as both are his will, alike crime *and* alike good works, *it* is not manifest whether he approves the good works of doers of good works more, or the crimes of criminals.

133. Likewise *observe* this, those physicians who, on account of the hope of the soul, prepare the medicine of the sick, (134) and remove *and* dismiss their pain and disease, (135) so that merit is possessed by them (the physicians) owing to that practice; (136) yet they³ are prepared for the punishment of hell. 137. And those who, on account of affection *for* the soul, give something to poor, begging, suffering people, (138) and thereby scatter⁴ *and* dismiss their want *and* poverty, (139) so that merit is possessed by them (the charitable)

¹ Sans. has 'the will of the sacred being *being* powerful and eternal.'

² Without whose will and command the sin and evil cannot arise, as assumed in § 125.

³ The sick are probably meant, but the original text is ambiguous.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. hugârend stands for Pahl. aûkâlend. .

owing to that practice ; (140) yet it becomes grievous sin for them¹, through anxiety. 141. If they say that those physicians *and* the remedies which they offer, *and* also those who give something *to* the poor *and* suffering, all *exist* by the will of the sacred being, (142) it is easier, more reasonable, *and* more adapted to divinity, when the sacred being is without an adversary *and* without an opponent, for him not to create that disease *and* poverty (143) than *that*, as *to* those that *he* himself is to make sick *and* poor, he *should have* commanded mankind thus: 'Ye shall make them healthy *and* free from want.' 144. If they say that his desire is this, that he *may* occasion the happiness of those physicians *and* givers by the recompense for it, (145) and make them proceed² to the eternal happiness of heaven (*vahist*); (146) you should observe, *as to* that, since he acts injudiciously *and* incapably when, on account of the existence of a complete desire for happiness *and* prosperity³ among others, *he* is an attainer of misery *for* multitudes of the innocent who are distressed, poor, necessitous, *and* sick, (147) this *may also be said*, that if *it be* not possible for him to occasion happiness and prosperity⁴ as regards one, except by the distress, pain, and vexation of some other, (148) that *shows that* his absolute power *and* freedom from opposition are not adapted for effectual operation. 149. If they say

¹ Probably the poor, but the original text is ambiguous.

² Assuming that Pâz. *gâminêd* stands for Pahl. *gâminêd*. The old MS. AK ends with this section, and the remaining half of the extant text has been found only in modern copies, having been formerly separated from AK and lost

³ So in JE, but JJ has 'nobility,' and MH19 has 'pleasure.'

⁴ JJ has 'nobility.'

that he makes those sick *and* poor proceed to the eternal happiness of heaven in the spiritual *existence*, as a recompense for it, (150) that *implies*, if *it be* not possible, *or* not completely possible, for him to give the recompense in the spiritual *existence*, except through the misery of the worldly *one*, (151) also this, that—his production of distress in the worldly *existence arising* unquestionably *and* unreasonably, through *its* previous occurrence, (152) *and* the recompense of the spiritual *existence arising* doubtfully *and* incredibly after the production of the distress—(153) just as the previous distress is unreasonable, the after recompense *occurs* alike unreasonably *and* foolishly. 154. This also *may be said*, that no after nobility is obtained for previous distress without a cause.

155. Again, *observe* this, that the existence of one of these three doctrines is inevitable :—(156) Every single thing that is, *or* was, *or will* be in this world is all by his will, *or it* is not, (157) *or* there are *some* that are by his will *and* there are *some* that are not. 158. Because nothing whatever is found which is not good, *or* evil, *or* a mixture¹ of both.

159. If they say that all *things* are *by* his will, the good and evil are both his desire. 160. If good and evil are both his desire, *he* is not of perfect will; (161) *it* is not perfect even as to a single *thing*. 162. And he who is of imperfect will must be himself imperfect, (163) as is shown above².

164. If nothing *be by* his will, (165) on account of nothing being *by* the will there is no will. 166. He *in* whom there is no will is working constitutionally³,

¹ Assuming that Pāz. *hamekhtaa* stands for Pahl. *âmîkhtak*.

² Compare Chap. VIII, 108–116.

³ That is, 'instinctively.'

(167) and he who is working constitutionally is constituted *and* made.

168. If there be *some things* which are *by* his will, *and* there be *some* which are not *by* his will, (169) *and* nothing is found in the world which is not good and not evil, (170) *from* that *it* is known *that*, if the sacred being *be of* good will, *he* is not desirous of that evil of it, (171) and that which is evil is not *by* his will. 172. If his will *be* evil *he* is inevitably not desirous of that good of it, (173) *and* that which is good is not *by* his will. 174. If that which is good *be by* the will of the sacred being, *it* is known *that* that which is evil arose from another will. 175. If that which is evil *be by* his will, that which is good arose inevitably from another will. 176. *And* the inevitability *of* a rival *of* the will of the sacred being is manifest.

177. If *one* says the evil springs from mankind, (178) that *implies* the inevitability—since mankind is not perpetually a self-existence—that evil either arose before mankind, or after, (179) or it arose with mankind. 180. If they say it arose before mankind, (181) that *implies*—since, apart from the sacred being, *there* was no other creator and producer—(182) *that* either the sacred being produced that evil, or it produced its own existence itself, or it was itself eternal. 183. If they say it arose after mankind, (184) *as to* that, when human nature is likewise a production of the sacred being, (185) and the sacred being did not produce evil in the nature of mankind, (186) how has it sprung into action from them? 187. If the evil *was* set in action by them, apart from the will of the sacred being, (188) and a knowledge, as to *their* setting about it, existed *in*

the sacred being, (189) that *implies that* the sacred being is imperfect in his own will, (190) and mankind are victorious and triumphant in setting aside the will *and* command of the sacred being, and doing the evil competing *with* the will of the sacred being. 191. Also the power of the sacred being in his own will and his own servants is manifestly unprevailing. 192. If they say that he makes them proceed afterwards to the awful punishment of hell, (193) *as to that*¹, if the sacred being *be* a powerful doer, *and* not to allow the committal of crime, *but* to convey it away from their minds, *be* more advantageous *and* more adapted to the compassion of a sacred being than *if* he allowed the committal, (194) *yet he has* become helplessly contented with it, (195) *and*, afterwards, contentedly punishes his own creatures, (196) *then*, as to the one matter I am well considering, either incapability, or scanty knowledge, or scanty goodness is thereby manifested.

197. If they say that the sacred being produced and created evil for the reason that so mankind *may* fully understand the value of goodness, (198) *as to* that you should observe that, if evil *be* requisite and advantageous for understanding goodness, that evil exists *by* his good will. 199. *And* if evil exists *by* his good will, and is requisite *and* advantageous for him *of* whom they say that evil is not his wish, *it* is inconsistent.

200. *As to* that also which they say, that death, pain, *and* poverty *are* produced by him for the reason that so mankind *may* much better understand the value of life, health, and opulence, (201) *and* become more grateful unto the sacred being, (202) *as to* that

¹ So in MH19 and Sans., but JE omits 'that.'



you should observe that *it* is as *it were* acting unreasonably, in the mode of him who gives poison to mankind for the sake of increasing the value *and* price of an antidote, (203) so that he *may* sell the antidote dearer *and* more costly. 204. To what is this intermeddling action owing, that, for the sake of an understanding of the value of the goodness of other *things*, he allows pain, death, *and* misery in some one else?

205. Again, *as to* that which a multitude of them say, that the sacred being is a ruler over every creature and creation, (206) because his creations are all his own. 207. *And* he acts about them as is desirable for him, because it is desirable for him, *and he* is not a causer of distress. 208. Since distress is that which they inflict upon anything that is not their own, (209) then he who, all things *being* his own, acts about them as is desirable for him, is not a causer of distress¹. 210. *As to* that you should know that, if, on account of sovereignty, he who occasions distress is not to be called a causer of distress, (211) that is *as though* even he who is a sovereign *and* tells a lie is speaking truthfully, (212) and he who, on account of sovereignty, commits crime, sin, theft, *and* plunder is not to be called a sinner. 213. Such as that which the glorified Rôshan², son of Âtûr-frôbag, related as a parable (ângunî-âftak), (214) that they saw a man who was defiling an ass, (215) when they enquired of him

¹ Compare Rom. ix. 20, 21 : 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed *it*, "Why hast thou made me thus?" Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?'

² See Chap. X, 53.

thus : 'Why dost thou commit this execrable action?' 216. And he spoke thus, in excuse : 'The ass is my own.'

217. Again, you should ask this of them, (218) that is : 'Is the sacred being a friend, or an enemy, to these creatures and creations which are made by him?' 219. If *he be* a friend of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to desire *and* to produce the evil *and* misery of the creatures ; (220) *yet*, as regards the devastation and misery of his own achievements, *he has* never even become tired of them. 221. If *he be* an enemy of the creatures, that *implies that* it is not proper for him to create *and* produce, through his own competent knowledge, that thing which is his enemy *and* disablement¹, and struggles against his will.

222. This, too, you should ask, (223) that is : 'Is the sacred being always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity², (224) or an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress? 225. Or is there a time when *he is* a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (226) and is there a time when *he is* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress?'

227. If *he be* always a well-understanding, good sovereign, occasioning prosperity, (228) that *implies that* there are not, in his country *and* sovereignty, *any* oppression, distress, and complaint ; (229) and his affection *for* the creatures and the affection of the creatures for him are pure. 230. Owing to the

¹ Assuming that Pâz. apađvâh stands for Pahl. apatûgih; the two words being nearly alike in Pahlavi letters.

² Reading âvâdîh-kar instead of Pâz. âzâdîgar, 'producing freedom, or nobility,' which two words are alike in Pahlavi writing.

same reason *he is* merciful as regards his own creatures, (231) and his creatures are recounting *his* praise, utterers of thanksgivings *and* pure friends towards him. 232. His title of divinity, moreover, is worthily his own.

233. If *he be* an evil-understanding, bad sovereign, occasioning distress, (234) that *implies that he is* himself a pure¹ enemy to the creatures, and his creatures are also *of* a like nature towards him. 235. Owing to the same reason *he is* an injurer, destroyer, *and* deluder of the creatures, (236) and his creatures are complainers of him, strugglers concerning him, *and* pure enemies. 237. His title of divinity, moreover, is the equivalent of an unworthy name; (238) and, even on account of his eternity, the creatures are hopeless of becoming free from the risk of distress and misery for an unlimited time.

239. If there be a time when *he is* a good sovereign, well-understanding, *and* occasioning prosperity, and there be a time when *he is* turned away from this; (240) that *implies that* his affection for the creatures is mingled. 241. From a mingled affection *arises* mingled action, (242) *and* from mingled action a mingled individuality is also manifested. 243. And his creatures also are mingled friends to him. 244. Of *one's* associates *there is* none who, if a friend, is not one's enemy, no praiser who is not complaining of one, no glorifier even who is not scorning one; a character of this description is manifest among all creatures.

245. Again, *observe* this, that since all things which are in the world are not outside of these two terms,

¹ The word *avêzak*, 'pure,' is here used idiomatically for 'mere,' precisely as 'pure' is often used in English.

good and evil, (246) that *implies*, if good and evil are both said to *arise* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, (247) *that* the troublesome Aharman is unreasonably defamed; *that, being* innocent *and* without an original evolution, he never was, nor *will* be, evil and headstrong¹. 248. That which is mentioned in scripture (nīṭik)², that Aharman became headstrong, and was put out of heaven by them, is unreasonable, (249) because even that headstrongness *and* disobedience *were* likewise through the will of the sacred being.

250. If even it be said *that* the good *arises* from the sacred being and through the will of the sacred being, *and* the evil from mankind, still Aharman is without an original evolution *and* innocent, and curses *and* scorn for him are unreasonable. 251. If all this misery and evil *be* sent down, not from a different nature, but from the individuality and individual nature of the sacred being himself, (252) that *implies that* the sacred being is an enemy *and* adversary to his own tendencies (rûn).

253. *Observe* this, too, that to speak of the existence of criminality apart from a nature of crime is very deluding; (254) *and* as *it* is deluding to imagine a nature of crime that is good, *is it* more deluding to imagine Aharman—who is the origin *and* original evolution of every crime—*apart* from the creation and achievement of the sacred being?

255. The conclusion is this, that if *at* first there be anything which is not within the will of the sacred being, provided everything be through the will of the sacred being, no one whatever is a sinner; (256)

¹ Literally 'with averted head.'

² Probably referring to the Qur'ân XV, 26-40 (see § 59 n).

and the apostle¹ and religion *were* appointed without a purpose. 257. If it be expedient to ruin any one for sinfulness, it is more expedient to ruin him who is the original doer, maintainer, and creator of every evil and crime. 258. And if it be said *that* evil and crime *arise* from Aharman or mankind, that *implies*, as they are likewise created and produced *by* the sacred being, *that* he is the source of them; in like manner, he who is the cause of the origin of evil (259) is worse than evil.

260. This, too, you should observe, that sects (kêshân) of every kind assert this *maxim*, handed down by their own high-priests, when *it* is mentioned and prescribed by them to their own congregation (ram), that is: 'Perform good works *and* abstain from crime.' 261. On account of delusion they do not consider this, that is, from where and what origin ought the crime to arise, about which *it* is thus commanded: 'Ye shall not commit *it*, *and* I *will* cast *him* who commits *it* into eternal hell.' 262. So that, if *that* same *be* owing to the sacred being, it would be easier for him not to produce it, than, after *its* production, *to have* brought *it* to notice and commanded *us* to abstain from it. 263. So far, indeed, I do not understand any advantage and motive *in* the production and creation of evil.

264. Again, in their scriptures, he speaks inconsistently about good works and crime (265) thus: 'Good works and crime are both owing to me. 266. Neither demons, nor wizards, are unrestricted in causing the ruin of any one. 267. No one *has* accepted the religion *and* done good works, and no one *has* walked in infidelity *and* committed crime, except through my will.'

¹ Zaratûst.

268. In the same scripture he adduces many *things* which *one has* to connect, and inflicts curses on the creatures, (269) thus: 'Why do mankind desire *and* commit that crime which I design for them?' 270. It occurs concerning the will and work of his own hand, and *yet* he frightens them with punishment in body and soul. 271. *In* another place he speaks thus: 'I myself am the deluder of mankind, for if it should be my will they *would* then be shown the true path by me, but *it is* my will that they go to hell¹.' 272. And *in* another place he speaks thus: 'Man himself is the causer of crime.'

273. In these three modes the sacred being gives evidence of different kinds about his own creatures.

274. One is this, that *he* himself is Aharman²; (275) one is this, that he is himself the deluder of the creatures³; (276) *and*, in the other, he makes his own creatures confederates involved with Aharman in deluding⁴; so that *he implies*: 'There are *instances* when I occasion *it*, *and* there are *instances* when Aharman *does*.'

277. Through that *which* he states, that mankind themselves occasion crime, they are made by him confederates with Aharman; *he* himself *being* at a distance from the crime. 278. For if mankind commit crime owing to their own nature and their own delusion, that *implies that* the sacred being, with

¹ Texts to this effect are numerous in the Qur'ân, such as 'whom he pleases does God lead astray, and whom he pleases he places on the right way . . . God leads the wrong-doers astray; for God does what he will . . . in hell they shall broil' (Qur'ân VI, 39, XIV, 32, 34; SBE, vol. vi).

² As deduced from the passage quoted in § 269.

³ As stated in the passage quoted in § 271.

⁴ As implied in the passage quoted in § 272.

Aharman, is far from the criminality, (279) because *it is as it were* not owing to the sacred being, nor yet owing to Aharman.

280. Again, you should ask of those whom they call Mûtaẓalik¹ (281) thus: 'Is *it* the will of the sacred being *for* all mankind to abstain from crime through *their own* free will², to escape from hell, *and* to make *them* proceed to heaven, or not?' 282. If *one* says that *it is* not, (283) that *implies that* an³ opinion is formed by him as to the little goodness of the sacred being *and* the evil of his will; (284) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence. 285. If *one* says that *it is* his will, (286) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the good will of the sacred being; (287) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence.

288. *Ask* this, too, that is: 'If *it be* his will, is *he* capable of performing *it*, or not?' 289. If *one* says that *he is* not, (290) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the incapability of the sacred being as regards that will of his; (291) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is not fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty. 292. If *one* says that *he* is capable of performing *his* will, (293) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to *his*

¹ Which is doubtless the original Pahlavi form of Pâz. muth-zarî. It is an adjective, meaning 'seceding, schismatic,' derived from Ar. mu'htazil, and applied specially to Muhammadan schismatics.

² Assuming that Pâz. âwâd-kâmî stands for Pahl. âzâd-kâmîh, which would be identical with the former word in Pahlavi writing.

³ JE has 'no' in Pâz. but not in Sans., which negative is evidently a modern blunder.

capability for that will of his; (294) *and*, for the same reason, *it* is fitting to glorify *him* as the divine existence which is almighty.

295. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'When *he* is capable of performing his will, does he perform *it*, or not?'

296. If *one* says that he performs *it*, (297) that *implies that* the abstaining from sin, escaping from hell, and bringing to heaven¹ would be manifested unto all mankind; (298) *but* this is that which is not manifest by his existence, and is falsifying even his own revelation (dīnô). 299. If *one* says that *he* is capable of performing his will, but does not perform *it*, (300) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the unmercifulness of the sacred being, *his* enmity to mankind, and the inconstancy of his will. 301. For if he performs *it*, *it* is no harm to him himself and is an advantage *to* mankind; his own will is also continuous thereby. 302. *But* if he does not perform *it*, *it* is no advantage to him himself and is harm *to* mankind; his own will is also discontinuous thereby.

303. Again, *ask* this, that is: 'Does he not perform *it* through will, or without will?' 304. If *one* says that he does not perform *it* through will, (305) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him that the sacred being is good-willed, *but* has no will to do good; (306) *and* this is even to consider *him* faulty through inconsistency. 307. If *one* says that *he* is without will, *and* therefore does not perform *it*, (308) that *implies that* an opinion is formed by him as to the weakness of the sacred being in his own self, or the existence of an injurer of his will.

309. The conclusion is this, that, *with* a manager

¹ JJ has 'saving from hell *and* escaping to heaven.'

of this worldly *existence* who may be without an opponent, without competition, and perfect in sagacity, goodness, and capability, *there* should not be all these unworthy actions, trouble and misery, pain and vexation, especially of mankind and the other creatures. 310. Because, when a manager, without an opponent, is perfect in sagacity, he knows means for evil not to occur and also remedies for carrying off evil. 311. When *he* is perfect in goodness and merciful, *he has* no wish for the occurrence of evil at first, *but* a wish for *its* extinction. 312. When *he* is perfect in capability, *he* is capable of not really becoming equally the origin of evil.

313. Now, as in the worldly *existence*, whose manager is the sacred being, the existence of evil is unquestionably visible, then thus much is not separable from this, either where the manager is *provided* with an opponent, or is without an opponent:—314. If he does not know means for evil not to occur, and remedies for carrying off evil, the imperfect sagacity of the sacred being is thereby¹ manifested. 315. Or the evil exists *with* his good will, *and* the imperfect goodness of his will is manifested. 316. Or *he* is not capable of not *allowing* the occurrence of evil, and of carrying *it* off, *and* the imperfect capability of the sacred being is manifested. 317. And when *he* is imperfect even *in* one—in sagacity, or goodness, or capability—it is not fitting to glorify *and* worship *him* as the divine existence who is almighty, all-good, *and* all-wise.

318. This, too, you should know, that since any existing thing, which is acting, is *provided* with a will, but *its* nature *has* not become unrestricted, (319) that

¹ Reading *agas* instead of the similarly-written *afas*, 'and by it.'

shows that, if the original existence of the creator *be* divinity, and his nature *be* light *and* beauty, fragrance and purity, goodness and sagacity, then such *things* as darkness and ugliness, stench *and* pollution, vileness *and* ignorance—the demoniacal nature itself—ought to be far from him. 320. If his original existence *be* anything demoniacal, and his nature *be* darkness *or* stench, ugliness *or* pollution, vileness *or* ignorance, then the nature of divinity remains strange to him.

321. If there be *any* one by whom indecision about all this is insinuated into his own self, that *implies that*, owing to his indecision about it, there is no discrimination *in* him as to goodness, amid his own evil. 322. Now, moreover, the hope of the hopeful is absorbed, (323) for even he who goes to heaven through doing good works is, even there, in evil and misery, (324) because there is no distinct discrimination of good from evil, even there, (325) if there be the goodness which is devoid of evil, *and* there be also the evil which is devoid of goodness, represented *as* really of the same origin. 326. This is known, that the difference of good and evil is owing to difference of nature. 327. When the two origins of their difference and distinction from the other of different nature are manifest, that hope of the hopeful is just, (328) and sagacity is their passport (parvânak).

329. This, too, you should know, that every statement which is not unconfused by its own limits is unenquiring (apaḍ-khvâh)¹. 330. Likewise this, that the limit of divinity is specially sagacity. 331. *And* also this, that² the limit of sagacity is only³

¹ Sans. has 'undesirable.'

² JJ and Sans. omit these four words.

³ Literally 'one.'

advantageous action. 332. Advantageous action is not doing injury; (333) *and* the modes of doing injury are three. 334. One is that which, *being* no advantage to oneself, is the injury of another also. 335. [One is that which, *being* no advantage to another¹], is the injury of oneself also. 336. *And* one is that which is the injury of oneself and the injury of another also. 337. And from the creation of Aharman and the demons *there* is no advantage *to* a wisely-acting sacred being himself, *and there is* injury of others also; (338) the non-advancement of even his own will, owing to his own work, is always manifested thereby.

339. This, too, *you should know*, that if the will of the sacred being *be* goodness, (340) his will is also eternal. 341. And he should be capable of a suitable will, (342) so that, from the beginning even to the end, all the goodness *and* virtue of the will of the sacred being would have proceeded in the world. 343. Now *it* is manifest that vileness and vice always proceed much more. 344. Therefore *the cause* is one of these, either they always proceed through the will of the sacred being, or without *his* will. 345. If they always proceed through some will of the sacred being, *it* is evident that his will is also for vileness as well as for goodness, (346) or *he* is inefficient and changeable in will. 347. Since a will does not change, unless owing to a cause, or unless owing to a changer, (348) that *implies* one of these two, either *it* is through some cause, or there exists some other *being with him as* a changer of his will. 349. If they always proceed not through the will of the sacred being, (350) *from that it* is evident that the

¹ The words in brackets are omitted, both in Páz. and Sans., by JE and JJ, the only two MSS. available.

sacred being is suffering in his own will, and his will is not perfect, (351) or there exists some diminisher of it who is a possessor *of* will.

352. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being commanded Adam thus: 'Thou shalt not eat of this one tree which is in paradise (vahist)¹,' (353) you should ask of them (354) thus: 'Was the command which the sacred being gave to Adam, thus: "You shall not eat of this tree," good or evil?' 355. If the command were good *it* is evident that the tree was evil, (356) *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to create anything that is evil. 357. If the tree were good the command was evil, *and* it is not befitting the sacred being to give an evil command. 358. If the tree were good, and the command as to not eating *were* given by him, it is not ² adapted to the goodness and mercifulness of the sacred being to allot a benefit *away* from his own innocent servants.

359. *As to* this, too, which they assert, that the sacred being brings every one whom he wills unto faith and the true way, and, as the recompense, he makes him proceed to the happy progress which is eternal; (360) *and* him whom he does not will he leaves in irreligion and ignorance of the sacred being, and, for that reason, he casts him into hell and eternal misery ³; (361) you should ask of them (362) thus: 'Is he good whose desire and will are for the religion and faith of the sacred being and the true way, or he whose desire and will are for going astray, irreligion, and ignorance of the sacred being?' 363. If *one* says that he is good whose desire and will

¹ See § 64.

² Reading Pâz. *ne* instead of Pâz. *be*, 'quite,' as the Sanskrit has a negative participle.

³ See § 271.

are for the religion of the sacred being and the true way, (364) now *as to* that man about whom this is the will of the sacred being, that he *shall* leave him in irreligion, going astray, and ignorance of the sacred being, *and to whom* an apostle, or *some* other person who is a friend, recites the revelation (dīnô) of the sacred being and the true way, (365) *does that show that* the sacred being is thereby better and more beneficial to him, or are that apostle *and* that person *so*? 366. If *one* says that the will of the sacred being about him¹ is good, it is thereby asserted by him, that not understanding the sacred being, not accepting the religion, and going astray are good; *but* this is not acceptable [and not to be taught²], on account of error. 367. If *one* says that his coming to the true religion and understanding the sacred being are thereby better and more beneficial, (368) it is thereby obviously asserted by one that the apostle and person are thereby better to him than the sacred being. 369. Because a person *through* whom the true way and an understanding of the sacred being are wanted among mankind, and his will is *bent* upon it, is much better than he who is a sacred being (370) *by* whose will backsliding (avâz-râsth), misunderstanding, and irreligion *exist* among them; *and* the sacred being is much worse than that person.

371. *Observe* this, too, that if the criminal thought and criminal action of man are by the will of the sacred being, that already *implies* that the sacred being produced criminal thought, and sowed crime

¹ The man mentioned in § 364.

² The words in brackets have no equivalent in the Pâzand text, but are indicated by âsvâdyañka in Sans.

in his mind, (372) and Aharman merely invites and instigates him to the committal of crime; that *shows that* the criminal thought *traced to* the sacred being and also his desire for it are more violent and worse than the invitation of Aharman. 373. When, too, his listening to *what proceeds* from Aharman, *as to* the committal of crime, is likewise due to the criminal thought which the sacred being produced, and *so also is* his desire for it, *it* is already obvious that the sacred being is much worse and more sinful than Aharman.

374. As regards these statements, which are enumerated by us, (375) one of these two *opinions* must arise, (376) either that all are true or that all are false, (377) or there are *some* which are true and there are *some* which are false. 378. If all *be* true, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is false, *or* something *of* the two, truth and falsehood. 379. If all *be* false, every statement that is not adapted to these statements is true, *or* something *of* the two together¹. 380. If there be *some* that are true and there be *some* that are false, (381) then of those which are true—*derived* from the nature and nucleus (nâf) of truth—(382) and of those which are false—*derived* from the nature and nucleus and original evolution of falsehood—(383) the origins are two, one from which *arises* truth, *and* one *from* which *arises* falsehood.

CHAPTER XII.

I. Again, about the inconsistency of their assertions *there* are several statements from the Dīnkard²

¹ Sans. has 'something mingled twofold.'

² See Chap. IV, 107. As the inconsistent statements which

manuscript, (2) *as to* that which they say, that the sacred being is around everything, *but* nothing is within him; (3) and within everything, *but* nothing is around him. 4. *That he is* above everything, *but* nothing is below him; (5) and below everything, *but* nothing is above him. 6. *That he sits* upon a throne, *but* is possessing no *resting-place*; (7) and is inside heaven, *but* is possessing no whereabouts. 8. *That he does not exist* in any place, and *yet* he does exist *there*. 9. *That he exists* everywhere, and *yet* his place does not exist. 10. Also *that* everything of his becomes *fit* for his own by his own will, (11) *his* original evolution *being both* malice and good; (12) and *he is* eternally unforgiving and compassionate, (13) preparing distress and not distressing. 14. Likewise *that he has* commanded him who is incapable of performing *or* neglecting the divine command, (15) and he *has* created him who is innocent for hell, not the distresser. 16. *That he is* aware of the hellish existence of mankind, owing to wickedness, and his will is for it; (17) and *he is* good-willed, or it *has* become not his will. 18. *That he has* produced a remedy, and is not himself distressing; (19) or no remedy, but want of remedy, is produced by him, *and yet he is* not possessing an opponent. 20. *That he is* wanting experience, and *yet* omniscient; (21) neglecting commands, and *yet*

follow in the text are not to be found in the portion of the *Dinkard* known to be extant, they were probably contained in the first two books of that work, which have not yet been discovered. Chap. 132 of the third book (130 in Dastûr Peshotan's translation, pp. 176-178) is the nearest approach to our text in style, but not in matter. It is 'about him who is in all *and* over all, over and not lower than anything *nor* through anything, that is, even owing to management *he is* over all, and all is manageable by him.'

they are themselves his will; (22) and he who neglects, *and* provides a restricted evolution¹, is *yet* a good sovereign. 23. Also *that* his commands are all continuous, (24) and *yet* the setting aside of his commands is obtainable. 25. And *that* there is *some* of his will which is not continuous, (26) and neglect of his will is not an injurer of the will. 27. Likewise *that* he *has* commanded that which is not his will, (28) and the command *which* is not inconsistent with his will *and* also the command *which* is inconsistent with his will are both proper. 29. Also *that* his good will is not a discontinuous will, (30) and *as to* his evil will, which makes evil things, that is judicious. 31. And many other inconsistencies which are in the assertions of *various* sects.

32. If it be not possible for an orderly (padmāntik) religion to exist, without rescue from these inconsistent assertions of many kinds, (33) they then² say this of it, that *to* the supposers of two original evolutions³ the work of the sacred being is weak and unresisting; (34) *and* they say *it* is not as *it were* adapted to the grandeur of the sacred being.

35. Upon this subject, too, there are *some matters*, which I *shall* clearly state, *that* should be dictated *and* known. 36. That is, does he⁴ make divine things weaker and more unresisting, (37) where *it is* *he* who says that *the sacred being's* own achievements,

¹ Reading bandak-gastīh instead of Pâz. bandayastī; compare Chap. IV, 73 n.

² Reading adīnas, 'then of it,' for Pâz. ainâ, as in Chap. IV, 81.

³ That is, those who hold the orthodox Mazda-worshipper's opinion, that the producer of evil is independent of the producer of good, so long as the former continues to exist.

⁴ The believer in a single original evolution without any independent producer of evil. Connect §§ 36, 37 with §§ 52, 53.

which *were* created by him, have all lapsed into *being* intolerant of command *and* deaf to admonition, (38) till even the most tender-bodied creatures struggle against his will? 39. And so *they have* slain or impaled those many prophets (vakhshvarân) *and* apostles (pêtkhambarân) of his, who are appointed by him; (40) *and* there are *some* who *have* acted scornfully, contemptibly, and irreverently. 41. This, too, is where *he has* not only not protected his own dominion from the vile *creatures* which *were* created by him himself, but *he has* himself afflicted his own dominion also; (42) and he himself destroys his own productions without a reason, (43) and himself renders his own creations useless. 44. Through his own culpability he himself destroys his own innocent servants. 45. He himself makes his own peculiar friends weak, needy, sinful, and deluded. 46. And *his* wrath, *inflicted* upon a single innocent servant, which is like Aharman's¹, makes his own innumerable creatures unobservant *and* deluded. 47. For a sin that is limited, which is owing to his own actions, he puts the innocent to unlimited punishment². 48. The door of forgiveness is finally shut up, (49) and he is not satiated with the pain, distress, and misery of his own creatures, (50) *but* maintains *them* perpetually in action and excitement. 51. And *yet* he is not able to insist upon the commands which he

¹ Aharman being supposed to be the producer of the demon of wrath, who is one of his most powerful auxiliaries.

² Sans. has 'he puts another unlimited punishment upon the innocent;' Nêr. having read hanô, 'another,' instead of avô, 'to,' which two words are written alike in Pahlavi. As the author's interpretation of his opponent's argument assumes that everything, including sin, is produced by the sacred being, he naturally concludes that the sinners themselves are innocent.

gives *in* the beginning, middle, *or* end. 52. Or is *it* he¹ who says that that *one* is the sacred being who is perpetually a ruler, all-knowing and almighty; (53) whose dominion and knowledge and power are perpetual *and* for unlimited time? 54. Owing to him, too, is the happiness of any goodness; (55) his actions also are for a purpose, *his* commands are advantageous, (56) *he is* compassionate and forgiving as regards his own servants, (57) and is an abundant bestower of recompense, too, *on* that servant who is a carrier *off* of victory. 58. As to him who is a sinner, who, on account of his own sinfulness, becomes captive *in* the hands of the enemy², *he is* forgiving upon atonement *for* the sinfulness and cleansing from iniquity and pollution. 59. *In* the end *he* is no leaver of any good creature captive in the hands of enemies³, (60) and is their protector, maintainer, and cherisher, in body and life, amid *their* contest and struggle with enemies. 61. *He is* a complete defender of his own empire from opponents of a different nature, (62) and his champions and troops become victorious in the struggle and contest. 63. *And* in the end *he is* a bringer of victory *to* his own creatures, as regards every iniquity.

64. When it is observed *as* to light, knowledge, sight, life, health, *and* other divine creations, that *they* are fully resistant and prevailing over darkness,

¹ The believer in two original evolutions, good and evil; the producer of the latter being independent of the producer of the former for a limited period of existence. This producer of evil is not clearly described here, but is mentioned in §§ 58-61, 72 as an enemy and opponent. §§ 52, 53 are to be read in connection with §§ 36-38.

² The spiritual enemy, Aharman.

³ Compare Chap. IV, 100.

ignorance, blindness, death, sickness, *and* other demoniacal peculiarities—(65) because this is known, that light is the putting aside of all darkness, (66) knowledge is victorious over ignorance, (67) and life is powerful¹ and increasing over death, (68) for, owing to the powerfulness and increase of life, the incalculable progress of the creatures arises from two persons, (69) and multitudes are confident about it; (70) so also sight and health are manifestly as much victorious and powerful over blindness and sickness —(71) *such being observed*, it is also expedient to observe this, that is, what does the opposing fiend want, *and* about what do the troops of the sacred being struggle?

72. That opponent wants this *that he speaks of* thus: 'I *will* make this earth and sky and the creatures which are luminaries² extinct, (73) or I *will* bring *them* into *my* possession, *and will* pervert *them* from their own nature³, (74) so that the sacred being shall not be able to occasion the resurrection and the renovation *of the universe*, and to restore his own creatures.'

75. The troops of the sacred being struggle about this, that the opponent shall not attain to *his* will through *his* desire. 76. *Observe* this, too, that the troops of Aôharmazd *have been* valiant in struggling and successful in will *ever* since the original creation.

77. From this *it* is manifest, when it happens *that* this earth and sky are formed, (78) that it *would be* possible for him to make all creatures and creations extinct; but *he* is incapable of making even one of the most tender-bodied creatures of the sacred being

¹ Assuming that Pâz. a v a z m a n d stands for Pahl. a o g - h ô m a n d.

² Sans. has 'of the luminaries.'

³ Compare Bd. I, 14.

extinct. 79. Because, if even, by reason of death, the body be separated from life, *it* is not extinction and change of nature from its own self, but decay¹ of peculiarities and a necessity of *going* from place to place, from duty to duty². 80. Then each one of the qualities of one's body *and* life is to subsist again, in its own nature, for other duties, as is revealed. 81. And the existence of these creatures and creation, fully continuously *and* perpetually active, is advantageously manifest during a suitable period.

82. Thus far is considered complete upon this subject.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Again, about the inconsistency and faulty statements of the first scripture³, (2) which they call holy (*âzâd*)—(3) and as to it they are, *in* every way, unanimous that the sacred being wrote *it* with his own hand, *and* gave *it* to Moses (*Mûshâê*)—(4) so that, as *it* is full of delusion, I *will* here publish, for your information, a story⁴ out of all *its* stupidity and of much that is in it.

5. It states, in the beginning *of* the scripture, (6) that *there* first arose earth, without form and void⁵,

¹ Assuming that Pâz. nyârasni is a misreading of Pahl. ni-hârisnô.

² Compare Chap. IV, 87.

³ The Old Testament.

⁴ Pâz. nihang-e (Pahl. nisang-r, Av. ni + sangha) appears to mean 'a tale, tract, or essay,' and is connected with farhang, 'learning.' Sans. has 'somewhat, a little.'

⁵ Assuming that Pâz. âv khûn u tân (which Nêr. seems to have understood as âv-i khûn-vatân, 'water containing blood') is a misreading of Pahl. afâm va tahân. Nêr. may have been thinking of Mkh. IX, 8.

darkness, and black water; (7) and the breathing¹ of the sacred being ever yearns² over the face of that black water³. 8. Afterwards the sacred being spoke thus: 'Let *there* be light,' (9) and *there* was light⁴. 10. And stooping he considered that light below him, (11) and the light *was* transmitted by him to the day, and the darkness to the night⁵. 12. In six days this world and sky *and* earth *were* also created by him, (13) for during the seventh day he was reposing (khaspân) and comfortable⁶. 14. Through that same mystery (râz) even now the Jews are enjoying repose *on* the Sabbath day⁷.

15. This, too, *is stated*, that Adam and his wife Eve (Havâê) *were* created by him, (16) *and* put into a garden of paradise (vahîst); (17) so that Adam

¹ Reading vâÿâ, 'air, breath,' instead of Pâz. vakhsh, 'growth, expanse;' these two words being written alike in Pahlavi. Sans. has 'eyes.'

² Reading niyâzêd instead of Pâz. nyâved. Sans. has 'looks.'

³ 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' (Gen. i. 1, 2).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let there be light:" and there was light' (Gen. i. 3).

⁵ 'And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night' (Gen. i. 4, 5).

⁶ 'And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. . . . And he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made' (Gen. i. 31; ii. 1, 2).

⁷ 'But the seventh day *is* the sabbath of the Lord thy God: *in* *it* thou shalt not do any work. . . . For *in* six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them *is*, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it' (Ex. xx. 10, 11).

should perform cultivation in that garden, and should keep watch¹. 18. The Lord², who is the sacred being himself, commanded Adam (19) thus: 'Eat of every tree which is in this garden, except of that tree of knowledge; (20) because when you eat thereof you die³.' 21. Afterwards a serpent *was* also put by him into the garden; (22) *and* that serpent deceived Eve *and* spoke thus: '*Let* us eat of the gathering from this tree, *and let* us give *it* to Adam⁴.' 23. And she acted accordingly, (24) and Adam likewise ate⁵. 25. And *his* knowledge became such that good *was* distinguished by him from evil, and they did not die⁶. 26. He also saw and knew that he was naked, (27) *and* became concealed under the trees; (28) he likewise covered over his own body *with* leaves of trees, on account of the shame of nakedness⁷. 29. Afterwards the Lord went to the

¹ 'So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. . . . And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it' (Gen. i. 27; ii. 15).

² Pâz. âdînô is evidently a misreading of the Pahlavi form of Heb. adonâi, 'Lord.'

³ 'And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die"' (Gen. ii. 16, 17).

⁴ 'Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, . . . "ye shall not surely die"' (Gen. iii. 1, 4).

⁵ 'She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat' (Gen. iii. 6).

⁶ '"For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil"' (Gen. iii. 5).

⁷ 'And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked: and they sewed fig leaves together, and made

garden, *and* called Adam by name thus : 'Where art thou¹?' 30. Adam replied thus : 'Here I am, under the trees, for this reason, because I am naked².' 31. The Lord indulged *in* wrath, (32) *and* spoke thus : 'Who could have informed *thee* that thou art naked?' 33. Mayest thou not ever yet³ *have* eaten of that tree of knowledge, *of* which I said that you shall not eat⁴?' 34. Adam spoke thus : 'I have *been* deceived *by* this woman, who *was* given to me by thee, and I ate⁵.' 35. And the Lord enquired of Eve thus : 'Why *was* it so done by thee?' 36. Eve spoke thus : 'I have *been* deceived *by* this serpent⁶.' 37. And Adam and Eve and the serpent are, all three, forced out of the garden of paradise by him with a curse⁷. 38. And he spoke to Adam thus : 'Thy eating shall be through the scraping off of sweat⁸

themselves aprons . . . and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, amongst the trees of the garden' (Gen. iii. 7, 8).

¹ 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. . . . And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, "Where *art* thou?"' (Gen. iii. 8, 9).

² 'And he said, "I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself"' (Gen. iii. 10).

³ Assuming that Pâz. agarat stands for Pahl. akvarikāt; see § 139.

⁴ 'And he said, "Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?"' (Gen. iii. 11).

⁵ 'And the man said, "The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 12).

⁶ 'And the Lord God said unto the woman, "What *is* this *that* thou hast done?" And the woman said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat"' (Gen. iii. 13).

⁷ 'Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man' (Gen. iii. 23, 24).

⁸ Sans. has 'through the spreading of sleep.'

and the panting of the nostrils, (39) until the end of thy life; (40) and thy land shall grow all bodily refuse and dung¹. 41. He also spoke to Eve thus: 'Thy pregnancy shall be in pain and uneasy, and thy bringing forth in grievous hastening².' 42. And he spoke to the serpent thus: 'Thou shalt be accursed from amid the quadrupeds and wild animals of the plain and mountain; (43) for thee also *there* shall be no feet, (44) and thy movement shall be on *thy* belly, and *thy* food dust. 45. And betwixt thy offspring, with *those of* the woman, *there* shall be such hatred and conversion to enmity that they *will* wound the head of that offspring³.'

46. This, too, they say, that this worldly *existence*, with whatever is in everything, was made and produced by him for mankind; (47) and man *was* made by him predominant over all creatures and creations, wet and dry⁴.

48. Now I *will* tell *you* a story (nisang-i) about

¹ 'And unto Adam he said, "... cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life: thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; ... in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground"' (Gen. iii. 17-19).

² 'Unto the woman he said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"' (Gen. iii. 16).

³ 'And the Lord God said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"' (Gen. iii. 14, 15).

⁴ 'And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth"' (Gen. i. 26).

the contents of their twaddle and the faultiness of their statements, (49) that is, where and with what limits did that earth without form and void¹, the darkness, the sacred being and his breathing², and the black water arise? 50. Or *of* what description was the sacred being himself? 51. *It is* manifest that he was not light, (52) because, when the light was seen by him, (53) stooping he considered *it*³, for the reason that he had not seen it *before*. 54. If they say that he was dark, that manifestly *implies* that the origin of darkness is uttering⁴ a word *and* there is light. 55. If they say that he was not dark, but light, (56) why, when the light *was* seen by him, did he admire *and* consider it, though he was light himself? 57. And if they say that he was neither light nor dark, (58) it is necessary for such to specify that third *state* which is not light and not dark.

59. Then *as to* him whose position and abode were in darkness and black water, and light was never seen by him, how was it possible for him to look *at* that light? 60. And what *was* his divinity owing to? 61. Because even now *it* is not possible for any one who remains in darkness to look *at* the light. 62. *Observe* also this, that if his origin and abode were darkness, how was it possible for him to remain opposite the light? 63. Because this is known, that *it* is not possible *for* darkness to remain opposite the light, since *the latter* puts it aside harmless.

64. Again, *I ask* this, that is, was that earth, which

¹ See § 6 n.

² See § 7 n.

³ See § 10. The scripture merely says that 'God saw the light, that *it was* good;' but this difference does not really affect the author's argument as to the previous non-existence of light.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. frâi is a misreading of Pahl. parâs.

was without form and void, limited or unlimited? 65. If it were limited, what was there outside of it? 66. If it were unlimited, whither did that unlimitedness of it go, (67) when, as we see, this earth and worldly *existence* are not those of the first existence?

68. *As to* that which the Lord spoke, (69) that is: 'Let *there* be light,' and it was *so*, (70) it is thereupon appropriate to understand that the Lord *existed* before the *time* that the light arose; (71) *and* when he was wishing to make the light, and he gave the command for it to arise, he then considered mentally *in* what way the light is of good appearance or evil appearance. 72. And if the light, through its own nature, reached into the knowledge and consideration of the Lord, it is evident that the light was existing alike within the knowledge and mind of the Lord, (73) and alike outside of him. 74. For it is not possible to know and obtain anything, unless *it be* a manifestation of an existence. 75. If the light was existing is it¹, on that account, a creation of the Lord? 76. And if they say that the light was not, through its own nature, within *his* knowledge, that light *was* demanded by him, who did not know of what nature *it was*, very unwisely. 77. Or how is it possible to consider in the mind that which one *has* never even thought of *or* known?

78. And *observe* this, too, that that command for the arising of light *was* given *either* to something or to nothing, (79) because this is certain, that it is necessary to give a command to a performer of commands. 80. If *it were* given by him to something existing, which *was* light, that *implies that* the light

¹ Or, perhaps, 'it is.'

itself existed. 81. And if the command *were* given by him to something not existing, then how did the something not existing hear the command of the Lord? 82. Or how did it know that the will of the Lord *was* thus, that 'I *should* become light?' 83. Because the command of the Lord is not heard *by what* does not exist, in the same manner as though *it were* not given by him. 84. Since it is not possible *for* the non-existent even to think in any way, (85) *it was* that which is appointed non-existent, so that it does not exist, but *yet* exists¹, that was really before the sight of the sage²; by which *it was* known *in* what manner the Lord is demanding that it *shall* arise³, and in the manner which *was* demanded by him it arose.

86. If they say that the light arose from the word of the Lord, which *was* spoken by him thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*—(87) that *being* when the Lord and his belongings (khûdîh) were dark, and light had really never *been* seen by him—in what way is it possible *for* that light to arise from *his* word? 88. Because this is known, that speaking is the progeny of thinking. 89. If they say that his word became light, that is very marvellous, because then light is the fruit of darkness, and the source of darkness is thereby the essence of light;

¹ That is something produced as a nonentity which, being produced as nothing, is considered to be something different from nothing at all, which is not produced. Something analogous to the prototypes of the creatures, which 'remained three thousand years in a spiritual *state*, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies' (Bd. I, 8).

² Who wrote the account of the creation in the book of Genesis.

³ Literally 'that I *shall* arise.'

or *else it is* this, that the light was concealed in the darkness.

90. As I *have* said¹, it is evident that it is of no use to give a command, except *to* a performer of commands, (91) so that it should be *that* the light existed, *and* then the command was expedient *and* given.

92. Again, I *ask* this, *as to* these creatures and creations, sky *and* earth of his, since *they were* prepared and produced by him in six days, (93) *and* the seventh he reposed (khaspīd) therefrom², (94) then, when this world *was* not produced by him from anything, but merely arose by his command, 'thou shalt arise,' and it was *so*, (95) to what *was* that delay of his of six days owing? 96. For when his trouble is merely as much as to say 'thou shalt arise,' the existence of that delay of six days is very ill-seeming. 97. It is also not suitable for trouble to arise for him therefrom. 98. If it be possible to make the non-existent exist, and *he be* capable *of it*, it is possible to produce *it* even a long time back. 99. And if *he be* incapable of producing except in the period of a day, it is not fitting to speak of his producing it from nothing.

100. And, again, I *ask* this, that is, when the number of the days should be known from the sun, whence then is the number of the day, besides the names of the days, known before the creation of the sun? 101. For they say that the sun *was* produced by him *on* the fourth day, which is itself Wednesday³.

¹ In § 79.

² See §§ 12, 13.

³ Pâz. kīhâr sumbad, Sans. katuḥśanaiskariya. 'And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the

102. *I* also *ask* this, to what *was it* owing that it was necessary for him to make *himself* comfortable and reposing *on* the seventh day? 103. When the delay and trouble in his creation and production of the world was *merely* so much as *that* he spoke thus: 'Thou shalt arise,' (104) how are those days accounted *for* by him, so that it was necessary to make him reposing whose trouble is recounted? 105. For if 'thou shalt arise' *were* spoken by him at once, that is his trouble, and he ought to become comfortable immediately.

106. Again *I ask* this, that is, for what purpose and cause is Adam produced by him, *together* with Eve¹, (107) so that while they practise his will², the purpose of it is not so presented by him that they shall not turn *away* from the performance of his desire? 108. For when it is known by him, before the fact, that they *will* not be listening *to* his command, and *yet they* are finally produced by him, that *shows that* for him *now* to become exhausted, and to indulge in wrath about them, is unreasonable, (109) because *it* is evident *that* the Lord himself was not fully proceeding *with that* which is desirable for his own will, and is manifestly an opponent and adversary to his own will. 110. If they are not understood by him before the fact, and it is not even known by him that they *will* not listen *to* his command, then he is ignorant and badly informed. 111. If they say that his will itself was for non-performance, why then is the command for performance given by him? 112. Also what is the sin in not performing

lesser light to rule the night. . . . And the evening and the morning were the fourth day' (Gen. i. 16, 19).

¹ See § 15.

² The command mentioned in §§ 19, 20.

it, and how goes (113) a horse whom they yoke with *another* in confinement (lag) and hurry on with a whip (tâzânak)¹. 114. From this statement signs and tokens of deceivers are manifested, (115) whose will and command are inconsistent *and* unadapted, one to the other.

116. And if his will and desire were this, that they *shall* not turn *away* from his will, (117) still their power and desire for turning *away* from his will are much stronger and more resistant than those which he *gave* for not turning. 118. If the will for their turning *away* from his will, and also the knowledge of it, were his, and the command for not turning *away were* given by him, how was it still possible *for* the distressed Adam *to act* so that they *should* not turn *away*? 119. Also, the origin and maintenance of his will ought not to exist, (120) because by turning *away* from his command *one* merely falsifies (drûged) it as a command, *while* by not turning *away* it becomes a falsification of both *his* will and knowledge.

121. Again, *I ask* this, that is, on what account and for what advantage *was* that garden, prepared by him, produced²? 122. And *as to* the tree of knowledge itself, about which he commanded thus: 'Ye shall not eat *of it*,' and also *as to* the injunction for not eating *of it*, which *was* issued by him, why was it necessary for him to make them?

123. *It* is also evident, from his injunction and

¹ Illustrating the inconsistency of determining or permitting that anything (such as the abstaining from fruit, or the trotting of a horse) shall not be done, and yet urging its performance by whip or command.

² See §§ 16, 17.

command, that scanty knowledge and ignorance are more loved by him, (124) and *his* desire for them is more than *for* knowledge and wisdom. 125. And *that* even his advantage from ignorance was more, (126) because while the tree of knowledge was not tasted by them they were ignorant, and not disobedient and without benefit unto him, (127) *but* just as their knowledge arose they became disobedient unto him. 128. *There* was also no anxiety for him from their ignorance, *but* just as their knowledge arose (129) he became exhausted and wrathful about them, (130) and, forced out of paradise by him, with grievous discomfort and disgrace, they are cast¹ to the earth. (131) The sum total is this, that the cause of this birth of man's knowledge, in the worldly *existence*, was owing to the serpent and deceit.

132. They also say this, that things of every kind *were* created for mankind—on account of which *it* is evident that even that tree *was* created by him for mankind—(133) and man *was* made by him predominant over every creature and creation². 134. If that be so, why *were they* now to incline *their* desires *away* from that tree which was their own?

135. From this *following* statement this, too, is evident, that knowledge was not really originating with him, (136) because if he came forth to the garden³ and raised his voice, and called Adam by name thus: 'Where art thou,' *it is* just as though he were unaware of the place where he existed; (137) *and* if he had been unanswered by him, *he would have* been unaware of the place where Adam existed. 138. If it were not owing to his (agas)

¹ Or 'admitted.'

² See §§ 46, 47.

³ See § 29.

outcry, too, before seeing *him*, *he would have* been unaware that he *had* eaten of that tree, or not; *and of this also*, that is, *by whom and how it was done*, who ate and who deceived. 139. If he were aware, why *had he* to make that enquiry of him, 'mayest thou not ever yet *have* eaten of that tree, *of which* I commanded that you shall not eat¹?' 140. And at first, when he came forth, he was not exhausted, *but afterwards*, when he knew that *they had* eaten, he became exhausted about them and was wrathful.

141. His scanty knowledge is also *evident* from this, when he created the serpent, which *was* itself his adversary, and put *it* into the garden with them²; (142) or *else why was* not the garden made so fortified by him, that the serpent, and also other enemies, should thereby not go into it?

143. Even his falsity is also evident from this, when he spoke thus: 'When you eat of this tree you die³;' and they *have* eaten and are not dead, but have become really intelligent, (144) and good is well recognised from evil by them.

145. *I also ask* this, that is, how is his knowledge inconsistent *and* competing with *his* will and command? 146. For if *it were* willed by him to eat of that tree, and the command for not eating *were* given by him, the knowledge about it was that *the fruit would be* eaten. 147. Now *it* is evident that the will, knowledge, and command are all three inconsistent, one towards the other.

148. This, too, *is evident*, that, though Adam committed sin, the curse which *was* inflicted by Him (the Lord)⁴ reaches unlawfully over people of every kind

¹ See § 33.

² See § 21.

³ See § 20.

⁴ See §§ 37-41.

at various periods, (149) *and* I consider *it*, in every way, a senseless, ignorant, and foolish statement.

150. On this subject, on account of tediousness, thus much is considered complete.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. My desire is also that I write a story (nisang-1) out of the accompanying inconsistency and full delusion of the same scripture, (2) that is full of every iniquity and demonism; and I *will* disclose a summary of one *part* out of a thousand of *what is* declared thereby, (3) *so as* to notice the commands therein.

4. First, this is what he says about his own nature, (5) that is, 'I am the Lord, seeking vengeance (6) and retaliating vengeance¹, (7) and I retaliate vengeance sevenfold upon the children², (8) and *one* does not forget my original vengeance.' (9). Another place states that, '*having* acquired³ wrath and grievous thoughts, (10) his lips are also full of indignation⁴, (11) *his* tongue is like a blazing fire, (12) and *his* breath (vâyâ) is like a river of rapid water (arvand nâk)⁵. 13. His voice, too, as though for causing

¹ 'To me *belongeth* vengeance, and recompence' (Deut. xxxii. 35). Or, as it is quoted in Rom. xii. 19, 'Vengeance *is* mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'

² 'Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold' (Gen. iv. 15).

³ Perhaps ayâftak is a misreading of âshuftak, 'distracted by.'

⁴ Literally 'venom.'

⁵ 'Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning *with* his anger, and the burden *thereof* is heavy; his lips are full of

weeping, is more resembling the shouting of a demon¹, (14) and his seat is in the gloom², the dew, and the cloud³. 15. His charger, also, is the drying (khûskâk) wind⁴, (16) and from the motion of his feet is the arising of a whirlwind of dust⁵. 17. When he walks the arising of fire is behind him⁶.

18. And, elsewhere, he speaks about his own wrathfulness, (19) thus: 'I have been forty years in wrath about the Israelites⁷,' (20) and he said that the Israelites are defiled in heart⁸.

21. Elsewhere he speaks thus: 'Who is blind⁹,

indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire: and his breath, as an overflowing stream, shall reach to the midst of the neck' (Is. xxx. 27, 28).

¹ 'And the Lord shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and shall show the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation of *his* anger, and *with* the flame of a devouring fire, *with* scattering, and tempest, and hailstones' (Is. xxx. 30).

² Assuming that Pâz. gûam (Pers. gum, 'invisible') is a misreading of Pahl. tom, 'gloom,' as the Sanskrit is dhûmalatvam, 'smokiness.'

³ 'He made darkness his secret place: his pavilion round about him *were* dark waters *and* thick clouds of the skies' (Ps. xviii. 11). 'Clouds and darkness *are* round about him' (Ps. xcvi. 2).

⁴ 'Who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind' (Ps. civ. 3).

⁵ 'The Lord *hath* his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds *are* the dust of his feet' (Na. i. 3).

⁶ 'For, behold, the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire' (Is. lxvi. 15).

⁷ Pâz. Asarâsarâ is evidently a misreading of Pahl. Asrâyîlân.

⁸ 'Forty years long was I grieved with *this* generation, and said, "It *is* a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways;" unto whom I swore in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest' (Ps. xcv. 10, 11).

⁹ Sans. has 'whoever is needy,' both here and in § 23.

unless *it be* my servant? 22. Who is deaf¹, but the messenger (firstak) I am appointing? 23. Who is blind like the king²? *And it is* declared that their king is the Lord himself³.

24. Elsewhere it also says this, that the worshippers (parastakân) of his fire are defiled⁴. 25. Also this, that his deeds bring blinding smoke, (26) *and his* fighting is the shedding of blood⁵. 27. And this, that is, 'I pour forth mankind one upon the other, (28) *and* I sit upon the sky, over their limbs.' 29. Likewise this, that, in one night, a hundred *and* sixty thousand *were* slain by him, through a wretched death, out of the champions and troops of the Mâ-zendarâns⁶. 30. And, *on* another occasion, he slew six hundred thousand men, besides women and young children, out of the Israelites in the wilderness; (31) only two men escaped⁷.

¹ Sans. has 'whoever is prosperous.'

² 'Who *is* blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger *that* I sent? who *is* blind as *he that is* perfect, and blind as the Lord's servant?' (Is. xlii. 19).

³ 'The Lord *is* our king' (Is. xxxiii. 22).

⁴ 'About five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. Then he said unto me, "Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here?"' (Eze. viii. 16, 17).

⁵ 'And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai' (Jos. viii. 21).

⁶ 'Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they *were* all dead corpses' (Is. xxxvii. 36).

⁷ 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot, *that were* men, beside

32. Again, it shows that his final result is all regret, (33) just as this which it states, that he became among the despondent (*zardakân*), and he spoke thus: 'I am repentant as to the making of men on the earth¹.'

34. This, too, it states, that he sits upon a throne which four angels hold upon *their* wings, from each one of whom a fiery river always proceeds, owing to the load of *his* weight². 35. Now, when he is a spirit, not formed with a body, why then are those four distressed by him, who *have* to sustain with toil the grievous load of that easy *thing*?

36. Again, *it states* this, that every day he prepares, with his own hand, ninety thousand worshippers, and they always worship him until the night time, and then he dismisses them, through a fiery river, to hell³. 37. When trouble and injustice of this description are seen, how is it

children' (Ex. xii. 37). 'Doubtless ye shall not come into the land *concerning* which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. . . . But *as for* you, your carcases, they shall fall in this wilderness' (Num. xiv. 30, 32).

¹ 'And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth' (Gen. vi. 6).

² 'Also out of the midst thereof *came* the likeness of four living creatures. . . . Their wings *were* joined one to another. . . . As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance *was* like burning coals of fire, *and* like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures. . . . And under the firmament *were* their wings straight, the one toward the other. . . . And above the firmament that *was* over their heads *was* the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne *was* the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it' (Eze. i. 5, 9, 13, 23, 26). 'A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him' (Dan. vii. 10).

³ This statement may possibly be quoted from the Talmud.

expedient *for* worldly beings to exist in duty, good works, and good deeds? 38. When he casts distressed worshippers who are reverent, listening to commands, *and* pure in action, together with others *who are* sinners, into eternal hell, (39) *it is* like even that which another congregation¹ asserts, that the sacred being, *at* the day of the resurrection, gives the sun and moon, together with others *who are* sinners, to hell for the reason that there are people who *have* offered homage to them.

40. Another place also states this, that when the eyes of the aged (masâtval)² Abraham, who *was* the friend of the Lord, were afflicted, the Lord himself came enquiring for him; (41) and he sat *on* his cushion and asked for peace³. 42. And Abraham called Isaac⁴, who *was* his dearest son⁵, in secret, *and* spoke (43) thus: 'Go to paradise (vahist), *and* bring wine that is light and pure.' 44. *And* he went and brought it. 45. And Abraham made many entreaties to the Lord (46) thus: 'Taste one time⁶ wine in my abode.' 47. *And* the Lord spoke thus:

¹ Probably the Christians, and referring to such texts as 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come' (Acts ii. 20).

² Nêr. reads this word as a title, Mehâdar, of Abraham. It is, however, the Huzvârîs of dâd-mas (for dâd-i mas, 'great age'), and appears to be a hybrid form, the first syllable being Irânian and the latter portion Semitic.

³ Upon his host; the usual Oriental salutation.

⁴ Nêr. has read Âsînak, which indicates a Pahlavi form that might be read Aîsôk, and points to Syr. 'Îs'hoq as the original of this form of Isaac.

⁵ Sans. has 'his whole-blood brother's son.'

⁶ Assuming that Pâz. shê stands for Pahl. gâs-i, both here and in § 49. Nêr. seems to have understood it as Ar. say, 'somewhat.'

'I *will* not taste *it*, because *it* is not from paradise, and is not pure.' 48. Then Abraham gave assurance thus: 'The wine is pure from paradise, and Isaac, who is my son, brought *it*.' 49. Thereupon the Lord, *on account of* his freedom from doubt in Isaac, and the assurance *given* by Abraham, tasted the wine one time. 50. Afterwards, when he wished to go, *he was* not allowed until one of them *had* sworn *to* the other by a serious oath¹.

51. Observe this twaddle full of delusion; not even a single *detail* is adapted to a sacred being. 52. In what way *was* his coming in bodily form to the abode of Abraham and eating bread, of which not even a single *detail* is adapted to him? 53. This, too, is evident from it, that the suffering of Abraham was not² from the Lord, but from another producer. 54. And even the faultiness³ which *was* owing to his want of understanding of knowledge was such, that the purity of the wine and whence *it came* were not known by him. 55. His falsity *is* also *seen in* this, when he spoke of not drinking the wine, and *at last* drank *it*. 56. Afterwards he is confessing that it is genuine *and* pure. 57. Now, how is he worthy of worship, as a divinity that is all-knowing *and* almighty, whose nature is this?

58. And another place states that *there* was one of the sick who, with his own wife and child, *was*

¹ This tale is perhaps to be sought in the Talmud.

² Reading lâ instead of râî. By reading the latter Nêr. has 'the suffering, which *was* for Abraham, was from the Lord,' which is inconsistent with the context.

³ Assuming that Pâz. bavānî (Sans. vaikalyam) stands for Pahl. zifânîh, which seems more probable than supposing it to be a miswriting of Pâz. dewānagî, 'folly.'

particularly *one* that was suffering, poor, *and* without a stipend. 59. *At* all times he was very diligent and active in prayer and fasting and the worship of the sacred being. 60. And one day, in prayer, he secretly begged a favour thus: 'Give me any enjoyment that is in daily food (*rôzth*), (61) that it may be easier for me to live.'

62. And an angel came down unto him *and* spoke thus: 'The sacred being has not allotted thee, through the constellations¹, more daily food than this, (63) *and* it is not possible to allot anew; (64) but, as a recompense for worship *and* prayer, a throne whose four feet are of jewels is appointed for thee in heaven (*vahist*) by me, (65) *and*, if it be necessary, I *will* give unto thee one foot of that throne.'

66. That exalter of the apostles enquired of his own wife, (67) *and* the unfortunate *one* spoke thus: '*It is* better for us to be content with the scanty daily food and bad living in the worldly *existence*, (68) than if our throne, among *our* companions in heaven, *had* three feet; (69) but if it may occur to thee then appoint us a day's food by another mode.'

70. *At* the second coming of that angel he spoke thus: 'But if I dissipate the *celestial* sphere, and produce the sky *and* earth anew, and construct and produce the motion of the stars anew, *still* thenceforth *it* is not clear whether thy destiny *will* fall out good or bad².'

71. From this statement *it* is, therefore, manifest that he is not himself the appointer of daily food and supreme, (72) distribution is not by his will,

¹ Of the zodiac (see Mkh. XII, 5, 6, 8).

² This tale is probably from the same source as the last.

he is not able to alter destiny, (73) and the revolution of the *celestial* sphere, the sun and moon and stars, is not within the compass of his knowledge, will, and command. 74. And also this, that the throne, as to which *it was* announced (nivikīnīd) thus: 'I *will* give *it* in heaven,' is not of his formation and creation.

75. And *in* another place he speaks about his own twaddle (76) thus: 'I *have* slain, *in* one day¹, an assemblage (ram) of sinners, as well as innumerable innocents.' 77. And when the angels talked much of the unreasonable performance, he then spoke of it thus: 'I am the Lord, the ruler of wills, (78) superintending, unrivalled, and doing *my own* will, and no one assists *or* is to utter a murmur (drengisnō) about me².'

79. Especially abundant is the twaddle that is completely delusive, which *has* seemed to me tedious to write. 80. Whoever would investigate the backward opinions of these statements, should be, for that purpose of his, a high-priest speaking candidly (āzād), (81) until he becomes aware of the nature of the same scripture, and *of* the truth of that which is stated by me.

82. Now if he *be* a sacred being, of whom these are signs and tokens, that *implies that* truth is far from him, (83) forgiveness strange to him, (84) and knowledge is not bestowed upon him. 85. Because this itself is the fiend who is leader of the hell which

¹ Assuming that Pâz. zumaê is a corruption of gumê (see Chap. IV, 101 n) and stands for Huz. yôm-1. But it may mean 'the whole of.'

² This seems to be quoted from the same source as the two preceding tales.

is the den (grêstak) of the gloomy race, (86) whom the devilish defiled *ones and* evil *people* glorify by the name of the Lord, and offer *him* homage.

87. About this subject is here complete.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Another *thing* I publish is a feeble story (ni-sang) about the inconsistency, unbounded statements, and incoherent disputations of Christian (Tarsâk) believers.

2. Since, inasmuch as all three¹ are from the one origin of Judaism—(3) that *implying that*, when *anything* is said within the one, it is for them mutually helping their own delusion of every kind—(4) you should know whence the original sect of Christianity came forth. 5. That in the town of Jerusalem² *there* was a woman of the same Jews who was known for incapacity³, (6) *and* pregnancy became manifest in her⁴. 7. When asked by them thus: ‘Whence is this pregnancy of thine?’ (8) she said in reply thus: ‘The angel Gabriel⁵ came unto me, and he spoke thus: “Thou art pregnant by the pure wind (holy spirit)⁶.”’

¹ The three defects mentioned in § 1.

² Nêr. reads Hurûsarm for Pahl. Aûrûsalem.

³ Sans. has ‘misconduct,’ but this is more than Pahl. dûsâzakîh seems to imply.

⁴ ‘Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost’ (Mat. i. 18).

⁵ Pahl. Gêprîl is misread Sparagar by Nêr. These two names would be written alike in Pahlavi.

⁶ ‘The angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph . . . and the angel

9. *As to* that, you should observe thus: 'Who, apart from that woman, saw the angel Gabriel? *And* on what account is it expedient to consider that woman truthful?' 10. If they say that, on account of the spiritual state of that angel, no one is able to see *him*, (11) that *implies*—if the cause of not seeing that angel be *his* spiritual nature—that the sight of that woman also, for the same reason, is not unrestricted. 12. If they say that the sacred being made *him* visible to that woman, and on account of the worthiness of that woman, (13) no other person *being* made worthy, (14) *observe* this, where is the evidence that the woman spoke truthfully? 15. Or, if that woman were conspicuous to *any* one for truth, it is fitting for him to demonstrate that also to other persons, so that, through that evidence, she might be more fully considered as very truthful by them. 16. *But* now the showing of him (the angel), to that woman only, is not considered *by* any one as true. 17. Now you should also observe *that* the origin of their religion *has* all come forth from this testimony of a woman, which *was* given by her about her own *condition*.

18. *Observe*, again, that if they say the Messiah arose from the pure wind of the sacred being, that *implies*—if the only wind that is pure *and* from the sacred being be that one—that the other wind, which is distinct from that, is not *from* the sacred being and not pure, (19) *and* another producer is manifested inevitably. 20. If the wind be all from

answered and said unto her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 26, 27, 35).

the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 21. If only that one wind be pure, the other wind is polluted and not sacred. 22. As there is no producer whatever except the sacred being, that pollution and impurity of the other wind are likewise from the sacred being. 23. And if the other wind be that of the sacred being and sacred, it ought to be all pure. 24. Now, that one *being* considered as purity, why was the other polluted?

25. Again, *observe* this, that, if the Messiah were the son of the sacred being for the reason that the sacred being is the father of all, through productiveness, creativeness, and cherishing, (26) that Messiah, through sonship to the sacred being, is not otherwise than the meaner creatures which the sacred being produced and created. 27. If he were born through the means of male and female, (28) that *implies*—if birth through male and female be suitable unto the sacred being—*that* it is also *so* unto the archangels *and* spirits; *in* like manner, on account of the existence of birth¹, the occurrence of death also is suitable. 29. Thus, about the arising of *that* same sacred being *there* is no doubt, (30) because there where birth of that kind *exists*, eating, drinking, *and* even death are certain.

31. And there are *some* even who say that the Messiah is the sacred being himself. 32. Now this is very strange, when the mighty sacred being, the maintainer *and* cherisher of the two existences, became of human nature, *and* went into the womb of a woman who *was* a Jew. 33. To leave the lordly throne, the sky *and* earth, the *celestial* sphere

¹ The Pâz. of JE interpolates the words 'from a mother.'

and other similar *objects* of *his* management and protection, he fell (aûpast), for concealment, into a polluted and straitened¹ place, (34) and, finally, delivered his own body to scourging, execution on the tree (dâr-kardîh), and the hands of enemies, (35) while, apart from death, much brutality and lawlessness *were* arranged by them.

36. If they speak of his *having* been inside the womb of a woman for the reason that the sacred being exists *in* every place, (37) that *implies that being* inside the womb of a woman, through existence *in* every place, is not more antagonistic than *being in any* very polluted and very fetid place; (38) and, along with that, that the faultiness of speaking of all places as *having* been the property of the sacred being is manifold, (39) because, if *they were so, in* like manner the speaking of anything whatever that is devoid of the existence of the sacred being is strange².

40. Again, as to that which they say, that death and execution on the tree *were* accepted by him, as a yoke³, for the sake of demonstrating the resurrection to mankind, (41) that *implies*—if it were not possible for him to demonstrate the resurrection to mankind, except through that disgrace⁴ and death and brutal treatment of himself—that that omnipotence of his is not effectual. 42. Or, when no opponent and adversary whatever of his arose, why

¹ Assuming that Pâz. u vadang stands for Pahl. va tang.

² Assuming that Pâz. vâhar (Sans. anrîta) stands for Pahl. nâhâr.

³ See Chap. X, 67 n.

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. rasûnâî stands for Pahl. rûsvâîh. Sans. has 'binding with cords.'

are they not made without doubt of that sort of clear knowledge which is *imparted* by seeing the resurrection, so that *there* would not have been a necessity for this mode of demonstrating it brutally, disgracefully¹, distressingly, *and* through the will of *his* enemies. 43. If that death *were* accepted by him, as a yoke of a new description, through his own will, (44) that *implies that* now his outcry of woe and curses for the executioners², *and his* considering those Jews as *it were* wrathfully are unreasonable. 45. *He ought*, indeed, not to cause curses and *imprecations of* woe upon them, but it is fitting for them to be worthy of recompense through that deed.

46. Again, *as to* this which they state, that the father and son and pure wind are three names which are not separate one from the other³, (47) nor is one foremost, (48) *and* this, too, that, though a son, *he* is not less than the father, *but in* every knowledge equal *to* the father⁴, why now is *one* to call him by a different name? 49. If it be proper *for* three to be one, that *implies that* it is certainly possible *for* three to be nine and *for* nine to be

¹ Sans. 'by binding with cords.'

² 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! . . . behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes: and *some* of them ye shall kill and crucify; and *some* of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute *them* from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth. . . . All these things shall come upon this generation' (Mat. xxiii. 29, 34-36).

³ 'For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one' (1 John v. 7).

⁴ 'And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another' (Athanasian Creed).

three; (50) *and* it is possible to speak of other numbers, in this sequence, unlimitedly.

51. *Observe* this, too, that if a son *be* not less than a father, that father also is not greater than the son. 52. That is possible if the father is said *to be* from the son, or the son not from the father. 53. And this is certain, that it is possible *for* every one *originating* from *any* one to be less than him from¹ whom he is, who is the essential origin² of himself; (54) if *he be so* in *point of* time, *and* likewise if *so* in *point of* relationship. 55. If the son *be* not less than the father, that *implies that* the maker is not before the *thing* made, nor yet is greater; (56) both must be original evolutions, (57) and the creation is not less than the creator, nor the creator greater than the creation, (58) however he *may be* said *to be* unlimited.

59. *Observe* this, too, that if the son *be* equal to the father in all knowledge, that father also is as ignorant as the son who was unaware of his own death and execution on the tree³, (60) until *he was* slain by their capturing *him* and causing *his* wretched death, brutal treatment, *and* disgrace⁴. 61. He did not know about it because they enquired of him thus: 'When is the day of resurrection?' And he answered thus: 'Of this no one is aware but the father⁵.' 62. Just as when the son is formed (tâstik)

¹ Assuming that Pâz. *vas* is a misreading of Pahl. *agas*.

² Literally 'the maternal source.'

³ This is at variance with Mat. xxvi. 2:—'Ye know that after two days is *the feast of* the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified.' But the author explains in § 61 that he is thinking of another instance of want of knowledge.

⁴ Sans. has 'binding.'

⁵ 'Tell us, when shall these things be? . . . Of that day and

as *it were* ignorant, the father *must be* as *it were* just the same.

63. *Observe* this, too, that all the creatures and creation, *and* even his own adversary, being created and produced by him out of nothing, the executioners of his son are themselves deluded *by him*.

64. *And* if the sacred being himself created the executioners of his son, *and* even his own adversary, without a purpose *and* without a cause, (65) and the son *was* slain by them altogether with his knowledge, (66) that *implies that* it is now possible to be without doubt that the slayer of his son was he himself, (67) if he knew that when he produces¹ a son they *will* then slay him, and *in* the end he produced *him* foolishly and unwisely. 68. If he did not know *it*, *he* is deficient in knowledge.

69. Again, *observe* this, that, if the sacred being created these creatures and creation out of nothing, and created and produced even his adversary similarly out of nothing, that *implies that* their nature ought to be one. 70. Now, why is not the adversary preserved *in* the *same* manner as the other creatures?

71. Another *point* is about the inconsistency of the statements *derived* from the scriptures of their high-priest², (72) and that which he says that no *one* falls, nor anything from a tree, and no outcry arises in a district³, nor two birds fight together

that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mark xiii. 4, 32).

¹ Literally 'I produce.'

² In § 91 Paul is called 'their high-priest,' but the term may be here applied to any other writer of the Christian scriptures.

³ So in Sans., but the Pâz. of JE has merely 'no district arises.'

without the command of the father¹, (73) which is a demonstration² of these statements, that the original evolution is single and all *things* are by his will.

74. Now for what purpose *was* the Messiah appointed, who is his son; and which way is the demonstration, through that, of his (the father's) *being* unwilling; (75) when all is *by* his will, and nothing whatever is said *about* his *being* unwilling?

76. Even this is *evident* from the same explanation, that the Jews slew the Messiah, who is his son, through the will of the father.

77. Again, he speaks inconsistently about the free will (âzâd-kâmîh) of the faithful, (78) that mankind are produced by him *with* free will. 79. Thus the iniquity of the sin which mankind commit is freely willed, (80) and the freedom of will *was* produced by him himself for mankind. 81. That *implies that* it is fitting to consider him likewise a sinner who is the original cause of sin. 82. If mankind commit sin and crime by their own free will through the will of the sacred being, (83) through what free will and sin are the sin and crime of the lion, serpent, wolf, *and* scorpion—the stinging *and* slaying noxious creatures—which are the natural actions that ever proceed from them?

84. So also, who *has* maintained the origin of the deadly poison which is in the Bêsh *herb*³ and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will? 85. If they say that those poisons

¹ Compare Mat. x. 29, 30 :—‘Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.’

² Literally ‘demonstrator.’

³ A poisonous plant, Napellus Moysis (see Bd. XIV, 22, XXVII, 1).

are advantageous *and* suitable in many medicines which are removers of the disease of the sick, (86) it should be asked of them thus: 'Who produced the disease itself and the harm that *arises* from it, and what is the necessity of it, (87) that, afterwards, medicine and deadly poison *were* created by him for it, and were necessary?' 88. Or, *as to* that disease, 'it would be more expedient if he had produced an antidotal (anôsh) medicine for carrying *it* away than a medicine of poison.' 89. Also this, that is, 'from what origin is the term itself "doing harm," and against whom is the advantageousness necessary?' 90. On this subject it is possible to speak abundantly for a summary compiled.

91. Another *instance* is from the words of Paul (Pâvarôš), who *was* their high-priest—(92) that *one* who was afflictive with¹ them at their own beginning²—even this, they say, (93) is thus: 'Not the good works which I desire, but the iniquity (94) which I do not desire, I do³. 95. And *it* is not I *that* do *so*, but that which is collected within me does *it*, (96) because I always see that *it* is striving with me day and night⁴.'

97. Again, they say, from the words of the

¹ Reading hanbêshin, but it may be 'well-afflicting to' if we read hû-bêshin.

² 'As for Saul, he made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed *them* to prison. . . . Saul who also *is called* Paul' (Acts viii. 3 ; xiii. 9).

³ 'For the good that I would, I do not : but the evil which I would not, that I do' (Rom. vii. 19).

⁴ 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. . . . I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members' (Rom. vii. 20, 23).

Messiah, that the original evolution *from* the sacred being is light and goodness; (98) evil and darkness are separate from him¹. 99. Also this, that is, 'just as a shepherd who provides protection for his hundred sheep, (100) *and* the wolves carry *off* one from him, (101) goes after that one which the wolves carried *off* until he leads it back to the flock, (102) and leaves the ninety-nine of them in the wilderness (dast)², (103) even so I am come to take care of the defiled, not for the just, (104) because *it* is needless to bring him who is just into the *right* way³.' 105. That *implies*, if the original evolution *be* one, and his will *be* wholly *that* no one whatever of it *shall be* astray and defiled, (106) *that* even the wolf's slaying the sheep is likewise his will, (107) and the wolf itself *was* also created by him.

108. The word of the Messiah is specially inconsistently a demonstrator as regards the two original evolutions. 109. As they say this is one of *those* same statements of the Messiah, that there is another original evolution, 'an enemy of my father, *and* I am of that sacred being doing good works⁴.' 110. From this statement *it* is evident that his own father separates from that enemy, *and* acts differently.

¹ 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 John i. 5).

² 'What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?' (Luke xv. 4).

³ 'For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost' (Mat. xviii. 11). 'They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance' (Luke v. 31, 32).

⁴ 'He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man: the field is the world: the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked *one*: the enemy that sowed them is the devil' (Mat. xiii. 37-39). •

111. This, too, *he* says, that is, 'I am produced by the sacred being for truth and through truth¹; (112) and Aharman, the iniquitous, came for my death (*vađardanö*), (113) and I am desired by him to deceive in many ways².' 114. Now, if the original evolution *be* one, and there be nothing competing with it, why *was* Aharman so powerful that he desired to delude the son of the sacred being? 115. If the sacred being himself created that iniquitous *one*, then the producing of that delusion by the *latter was* with the knowledge and will of *the former* himself, (116) and the deluder of the son *was* in like manner himself.

117. This, too, it says, that, when the Jews stood disputing against *him*, he spoke to the Jews thus: 'You are from that which is a lower *region*, and I am from an upper *region*; (118) you are of this country, I am not of it³.' 119. And he also said this, that is, 'I know that you are of the seed of Abraham, *and* he⁴ who had slain mankind from aforetime (120) *has* wished to slay even me. 121. I do that which is seen of my father, *and* you do that which is seen by you as to your own father⁵.' 122. This,

¹ 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us . . . full of grace and truth' (John i. 14).

² See the account of the temptation of Jesus in Mat. iv. 3-10.

³ 'And he said unto them, Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world' (John viii. 23).

⁴ The iniquitous one of § 125, whom he calls their father, the devil.

⁵ 'I know that ye are Abraham's seed: but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you. I speak that which I have seen with my Father: and ye do that which ye have seen with your father' (John viii. 37, 38).

too, *he said*, 'If the sacred being be that father of yours, he would be a friend of me *for your sake*, (123) because I have sprung from the sacred being; I have not come of my own will; (124) I am appointed *by* that sacred being doing good works¹. Why do you not hear those words of mine? 125. Only because you are from the iniquitous *one* it is not possible for you to hear them, (126) and you wish to do the will of your own father. 127. By him truth is not spoken; whatever he speaks he tells a lie of it, therefore you are false yourselves *together* with your father. 128. *As for* me, who speak the truth, you do not believe it of me². 129. And he who is from the sacred being hears the words of the sacred being, but you, because you are not from the sacred being, do not hear my words³.' 130. By all these sayings it is demonstrated by him that there are two original evolutions, 'one by which I am produced, *and* one by which the Jews *are*,' (131) and that *latter* is not his doer of good works, but is called by him the iniquitous *one*.

132. And this, too, *was* said by him, that 'not

¹ 'If God were your Father, ye would love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myself, but he sent me' (John viii. 42).

² 'Why do ye not understand my speech? *even* because ye cannot hear my word. Ye are of *your* father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it. And because I tell *you* the truth, ye believe me not' (John viii. 43-45).

³ 'He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear *them* not, because ye are not of God' (John viii. 47).

unrestricted (atang) is the tree of merit (kirfak) to produce the fruit of offensiveness (bazak), nor yet that of offensiveness *as to* the fruit of merit¹. 133. This, too, *he said*, that 'he either makes the whole tree with fruit of merit, or the whole tree with fruit of offensiveness², (134) for every tree becomes manifest by *its* fruit, if *it be of* merit and if *it be of* offensiveness³.' 135. And the whole tree *was* mentioned by him, not half the tree. 136. Now, how is it suitable *for* half a tree *to be* light and half dark, (137) half merit and half offensiveness, (138) half truth and half falsehood? 139. When these remain both competing together, (140) they cannot become one tree.

141. And, again, a Jewish *sect was* called by him 'the hill-serpent of the Jews⁴,' (142) and he spoke thus: 'How is *it* possible for you to do good works when you are Jewish evil-doers⁵?' 143. And *it was* not his own father he called an evil-doer⁶.

¹ 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither *can* a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit' (Mat. vii. 18).

² 'Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit' (Mat. vii. 17).

³ 'For every tree is known by his own fruit: for of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes' (Luke vi. 44).

⁴ 'But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? . . . *Ye* serpents, *ye* generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?' (Mat. iii. 7; xxiii. 33).

⁵ 'O generation of vipers! how can ye, being evil, speak good things?' (Mat. xii. 34).

⁶ As he would have implied if he considered him the father of those Jews. The author is still arguing that the New Testament really confirms the existence of two creators.

144. This, too, he says, that 'every tree which the father *has* not sown should be dug *up*, and should be cast into the fire¹.' 145. Wherefore it is fitting to understand from these words that there is a tree, which the father *has* not sown, *that* it is necessary to dig *up* and cast *away*.

146. Again, *he says* this, that 'I am come to my own, and I am not received *by* my own².' 147. Wherefore it is fitting to understand that *what is* his own and *what is* not his own are two *things*.

148. This, too, he says, that is, 'Our father, that *art* in the sky, let thy empire arise! And may it be thy will *that* shall take place on earth as in the sky! 149. Also give us daily bread! And do not bring us to a cause of doubt³!' 150. From these words *it* is evident that his will is not so unalloyed (*avêzak*) on earth as in the sky. 151. Also this, that the cause of the doubt of mankind is not owing to the sacred being.

152. And this, too, *was* said by him at first, that 'I am not come for the *purpose* that I *may* destroy the law of Moses (*Mûshâê*), (153) but I am come for the *purpose* that I *may* make *it* altogether more complete⁴.' 154. And *yet* all his sayings and

¹ 'Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. . . . Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up' (Mat. iii. 10; xv. 13).

² 'He came unto his own, and his own received him not' (John i. 11).

³ 'Our Father which art in heaven. . . . Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as *it is* in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. . . . And lead us not into temptation' (Mat. vi. 9-11, 13).

⁴ 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mat. v. 17).

commands were those that are dissipaters and afflictive for the rules and laws of Moses.

155. Upon this subject, however, as far as here is complete.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Again, about the delusion of Mânî, one out of the thousands *and* myriads is written; (2) for I am not unrestrained (anatang) as to writing more fully of the delusion, twaddle, and deceit of Mânî and the Mânichæans, (3) and much trouble and long-continued daily work is necessary for me therein.

4. Now you Mazda-worshippers of Zaratûst should know that the original statement of Mânî *was* about the unlimitedness of the original evolutions, (5) the intermediate *one* about *their* mingling, (6) and the final *one* about the distinction of light from dark, (7) that which is much more like unto want of distinction¹.

8. Again, *he states* this, that the worldly existence is a bodily formation of rudiments of Aharman; (9) the bodily formation *being* a production of Aharman. 10. And a repetition of that *statement* is this, that the sky is from the skin, (11) the earth from the flesh, (12) the mountains from the

¹ Except the belief in the two original existences (whose main characteristics are, respectively, light and darkness) the account of Mânî's doctrines, given in the Fihrist of Muhammad bin Is'hâq (see Flügel's *Mânî seine Lehre und seine Schriften*), appears to contain none of the details mentioned in this chapter.

bones, (13) and the trees from the hair of the demon Kuni¹. 14. The rain is the seed of the Mâzen-darâns² who are bound on the *celestial* sphere. 15. Mankind are two-legged demons, and animals four-legged. 16. And Kuni is the commander of the army of Aharman, (17) who, to be liberated by³ his nails from the divinity Aûharmazd in the first conflict, swallowed the light; (18) and, in the second conflict, the demon Kuni *was* captured by them, *together* with many demons. 19. And it is *in* binding the demon Kuni on the *celestial* sphere *he* is killed, (20) *and* these magnificent creatures are preserved from him and formed.

21. And the sun *and* moon are arranged in supremacy *in* the outer sky; (22) so that, as regards that light which the demons swallowed, they filter and excite⁴ *it*, little *by* little, through the exciting and filtering of the sun and moon. 23. Then Aharman knew, through foresight, that they *would* rapidly filter and release this light through the exciting of the sun and moon. 24. *And*, for the purpose of not rapidly releasing the light from the darkness, he prepared this lesser world which, like mankind, cattle, *and* the other living creatures, is a wholly-copied similitude of the greater world

¹ So read by Nêr. in Pâz. and Kûnî in Sans. But there is little doubt that he is the demon Kunda or Kundi of Vend. XI, 28, 36, XIX, 138, whose Pahlavi name is Kûnd in Pahl. Vend. XIX, 138, and Kûndak in Bd. XXVIII, 42, in which latter he is said to be 'the steed of wizards.' Kûndak is written like Kûnîk in Pahl., and this latter becomes Kuni in Pâz.

² Who are called demons (see Mkh. XXVII, 20, 40).

³ Sans. has 'having scratched *it* with.'

⁴ Assuming that Pâz. âharâminend stands for Pahl. a-âramînend, 'they do not leave at rest.'

with the other bodily creations¹. 25. He confined life and light in the body, and made *them* prisoners; (26) so that, while that light which is excited by the sun and moon is again exhausted through the cohabitation and birth of living creatures, (27) *their* release would become more tardy.

28. And the rain was the seed of the Mâzendarâns (29) for the reason *that* when the Mâzendarâns are bound on the *celestial* sphere², (30) whose light is swallowed by them, (31) and, in order to pass *it* from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time³, the twelve glorious *ones*⁴ show the daughters of Time *to* the household-attending male Mâzendarâns, (32) so that while the lust of those Mâzendarâns, from seeing them, is well suited to them, (33) and seed is discharged from them, (34) the light which is within the seed is poured *on* to the earth. 35. Trees, shrubs, *and* grain have grown therefrom, (36) and the light which is within the Mâzendarâns is discharged in the seed. 37. That which is within the earth is discharged from the earth as the cause of the trees.

38. Again, about the difference of nature of life and body, this *is stated*, that the life is confined and imprisoned within the body. 39. *And* as the producer and maintainer of the bodily formations of all material existences is Aharman, (40) for the same reason it is not expedient to occasion birth *and* to propagate lineage—(41) because it is co-operating

¹ The spiritual world and its inhabitants.

² As stated in § 14.

³ Personified as Zurvân.

⁴ The signs of the zodiac, the celestial leaders appointed by Aûharmazd (see Mkh. VIII, 18).

with Aharman in the maintenance of mankind and cattle, and *in* causing the exhaustion of the life and light within *their* bodies—nor yet to cultivate trees and grain.

42. Again, inconsistently, they also say this, (43) that the destroyer of the creatures is always Aharman; (44) *and*, for the same reason, it is not expedient to kill any creature whatever, (45) because it (killing) is the work of Aharman.

46. Again, *they say* this, that, as the world is maintained by Aharman, *and in* the end the sacred being is triumphant (47) through the departure of lives from bodies, (48) this worldly existence is dissipated in the end, (49) *and* is not arranged anew; (50) nor does *there* occur a restoration of the dead *and* a future existence.

51. Again, *they say* this, that those two original evolutions are perpetually remaining, *and* existed as contiguously as sun and shadow, (52) and no demarcation¹ and open space existed between them.

53. Now I speak first about the impossibility of the occurrence of any existing thing *that is* unlimited, (54) except only those which I call unlimited, *that is*, empty space and time. 55. Those, indeed, which are for existence within *them*—*that is* beings *and* things in locality and time—are seen *to be* limited.

56. This, too, *I say*, that, if unity and duality be spoken *of* about them, *it is* owing to this, because unity, except through the perpetual encompassing of something, does not then exist therein. 57. For the one is this, namely, not two; (58) *and* the two

¹ Reading *nisânîh*; Nêr. has Pâz. *nisâmî* (for *nisîmî*), Sans. *âsanatvam*, 'resting-place.'

are these, namely, the original *one and* the one that is the difference of *this* one from the other (59) which is not called two. 60. When the one is not understood, except through the whole compassing of unity, (61) and duality cannot occur, except through the separation of unit *from* unit, (62) the one is that one in the unity, and is steadfast in unity. 63. One and two are in the pedigree (tôkhmak) of quantity *and* numerousness; (64) and quantity, numerousness, aggregation, and separation, which, as I *have* said, cannot occur without limitation, (65) are clear even to medium understandings.

66. Again, *I say* this, the unlimited is that which is not compassed by the understanding. 67. When it is not possible to compass by any understanding, *it* is inevitable *that* it was not possible to compass in the understanding of the sacred being. 68. It is itself the peculiarity of the sacred being, *and* even that of the gloomy original evolution is not wholly compassed within the understanding. 69. To speak *of* him whose own peculiarity is not compassed within his own understanding *as* all-good and all-seeing is strange¹, (70) because it describes a whole aggregate, (71) and an aggregate is called a whole on account of encompassment *on* all sides. 72. *But what* is encompassed *on* all sides is inevitably limitedness. 73. Is it fitting to account that *as* a sacred being when aware, from all its own encompassment, *that* it is limited? 74. *And* if unlimited *it* is unaware *of it*. 75. The first knowledge of a sage is owing to his well-arranging² comprehension of his own pecu-

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² Assuming that Pâz. *vas hvazîrasni* stands for Pahl. *agas*

liarity, nature, and quantity; (76) *and* to speak of *him* who was unaware of all his own peculiarity, nature, and quantity, *and* yet wise about another nature and quantity, is strange¹.

77. This, too, *I say*, that as the unlimited, on account of non-encompassment, is not compassed by the understanding, (78) that *implies* this, that all its peculiarity *may be* wise, or there *may be some* that is ignorant; all *may be* light, or there *may be some* that is dark; all *may be* alive, or there *may be some* that is dead; and *one* is unaware of it.

79. Again, *I say* this, that the light and the life which I obtain here are an allotment that exists owing to the selfsame Time², or *they are* not. 80. If *they be* an allotment that exists owing to a peculiarity of Time, that *implies that men* should well recognise this, that anything owing to whose allotment it is possible to ordain them must be provided with allotments. 81. *As to what is* provided with allotments, except when united it is then not possible *even* for it, (82) and *as to what is* united, except through the uniter bywhom that united *thing* is united it does not then determine it. 83. And when the allotment made is seen *to be* limited, the origin from which the allotment is *in* like manner made is doubtless a limited existence. 84. As regards that, since they say that all allotment of a result is a giver of evidence *as to its* origin, (85) that *implies*, when I obtain an allotment made *and* limited, *that* an origin even of that, except when made and united

hû-âzîrisn; the latter word can scarcely have been hû-âzîrisnîh, 'good arrangement.'

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² See § 31.

from allotments *and* limited, is then not possible to exist.

86. This, too, *I say*, that the unlimited is not bestowed, (87) because an allotment is bestowed from an aggregate, (88) and aggregation is an evidence as to limitation, (89) as I *have* shown above¹. 90. So that *as to* the existence *and* nature of the origin, except by the likeness and similitude of the result, I do not then attain to them. 91. Whatever is obtained in the result (92) is certain to exist *in* like manner in the origin. 93. That *implies* likewise from *this* explanation, when the formation and limitation are obtainable in the result, *that* the origin also, from which the result *arises*, is without doubt as to limitation.

94. Again, *I say* this, that the unlimited is that which *has* an undisturbed position and an unbounded² individuality, (95) and there is no other position *or* resting-place for it disturbed *apart* from it. 96. That *implies*, when two original evolutions are said *to be* unlimited and of unbounded (asâmân) individuality, *that* the skies *and* earths, the rudimentary bodily formations, growths, *and* lives, the luminaries, divinities, *and* archangels, *and* the many congregations (hambarisnân) whose different names are owing to the difference of each one of *those two* from the other, cannot be limited. 97. What produced all those within them, and where *is it*, (98) when the two original evolutions have been eternally *in* an undisturbed position? 99.

¹ See § 64.

² Assuming that Pâz. avamân stands for Pahl. avîmand, as it is translated by Sans. amaryâda; otherwise it might be agûmân, 'undoubted.'

Unless that individuality of theirs, which is unlimited, *be* made limited, how is it possible *for* a place to exist for all these *things that* are *and* were *and will* be made? 100. If a nature that is always unlimited can become limited, that certainly *implies that* it could even become nothing; (101) *and* that which they say about the unchangeableness of a nature is strange¹.

102. This, too, you should understand, that the unlimited becomes that which *has* disturbed it, which *was* not appointed by it *at* first; (103) nothing different from it can exist separate from it. 104. Apart from the boundary of unlimitedness it is not understood, (105) or, stupidly, *one* does not know that thing, that is, of what *it is* he always speaks and contends and bandies words about, *and* thereby deludes those with a trifle of the trifles of knowledge into *some way and* whither. 106. If he uncritically² says even this of it, that its individuality is unlimited, and its knowledge also, *being* unlimited, knows through unlimited knowledge that it is unlimited, (107) that is a strange *thing* which is two-fold strange³. 108. One is this, that of knowledge, except about things acquired by knowledge and compassed within knowledge, (109) nothing whatever is understood until complete, except that which is wholly compassed within knowledge and acquired, (110) which knowledge of anything arises through entire understanding of the thing. 111. *And* entire

¹ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

² The first part of this word is a blank in JE, as if copied from an original that was illegible here. JJ has *ahvaraidihā*.

³ See Chap. XV, 39 n.

understanding of anything arises through entire compass of the thing within knowledge¹.

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¹ The most complete MSS., yet discovered, break off at this point, without concluding the subject. It is quite uncertain how much of the work is lost, but, supposing that all existing MSS. are descended from AK, supposing that that MS. was originally complete,¹ and supposing that it was divided into two equal portions (the latter of which is now lost) in consequence of some division of family property, we might then conclude, if all these assumptions were correct, that very little of the work is missing, because the portion of AK still extant extends no further than Chap. XI, 145, which is very little beyond the middle of the extant text.

SAD DAR,
OR
THE HUNDRED SUBJECTS.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The division into dars, ' chapters or subjects,' is indicated in the original manuscripts ; but for that of the sections the translator is responsible, as the subdivisions of the alternating Persian-Gugarâti text are often at variance with its meaning.

2-6. (The same as on page 2.)

7. All Arabic words are quoted in parentheses on their first occurrence in the text. And the spelling of names approximates more closely to modern Persian than to the older Pahlavi.

8. The manuscripts mentioned are :—

B29 (written A. D. 1679) in a Persian Rivâyat, No. 29 in the University Library at Bombay.

J15 (undated) Persian, No. 15 in the library of Dastûr Jâmâspji Minochiharji at Bombay. It has been only occasionally consulted for this translation.

La (dated A. D. 1575) Persian, in Avesta writing, alternating with Gugarâti, No. 3043 of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library at London ; upon the text of which this translation is based.

Lp (undated) Persian, No. 2506 of the Persian manuscripts in the same library.

SAD DAR.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *In* the name of Hôrmazd, the lord, the greatest *and* wise¹, the all-ruling, all knowing, *and* almighty.

2. This is a book (kitâb), about the proper and improper, which is extracted from the good *and* pure² religion of the Mazda-worshippers. 3. What is expedient (vâgib) is this, for every one to know *and* keep this in practice. 4. And it is not desirable that he become independent ('hâlî) of this *for* a single hour (sâ'hat). 5. Because, when *one* becomes independent, the sin for each one may become abundant; *and* when *it is* brought into practice the reward becomes abundant.

6. On this occasion (vaqt) I, a servant of the religion—like the môbad Erân-shâh³, son (bin) of

¹ It is possible to translate the original (which is the same as in Sg. I, 1) as follows:—‘The name of Hôrmazd is “the lord, the greatest wise *one*,”’ as though these epithets were the meaning of Hôrmazd, which is not far from the truth; but this would not be a probable form for an invocation. Lp and B29 have a different invocation.

² Lp, B29, J15 omit ‘*and* pure.’

³ This is the name of the writer who composed the Sad Dar Na'hm, or metrical Sad Dar, in A.D. 1495. He calls himself, however, a son of Malik-shâh in the introduction to his verses (see Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, Oxon, 1700, p. 433); and in his postscript he mentions Mard-shah as his own name, which Dastûr Jâmâspji understands to mean Shah-mard, in the introduction to his Gugarâti translation of the Sad Dar-i Ba'hr-i Tavîl, or long-metre Sad Dar (2nd ed., Bombay, 1881). The date

Yazad-yâr, son of Tistar-yâr, son of Âdar-bâd, *son of Mâraspend*¹—*have* sent a reward to their souls, unto every one who reads and is bound by duty². 7. Thus much (în qadar), which *has* come written, is a good work they know, whosoever are superior; *but* it is not possible for every one inferior to know of this. 8. If it were more (ziyâdat) it is proper, but if (immâ) less than this it is not proper to know³; while, *in* gratitude *for* the benefits (sukr-i ni'hmat) of the sacred being, they become increasing in action, and the sacred being, the most high (ta'hâlâi)⁴, makes benefits occur on the spot on that account.

of composition of this long-metre Sad Dar is A. D. 1531, according to Dastûr Jâmâspji, and its authors state that they compiled it from the Sad Dar Nahr, or prose Sad Dar, which was composed by three celebrated Dastûrs near the time of the Arab conquest. The names in our text are found here only in La, which is either the original, or an early copy, of a version of the prose Sad Dar compiled by Râma, son of Kanhaksha, in which the Persian is written in Avesta letters, and alternates with an old Gugarâti translation composed by his son Padama. This version was prepared A. D. 1575, and the occurrence of the name of Erân-shâh, who lived only eighty years earlier, indicates that this part of the introduction was probably written by the editor Râma, and not copied from the original prose Sad Dar. In Lp 'the môbad Erân-shâh, son of Yazad-yâr,' is mentioned at the end of the work.

¹ The last two names are introduced merely to show that Erân-shâh traced his ancestry back either to the celebrated Âtûr-pâd Mâraspend, prime minister of Shâpûr II (A. D. 309-379), or to another priest of the same name who lived about A. D. 900 (see Bd. XXXIII, 11); but very many intermediate names have been omitted in this genealogy.

² J15 omits the whole of § 6, and Lp, B29 have merely 'and a reward is sent to their souls, &c.,' to be read in connection with § 5.

³ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that no hesitation arises' instead of 'to know.'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet.

9. And, secondly, the kindness (*luṭf*) and generosity (*karm*) of the sacred being, the most high¹, are manifest from this, that he created us with each member (*âlat*) complete (*tamâm*), and did not keep anything from the maternal *nature*. 10. And whatever was necessary for use he gave us. 11. At the head, likewise, he appointed a master, which is² the wisdom for the purpose that they *may* keep these members in action.

12. May the peace of the sacred being, the most high, be on the souls of those acquainted with the religion of the pure Zaratusht, the Spitamân, and of those *who are pure and* virtuous. 13. For the souls of those persons it is desirable that every duty they perform they *shall* perform through the authority (*dastûrî*) of the wisdom of the high-priests³.

CHAPTER I.

1. The first subject is this, that it is necessary that they become steadfast in the religion, and do not introduce any hesitation (*sakk*) and doubt into the heart. 2. And *that* they make a statement (*'haqîqat*) with confidence (*i'h tiqâd*), that the good religion, the true and perfect, *which* the Lord sent into the world (*'halq*), is that which Zaratusht has brought; which is this I hold⁴.

3. Every time⁵ that mankind are like this, and do

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit this epithet. ² J15 has 'who possessed.'

³ For §§ 12, 13 Lp, B29, J15 have merely the following:—'And peace is possible for that person who does every duty that he performs, through the authority of the high-priests.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these five words.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'for every time.'

not introduce any hesitation *and* doubt into the heart, of every duty *and* good work that *others* have done, from the days of Zaratusht until these days, and of whatever *one* does after this until the resurrection, *there* is a share¹ *for* that person. 4. When the soul, on the fourth night², arrives at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn³ make up its account ('hisâb) and reckoning. 5. And, if the good works it has done *be* deficient *in* quantity, of every duty *and* good work that those of the good religion have done *in* the earth of seven regions they appoint it a like portion (naštb), till the good works become more in weight⁴; and the soul arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

6. For it is declared in revelation, that of the duty⁵ *and* good work which they perform in doubt—that is (ya'hnt), they entertain a suspicion like this, that 'I do not know that this faith, which I possess, is better *in comparison* with other faiths'—no merit whatever comes to their souls. 7. Therefore, the first (avval) thing is to become steadfast in the religion; and this is the chief of all good works.

CHAPTER II.

1. The second subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort (*gahd*), so that they *may* not

¹ Lp, B29 have 'an equal share.'

² The older books say at dawn on the fourth day (see Mkh. II, 115).

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

⁴ Lp adds, in the margin, 'by one filament of the hair of the eyelashes;' but this phrase seems to have been taken from Chap. II, 3.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'of every duty.'

commit any sin. 2. If even a trifling sin occurs it is not desirable to assume that this small quantity does not possess harm hereafter.

3. For it is said in revelation, that if such *be* the quantity of sin that the sin is one filament of the hair¹ of the eyelashes more in weight than the good works are, that person arrives in hell. 4. And if such a quantity of good works be in excess, he arrives righteous in the radiant locality of heaven.

5. Therefore, even if a sin be trifling it is not desirable to commit *it*; and it is requisite to refrain, so that they *may* not commit *it*, and *may* become without doubt as to the religion.

CHAPTER III.

1. The third subject is this, that it is necessary *for* man that he be continuously employed (*maṣ-ghûl*) on his own work, and then the work becomes his own.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every one who hereafter becomes employed² *on* his own work, if in the midst of that work any trouble and discomfort happen to him, obtains in that *other* world twelve recompenses³ for every single *instance*. 3. If he becomes employed *on* iniquity (*fasâd*), and in the midst of that work any trouble and harm happen to him, he so⁴ obtains in that *other* world only torment (*'huqûbat*) and punishment.

4. Similarly (*maṭhalâm*), if any one be himself going, employed on his own work, and a robber falls

¹ Compare Mkh. II, 121.

² B29 has 'hereafter may be.'

³ La omits 'recompenses.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'so.'

upon him on the road, and carries off his property (qumâs), or he be slain¹, they give him back in that *other* world four *things* for each one² of whatever they have carried off. 5. If he be slain he becomes righteous, any sin that he has committed goes clean *away* from him, *and* they convey him to heaven. 6. But (ammâ) if he becomes faulty (bâtîl) in any duty, and a robber falls upon him on the road³, and carries off his wealth (mâl), or he be slain, when he descends to that *other* world⁴ all the property that *other* carried off from him becomes just as *though it were* his who has carried it off from that person⁵; and, besides, *there* occur, as a substitute ('hiva) *for* that property, the punishment and torment they give him. 7. *And* if he be slain it is just as *though* he who has carried it off from that person *were* *one* who had innocently slain that person who arrives in hell as retribution (mukâfât) for sin.

CHAPTER IV.

I. The fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable for any one that he *should* become hopeless of the pity (ra'hmat) and forgiveness of Hôrmazd, and fix *his* heart outwardly⁶ on this, that our sin is excessive *and it is* not possible to arrive in heaven. 2. Because it happens that a small quantity of duty *and* good work is performed, *and* it may be that for that

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'or they shall slay him anywhere.'

² Lp, B29 omit the rest of this sentence.

³ Lp, B29 omit 'on the road.'

⁴ That is, to hell.

⁵ That is, the person robbed loses all claim to his property, on account of his neglect of duty.

⁶ Lp, B29 omit 'outwardly.'

quantity Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, *may* have pity on him *and may* make *him* arrive in heaven.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that one time when Zaratusť was in conversation *with* the sacred being, the most high, he saw a man whose whole² body was in hell, and one foot—the right *one*³—was outside of hell. 4. Zaratusť enquired of the sacred being, the most high⁴, thus: 'What person has this man been?' 5. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply (*gavâb*) thus: 'He has been a king, and possessed the sovereignty of thirty-three towns, and was conducting that sovereignty many years. 6. And he never did any virtuous action, but was committing much oppression, lawlessness, and violence (*thulm*). 7. By chance (*qašârâ*) he was one day going on the chase, *and* arrived out at a place (*maûš'a'h*) *and* saw a goat *that* was tied. 8. A morsel of hay *was* placed very far *off*, and that goat was hungry. 9. Owing to this the goat was trying to eat the hay, but did not reach the hay. 10. This the king saw, *and* kicked *his* foot at that hay *and* cast *it* in front of the goat. 11. Now, in recompense for that, that one foot of his is outside of hell, and the remaining (*bâqt*) limbs⁵ are in hell.'

12. Therefore, although a sin has happened to any one, it is not necessary *for him*⁶ to become hopeless. 13. And whoever has the power (*tâqat*)

¹ The Spēnd Nask (see Sls. XII, 29). The story is also told in AV. XXXII.

² Lp, B29 omit 'whole.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'and his right foot.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit this epithet.

⁵ Lp has 'the rest,' and B29 has 'the whole body.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have '*for* the same.'

is to endeavour to perform good works, so that *there* may be an atonement for the sin thereby; because the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, is kind to every one.

CHAPTER V.

1. The fifth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion that they make a thorough effort, so that they celebrate the ritual and become Navazûd¹.

2. For in our religion there is no good work more ample than this. 3. And it is declared in revelation, that, although much duty and good work be performed, it is not possible to attain to the supreme heaven (*garôdmân*)², except *on* that one occasion when the Navazûd *ceremony* is performed, *or* they have celebrated a Gêtt-kharîd³. 4. And *on* any occasion ('hâl), if they are not able to perform *it* with their own hands, it is requisite to order *it*; *and* then it is inevitably necessary that the celebration of⁴ the Gêtt-kharîd should be *in* the same manner as they *would* have performed *it* with their own hands.

¹ Apparently 'newly born' (see Sls. XIII, 2 n), a term applied to one who has been duly initiated. After preparatory performances of the Bareshnûm purification and the ordinary ceremonial, the ceremonies are carried on four days longer by two priests. The first day's ceremony is that of the Nônâbar, the second is the Srôsh yast, the third is the Sîrôzah, and the fourth is the Visparad (see Vigirkard-i Dînik, ed. Peshotan, p. 147).

² Ordinary good works, when in excess of the sins, are a passport only to the ordinary heaven (vahist).

³ Literally 'purchased *in* the worldly *existence*' (see § 11). A ceremony somewhat resembling the Navazûdî (see Bd. XXX, 28 n), but celebrated either late in life, or after death.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'that they celebrate.'

5. Man and woman are both¹ equal in this good work; therefore², it is not proper to neglect this duty, for it is the chief of all the good works of the religion. 6. Because it is declared in revelation, that on the day that they are performing the *Navazûd ceremony*, or are celebrating a *Gêtt-kharîd* on his account, three times the soul of that person arrives at heaven, and they show it a place therein, and offer it a profuse greeting (*nîthâr*)³.

7. The explanation (*tafsîr*) of the *Gâhs*⁴ is this, that a *Gâh*—that is, that his own place—becomes visible to him⁵ in heaven that day.

8. And if *one* does not perform a *Navazûd ceremony*, or does not order the celebration of a *Gêtt-kharîd*, it is the same as when a poor (*gharîb*) man makes *for*⁶ a town, and does not obtain a spot where he *may* alight *in* that place. 9. Although it is his own town he is in this trouble. 10. Therefore, it is not possible to bring to hand a place in heaven through any good work, except by the performance of the *Navazûd ceremony*, or *by* ordering the celebration of a *Gêtt-kharîd*.

11. And a *Gêtt-kharîd* is this, that heaven is purchased in the world, and one's own place brought to hand in heaven.

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'both.'

² Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'certainly.'

³ Lp, B29, J15 add 'and, afterwards they bring the *Gêtt*,' and Lp continues thus: 'the meaning is adduced in *Pâzand*.'

⁴ This explains 'the heavenly *Gâhs*' of Bd. XXX, 28. The *Sad Darband-i Hush* (as quoted in B29, fol. 458 b) says that it is stated in revelation 'that the day when one celebrates the *Gêtt-kharîd* of any one, the soul of that person seizes upon the heavenly *Gâhs* three times in that one day, *and* is conveyed to heaven and the supreme heaven.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'is brought into sight.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'arrives at.'

CHAPTER VI.

1. The sixth subject is this, that of the many good works there are those which, when they accomplish *them*, obtain great ('*hathim*) rewards; *and* if *one* does not perform *them* severe punishment seizes upon *one* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge¹. 2. One is *the celebration* of the season festivals²; the second is keeping *the days* of the guardian spirits³; the third is *attending* to the souls of fathers, mothers, *and* other relations⁴; the fourth is *reciting* the *Khûrshêd Nyâyis*⁵ three times every day; the fifth is *reciting* the *Mâh Nyâyis*⁶ three times every month, once when it becomes new, once when it becomes full, and once when it becomes slender⁷; *and* the sixth is celebrating the *Rapithwin*⁸ ceremony once every year. 3. If not able to celebrate *them* oneself, it is requisite to order *them*, so that they *may* celebrate them every single time⁹.

4. These six good works are things indispensable unto every one. 5. When any one of *them* is not *performed*—be it that which, if omitted at its own time¹⁰, it is not possible to accomplish, or if it be that one time *one* omits an occasion, *and* another time¹¹ they accomplish twice as much—*one should* consider¹² that as an advantage, *which* occurs in retri-

¹ See Sls. XII, 31.

² See Mkh. IV, 5 n.

³ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

⁴ See Chap. XIII.

⁵ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. XCV).

⁶ The salutation of the moon.

⁷ In *Gugarâti* 'on the last day.'

⁸ The mid-day period.

⁹ Lp, B29 have 'celebrate them on his account.'

¹⁰ B29 inserts 'or if it be that which, one time omitted.'

¹¹ B29 has merely 'if another time.'

¹² Lp, B29 have '*one* does not consider;' the copyists having

bution for it, or *as* atonement for the transgression. 6. Because they call the transgression of each of these six a bridge-sin; that is, every one *through* whom a transgression of these may have arisen they keep back, at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till punishment for it happens to him, and no good work is possible¹ in this place, which is torment and punishment for him².

7. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, that they *may* be performed each one at its own time, so that they *may* obtain a recompense, *and* not a severe punishment.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The seventh subject is this, that, when a sneeze (*'ha tsat*) comes forth from any one, it is requisite to recite one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*³ and one *Ashem-vohû*⁴.

2. Because there is a fiend in our bodies, and she is an adversary who is connected with mankind, and strives so that she *may* make misfortune (*'hillat*) and sickness predominant (*mustaûlî*) over mankind.

3. And in our bodies there is a fire which they call a disposition—in Arabic they say *tabî'hat*—and they call *it* the sneezing instinct (*ghartzi*).

4. *It is* connected with that fiend, *and* they wage warfare, and it keeps her away from the body of man. 5. Then, as the fire becomes successful over

failed to notice that retribution and atonement are advantageous in this case, because they save the soul from punishment.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'no good work resides.'

² Lp, B29 have 'which will liberate him from torment and punishment.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n, Sls. XII, 32.

⁴ A formula in praise of righteousness, which begins with these two Avesta words, and is in constant use (see Bd. XX, 2).

that fiend, *and* puts her to flight (*hazîmat*), a sneeze comes because that fiend comes out.

6. Afterwards, because it is necessary, they recite these *inward* prayers¹ and perform the benediction (*âfrîn*) of the fire, so that it may remain *for* a long period while thou art keeping² this fiend defeated. 7. When another person hears the sneeze, it is likewise requisite for him to utter the said prayers, and to accomplish the benediction of that spirit³.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. The eighth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the religion by rule (*dastûr*), and to practise obedience to the commands of the high-priests; *and* every duty that *people* perform they *should* perform by their authority.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, if they accomplish as many good works as the leaves of the trees, *or* the sand-grains of the desert, *or* the drops (*qatrah*) of rain, which they do not perform by command of the high-priests, *or* to their satisfaction, no merit whatever attains to their souls, and *for* the good works they have done they obtain sin *as* a recompense. 3. While *such a one* is living it is not proper to call him righteous, and when he dies he does not attain to heaven, and not a single archangel comes⁴ near him. 4. He does not make his escape from the hands of the demons and Aharman, and he

¹ The formulas are muttered as a spell.

² B29 has 'it is making.'

³ In some parts of Europe it is still the custom to invoke a blessing, by means of some formula, on hearing a sneeze.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'goes.'

does not obtain a release from hell. 5. Because duties *and* good works¹ attain to the soul *on* those occasions when they perform *them* with the authority of the high-priests and those acquainted with the religion, and *when* they give them one-tenth of those good works².

CHAPTER IX.

1. The ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise abstinence from committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse³. 2. For this is the chief of all sins *in* the religion: there is no worse sin than this in the good religion, and it is proper to call those *who commit it* worthy of death in reality.

3. If any one comes forth to them, and shall see them in the act, *and* is working with an axe⁴, it is requisite *for him* to cut *off* the heads or to rip up the bellies of both, *and* it is no sin for him. 4. *But* it is not proper to kill any person without the authority of high-priests and kings, except on account of committing *or* permitting unnatural intercourse.

5. For it says in revelation that unnatural intercourse is on a par with Aharman, with Afrâsiyâb⁵, with Dahâk⁵, with Tûr-i Brâdar-vakhsh⁶ who slew

¹ That is, the merit of performing them.

² The principles of blind submission of the laity to the priesthood, and complete abnegation of private judgment, which pervade the whole of the Sad Dar, are especially conspicuous in this chapter. They are the ideas prevalent in the darkest ages of the religion, which have now nearly disappeared with the spread of true knowledge as in other faiths.

³ *Ghulâmbârâgî u mûâgarî*.

⁴ B29, J15 have 'takes a look,' and J15 adds 'he shall kill *them*.'

⁵ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

⁶ One of five brothers of the Karap tribe (see Byt. II, 3, Dd. LXXII, 8).

Zaratust, with Malkôs¹ who will arise, with the serpent Sruvar which existed in the days of Sâm Narîmân², and as many sins as are theirs. 6. And Aharman, the evil *one*, becomes more joyful, owing to this practice, than owing to the other sins *which* have made high-priests necessary³; for the soul itself of that person becomes extinct.

7. And when they commit *the sin* with women, it is just the same as that with men.

CHAPTER X.

1. The tenth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all those of the good religion, women and men, every one who attains to fifteen years, to wear the *sacred thread-girdle*⁴. 2. Because the *sacred thread-girdle* is to be a girding of the loins and to preserve obedience (*tâ'hat*) to the Lord, may he be honoured and glorified (*'hazza va galla*)!

3. The first person who set the wearing of this *sacred thread-girdle* in view was Jamshêd⁵. 4. And it may be the whole (*gumlah*) of the demons and fiends who are made extinct by the glory of wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*.

5. Every one who *has* tied the *sacred thread-girdle round* the waist is out of the department of Aharman, and is established in the department of

¹ See Mkh. XXVII, 28 n.

² Sâmâ and Naremanau are two titles of the hero Keresâspa who slew the serpent Srvara (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 369-371). In the Shâhnâmâh he is called Sâm, son of Narîmân.

³ J15 has '*which* the high priests have made manifest.'

⁴ See Dd. XXXIX, 1 n. A modification of the age is recommended in Chap. XLVI.

⁵ Av. Yima khshaêta (see Mkh. XXVII, 24 n).

Hôrmazd. 6. And also, while he keeps the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, *there* is a share for him of all those duties and good works which they perform in the earth of seven regions. 7. It is like that *which occurs* when they are performing hamâ zôr and hamâ ashô¹, and have put on this *sacred thread-girdle* on that account, *or* when, similarly, some one in Kasmîr, or Erân-veg, or Kangdez, or the enclosure formed by Jam², performs a good work, *and* we are not able to perform *it* with hamâ zôr, then they and we, *who* wear the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist, are mutually connected and equally meritorious, one *with* the other. 8. As no good work attains to him *who* does not wear a *sacred thread-girdle*—excepting that which he performs himself—it is therefore necessary that any one of mankind *should* not put *it*³ away from the waist on any occasion, so that the associated good works of those of the good religion *may* attain to him.

9. And those four knots⁴, *with* which they tie *it* on, are on this account, that *it may* give four attestations.

¹ These words form part of a benedictory formula which concludes certain ceremonies (see Haug's Essays, pp. 407, 409), and the recital of them implies that the ceremony, which is a good work, has been fully and satisfactorily completed. If this good work be in excess of what is wanted to balance its performer's sins, it can be imputed to any other member of the good religion who may be in want of it, provided he wears the girdle. The MSS. have hamâ for hamâ.

² These four localities are considered to be isolated from the seven regions to some extent (see Bd. XXIX, 4), probably implying that they were supposed to contain Mazda-worshippers independent of Iranian rule, or that their position had become unknown. (See also Mkh. XXVII, 27-31, 58, 62, XLIV, 17-35, LXII, 13-19.)

³ Lp, B29 have 'that mankind *should* not put the girdle.'

⁴ That is, two double knots, one before and the other behind (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 386, 387).

10. The first knot is that which preserves¹ constancy (qarâr), and gives attestation as to the existence, unity, purity, and matchlessness of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious. 11. The second knot is that which gives attestation *that it is* the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers which is the word of the sacred being. 12. The third knot is that which gives attestation as to the apostleship and mission (rasûlî) in the just ('haqq) Zaratust, the Spitamân. 13. The fourth knot is that which adduces more pleasantly, gives assurance (iqrâr), and openly accepts that I *should* think of good, speak of good, and do good. 14. And from the whole I become established; and the pure, good² religion is this, that I persist in those *views*.

15. And, again, when the archangels came meeting Zaratust they likewise wore the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist; and the distinctive *characteristic* (farq) amid the laws of the sacred being is the wearing of the *sacred thread-girdle*. 16. It is incumbent both on woman and on man, *and* it is altogether (al battah) improper when they do not wear *it*.

CHAPTER XI.

1. The eleventh subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the fire-place³ properly, and to keep watch⁴, so that *the fire shall* not die out, and *that* nothing polluted and impure *shall* attain to the fire; and it is necessary to make a menstruous woman avoid *being* within three steps *of it*.

¹ Altered into 'brings' by a later hand in La, and so written in Lp, B29.

² Lp, B29 omit 'good.'

³ Or, perhaps, 'the house-fire.'

⁴ B29 omits these four words.

2. Because every time that they maintain a fire properly, which is within a dwelling, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions becomes pleased with those persons, and, when they ask a favour, or beg a necessity ('hâgat), it becomes quickly operative.

3. And every time that *one* does not maintain *it* properly, every fire which is in the earth of seven regions receives injury from that person, and the necessity he begs does not become operative. 4. If any one does not maintain the fire-place properly, if he gives a hundred dinârs¹ to the fire Gusasp² *there* is no acceptance *of it*, and that sin does not depart from him.

5. For it is declared in revelation³, that the creator Hôrmazd has given sovereignty in heaven to Ardi-bahist⁴, the archangel, and has spoken thus: '*As to every one with whom thou art not pleased, do not let him escape into heaven.*' 6. And this is also declared in revelation, that, every time that they do not maintain the fire properly, pregnancy becomes scarcer for the women, fewer male children are born, and honour ('hurmat) in the vicinity of the king becomes less for the men, and *there* is no approbation (qabûl) of *their* words.

7. *For* every single fire which dies out in a dwelling a loss of three dirhams and two dângs⁵ falls

¹ The dinâr is a gold coin which, if it contained a dirham weight of gold, and if the dirham were 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n), was equal to about half-a-sovereign.

² One of the three most sacred fires (see Bd. XVII, 7).

³ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.'

⁴ Av. asha vahista, 'perfect rectitude,' who is supposed to protect fire (see Bd. I, 26, Sls. XV, 12).

⁵ That is, three dirhams and a half in silver, or nearly one rupee and a quarter.

on the property of that person, or it becomes the loss of this dwelling, or it does not reach him from the place whence wealth comes to him.

CHAPTER XII.

1. The twelfth subject is this, that, when any one dies, an order is necessary¹ *that* how much soever scantier² clothing they are able to make a beginning *of*, the better they act. 2. Beside (illâ)³ something become old *and* washed, anything new is not proper for *the purpose* that they *may* let *it* go upon a dead body.

3. For in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁴ it asserts that, if they *shall* pass on to a dead body as much as a woman's spindle makes for a single thread, with the exception of that which is unavoidable, for every single thread a black snake hangs, in that *other* world, on to the liver of that person who has made a beginning of the clothing. 4. Likewise, that dead *person* becomes his antagonist ('haṣm), and hangs similarly⁵ upon *his* skirt, and speaks thus: 'This clothing, which thou hast put on my body, devours *me*, *having* become worms and noxious creatures. 5. *My* name *was* put upon a sacred cake⁶, the fourth *day*, with a Yast, so that *there*

¹ B29 has 'it is necessary to utter two orders.'

² Lp, B29 have 'older.' Compare Sls. XII, 4.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that is.'

⁴ Pahl. Vend. V, 170-177, where, however, the penalty here mentioned is not now extant.

⁵ Lp, B29 omit 'similarly.'

⁶ Referring to the cake consecrated to the righteous guardian spirit on the fourth day after death (see Chap. LXXXVII, 2, Sls. III, 32 n, XVII, 5 n).

might be alike a benefit therefrom for my soul, and it might be alike unnecessary for thee to bear this torment ('haḍḥâb).’ 6. Owing to that, many sorrows come to that person, and he has no advantage from it. 7. Therefore, it is necessary to act *with* caution (i'htiyât), so that, how much soever the clothing be scantier¹, they *may* make a beginning *of it*.

8. And as many as shall be able to walk after the bier (tâbût) and corpse shall walk. 9. Because every step that they go after a corpse is a good work of three hundred stîrs²; *and* every stîr is four dirhams, in such manner that three hundred stîrs are a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams³. 10. For every single step *there* is thus much good work.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. The thirteenth subject is this, that it is necessary to maintain the souls of fathers, mothers, and relations properly. 2. And, when any day of theirs⁴ occurs, it is necessary to make an endeavour, so that they *may* accomplish the ceremonial (yazîsn), the sacred feast (myazd), *the consecration of* the sacred cakes (drôn), and the benedictions (âfrîngân).

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, every time that any day of theirs occurs, they will bring with

¹ Lp, B29, J15 have 'older.'

² An amount which would counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâ-pûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ B29 omits these fourteen words.

⁴ That is, on the monthly and annual anniversaries of their deaths, when ceremonies are requisite (see Sls. XVII, 5 n). Compare Chap. XXXVII.

themselves 9999 guardian spirits of the righteous, like that *case* when any one goes home himself, and brings people (qaûm) in hospitality. 4. And, when they utter¹ *the consecration* of the sacred cakes and sacred feast and the benedictions, those people become joyful and utter blessings on that house and master of the house, and on the house-mistress and any persons who are in that house.

5. But if they do not celebrate the sacred feast, *the consecration* of the sacred cakes, the ceremonial, and the benedictions, *the spirits* will remain for them *in* that place from dawn as long as the period of a day, and are maintaining a hope that 'perhaps they *will* have us *in* remembrance.' 6. Then, if they do not bring them² *into* remembrance, the souls turn upwards from that place, go very quickly on high, and will say, 'O creator Hôrmazd! they do not know that we are such as we are³, and *that* it is necessary for them⁴ to come into this world, and in this world they will not give any one acquittal. 7. For them there is need of the good works in *consecrating* the sacred cakes and *celebrating* the sacred feast and benedictions; there is no need of them for such as we. 8. Yet (va lîkin), if they would have maintained a place *for*⁵ the duty of those days, we should have turned away from them misfortunes of various kinds; but, as they have not maintained⁶ observance of us *in* the day's duty, we are not able to come in friendship *to* this house.'

¹ B29 has 'celebrate.'

² Literally 'us.' Lp, B29 omit this and the next two words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'that just like us are they.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit 'for them.'

⁵ B29 has 'maintained observance of us *in*.'

⁶ B29 inserts 'proper.'

9. Thus much they say, and turn *away* in anger, and go away from that place.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The fourteenth subject is this, that, when the nails *are pared* according to custom (ba-'*hilâl*)¹, it is necessary that they put *the parings* into a paper.

2. And it is further necessary to take the Srôsh-bâz² *inwardly*, and to utter three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs³.

3. And for the speaking of *this*—to say with each Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴—the Avesta is this:—Paiti tê, meregha Ashô-zusta! imau srvaû vaêdhayêmi, imau srvaû âwaêdhayêmi; imause tê srvaû, meregha Ashô-zusta! hyâre arstayaskâ, karetayaskâ, thanvarekâ, ishavaskâ erezifyô-parena, asnakâ fradakhshanya paiti daêvô-Mâzainyân⁵; ashâ vohû mananghâ yâ sruyê pare magaonô⁶. 4. Afterwards, *one* completes the Bâz in the manner that *it was taken inwardly*.

5. At those two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, *with which one* completes the Bâz, at each one, he makes lines ('*hatthâ*) in a little dust in the midst of the nail-

¹ B29 has 'when the nails and a toothpick ('*hilâl*) are pared; and the Gugarâti translator takes '*hilâl* in the same sense.

² A particular form of prayer.

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ B29 omits these eleven words.

⁵ Vend. XVII, 26-28:—'Unto thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! do I announce these nails, do I introduce these nails' (or, according to the Pahlavi, 'do I make known these nails, these nails do I make thee known to'); 'may these nails be such for thee, O bird Ashô-zusta! as spears and knives, bows, falcon-feathered arrows, and sling-stones against the demon Mâzainyas.'

⁶ Yas. XXXIII, 7b:—'Through the righteous good thought, by which I am heard before the mighty one.'

parings. 6. And, if he does not know this Bâz¹, on uttering the Srôsh-bâz and those three Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *he is* to furrow three lines, with the nail-cutter², around the nail-*parings*, and then *he is* to complete the Bâz with those Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs, and to put the dust, with the end of the nail-cutter, into the midst of the nail-*parings*, and carry *them* to a desert *spot*. 7. It is necessary that he *should* carry a *hole* down *through* four finger-breadths of earth, and, *having* placed the nail-*parings* in that spot, he puts the soil overhead.

8. For Hôrmazd, the good and propitious, has created a bird which they call Ashô-zust³, and they call *it* the bird of Bahman⁴. 9. They also call *it* the owl, and it eats nails.

10. It is altogether necessary that they do not leave *them* unbroken, for they *would* come into use as weapons (silâ'h) of wizards⁵. 11. And they have also said that, if they fall in the midst of food, *there* is danger of pulmonary consumption.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The fifteenth subject is this, when *one* sees anything that is welcome to the eyes, it is requisite to say 'in the name of the sacred being.' 2. Because, if they do not say 'in the name of the sacred being,' and an injury happens to that

¹ The formula quoted in § 3.

² B29 omits these four words.

³ See Bd. XIX, 19, 20.

⁴ The archangel Vohūman (see Bd. I, 23, 26 n). His bird is the cock according to Sls. X, 9.

⁵ See Sls. XII, 6.

thing, or a disaster occurs, *one* becomes a sinner; so far is notorious (ma'hlûm).

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The sixteenth subject is this, that, when a woman becomes pregnant in a house, it is necessary to make an endeavour so that *there may* be a continual fire in that house, and to maintain a good watch *over it*. 2. And, when the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp *for* three nights *and* days—if they burn a fire it would be better—so that the demons and fiends *may* not be able to do any damage and harm; because, when a child is born, it is exceedingly delicate *for* those three days.

3. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, when Zaratusht, the Spitamân, became separate from *his* mother, every night, *for* three nights, a demon came on, with a hundred and fifty *other* demons, so that they *might* effect the slaughter (halâk) of Zaratusht, *and*, when they had beheld the light of the fire, they had fled away, and had not been able to do any damage and harm.

4. During forty days it is not proper that they *should* leave the child alone; and it is also not proper that the mother of the infant *should* put *her* foot over a threshold in the dwelling, or cast *her* eyes upon a hill, *for* it² is bad *for her* menstruation.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'in the good religion.' This is quoted probably from the Spend Nask (see Sls. X, 4, XII, 11).

² B29 has 'which they have said.'

CHAPTER XVII.

1. The seventeenth subject is this, that when they cut a toothpick (*'hilâl*), or a splinter which they wish to apply to the root of the teeth, it is necessary that they retain no bark. 2. For if a small quantity of bark be on it when they apply *it* to the teeth, and they cast *it* away, if a pregnant woman puts *her* foot upon it, the danger of that may be that the child comes to harm¹.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. The eighteenth subject is this, that it is necessary for mankind to make an endeavour, so that they *may* espouse a wife in *their* youth and beget a child. 2. And for women, in like manner, it is necessary that *there* should be a longing (*raghbat*) for espousing a husband.

3. Because it is declared in revelation², *that* every duty and good work a child performs becomes the father's and mother's, just like those which they have performed with their own hands. 4. The meaning (*ma'hni*) of *pûr* ('a son') is that which signifies *pûl* ('a bridge')³, for by this bridge they arrive at that *other* world. 5. If *there* be no child for any one they call *him one with* a severed bridge, that is, the

¹ Owing to her fear of having stepped on dead matter (see Sls. X, 20, XII, 13).

² In the Spend, Nihâdûm, and Dâmdâd Nasks (see Sls. X, 22, XII, 15).

³ This fanciful explanation must be derived from a Pahlavi source, as it is only in that language that the two words are written precisely alike.

way for him *to* that *other* world is severed, and he is not able to attain to that world. 6. At the head of the *Kinvað* bridge he shall remain; although he has performed much duty and good works he is not able to make a passage over the *Kinvað* bridge, and they do not make up his account and reckoning. 7. And every archangel that comes forward *to* that place first asks these words, that is, 'Hast thou brought thy own substitute visibly into the world, or not?' 8. When he has not brought *it*, they will pass over him, and his soul will remain, *in* that place¹, full of anguish and grief (*gham*).

9. A similitude (*miṭhâl*) of it is like that which *happens when* any one may be in a wilderness, and *there* may be fear of wild animals and creatures, and near to him may be his own town, *but* a river of water is in front², and it is not possible to make a passage over that river, *as* a bridge is fallen in, and he is not able to arrive at that town, *but* he is always upon the bank (*sart*) *speaking* thus³: 'Would that the bridge would become perfect!'

10. The duty as to children⁴ is in this aggregate⁵.

11. Therefore, the creator Hôrmazd *has* granted unto men that, if *there* be any one to whom sickness from heaven may occur, and *there* be no provision of a child for him, he *has* commanded him that he *should* make some one a son of his own, as⁶ a friend of *his* soul, and *should* receive a child, because every duty *can be* delegated. 12. That person is in place of a

¹ Lp, B29 add 'on the bridge.'

² La omits these eight words.

³ Lp, B29 have 'always in regret ('hasrat) thus.'

⁴ Lp has 'as to the command.'

⁵ Lp has 'manner,' and J15 has 'endeavour.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'some one through his own affection.'

child, and every duty and good work that he performs shall be just like that *which* is performed by one's own hand.

13. And, finally, if any one departs from the world (dunyâ)¹ and possesses no adopted child, it is incumbent on the priests and high-priests and his relations to appoint his adopted son, and it is necessary to bring some one in sight on that account, so that his soul *may* spring away from the torment of hell. 14. Because, every time that his relations do not pay attention *to this*, when they proceed to that *other* world, the soul of that person hangs about them and speaks thus: 'I left with you something that I had collected and borne trouble for in many years, and you seized upon *it*, and put *it* into your own expenditure ('*harg*'), and did not seek for² mercy (*safqat*) on my soul. 15. *In* the same manner as I have remained, delayed (*maûqûf*) *in* this place, I *will* not let you pass; so that you *will* make no passage over the *K'invad* bridge till the sacred being takes my rights away from you.' 16. Then the angel Rashn and the angel Mihir³ make up their reckoning, *and, as to* whatever those persons have seized upon from the *other's* property⁴, for every single *dnâr* the account makes four, and they take away the equivalent. 17. And, *as in* that world *there* are no gold and silver, they take away from their souls the good works that they have done, and they give *them* to the soul of this *other*. 18. Still, while *others* do not appoint the adopted son, they are not able to pass over the *K'invad* bridge, nor to arrive at their own station.

¹ La omits these nine words.

² B29 has 'bring.'

³ See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

⁴ Lp, J15 insert 'and have expended.'

19. There is no duty whatever more incumbent on relations than this duty, and every time that they appoint an adopted son *for* any one it is just as though they have made the deceased alive; and there are no limit ('hadd) and end (nihâyat) of their good works.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The nineteenth subject is this, that the performance of agriculture is like that when some one is performing the ceremonial of the sacred beings, and it is necessary to maintain much respect *for* agriculturists; it is also necessary to keep trouble and strife far from them.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that, *as to* every one who replants a shrub, while that shrub *or* tree exists at the place, every good work that every one, who eats of that shrub, does in that *state of* repletion becomes the agriculturist's, just like those which are done by his own hand. 3. If any one orders *it*, just as that good work occurs¹ much new repose (râ'hat) and comfort reach his soul². 4. *As to* corn and grain ('hubûb) and whatever they sow, it is just like this³, because, *as regards* every one who eats wheat, barley, and other grains, and performs duty *and* good works, they become *those* of the sower of⁴ those grains, just as those which are performed by his own hand. 5. Because, for the life of mankind a crop was necessary, the creation of a

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is performed.'

² Lp, B29 add 'therefrom.'

³ B29 adds 'way.'

⁴ La omits the rest of this chapter, as well as the words 'they become,' by mistake.

creator¹ after the sacred being, the most high², owing to the work of the agriculturist. 6. For every one who eats anything dies, therefore, *as regards* that person by whose work the life of mankind is established, it is necessary to consider him valuable and precious.

CHAPTER XX.

1. The twentieth subject is this, that it is incumbent on those of the good religion that they continually give something to the worthy to eat, on account (*gihat*) of that which it says in revelation³ thus: 'When thou givest things to some one that he *may* eat, every duty and good work that he performs in that *state of* repletion become *those* of that person, who has given that bread or food to him, just like those which he has performed with his own hand.' 2. And if he commits a sin, he who may have given food to him is innocent. 3. But it is necessary that he be of the good religion and worthy; they *should* give something to *one of* a different religion only in case of extreme necessity (*ṣarûrat*), lest it become as a sin.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The twenty-first subject is this, that, when they eat bread, it is necessary that *one should* recite

¹ B29, J15 omit these five words.

² J15 has 'after its creation *by* the sacred being, the creator.' The alteration of this sentence, in B29 and J15, seems due to their writers' reluctance to attribute the power of creating, even figuratively, to the mere producer of a crop.

³ In the *Nihâdûm Nask* (see Sls. X, 23, XII, 16).

the Ithâ-âd-yâzamaidê¹ and three Ashem-vohûs², especially (ba-'hâḡḡatam) in the benediction-ceremonies (âfrîngân).

2. For it is declared in the good religion of the Mazda-worshippers, that, when they wish to celebrate the sacred feast (myazd) and benediction-ceremonies, it is necessary that all persons who are seated at the feast *should* take up the *inward* prayer.

3. For each man an angel is stationed, on the right-hand *side*, and two angels for the priests. 4. *But* when they eat chatteringly, *or* relate the news ('hadîth)³, the angels depart from them, and a demon seizes on the place of each angel⁴.

5. And in former times the custom ('hâdat) of the people would have been in this manner, that, if any one should have come to the door in the middle of the feast, that person whose Âfrîngân-precinct it might have been, *or* whoever should have gone to the expense of that Âfrîngân, would have had words with that *intruding* person⁵, and would have also spoken thus: 'As thou hast brought my feast to harm, give me back whatever has been the cost⁶.'

6. And *in* one place in revelation *it is* declared

¹ Yas. V, 1, 2, of which these are the first three words. This, with the three Ashem-vohûs, constitutes the inward prayer, or grace, before eating (see Dd. LXXIX, 1 n).

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ By which they commit the sin of breaking the protective spell of the inward prayer.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'a demon is (B29 stands) in place of the angel.'

⁵ B29 has 'would have spoken to that person who had uttered words, would have taken *something* away from him.' Lp merely adds 'would have taken *something*' to the words in the text.

⁶ B29 has only, 'As it is my feast, give *it* back.' The interruption having destroyed the merit of the ceremony.

that from eating chatteringly itself is the sin, for¹ every one who is chattering during the eating of bread is just like him who is smiting and harassing the angels of the spiritual *existences*.

7. Therefore, if *there* be any one who is not able to consecrate a sacred cake², it is necessary to eat bread with the *inward* prayer of Hôrmazd, that is, the archangels. 8. And, if he does not altogether know *it*, he recites the Ithâ-âd-yazamaidê³ and three Ashem-vohûs, and eats up the bread. 9. Afterwards he makes *his* mouth clean, and, four Ashem-vohûs and two Yathâ-ahû-vairyôs *being* spoken out⁴, *he is* then to utter words.

10. For, every time that this custom (qâ'hîdat) is carried *on* in a place, through the first Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has propitiated the sacred being, the good *and* propitious; through the second Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Srôsh, the righteous⁶; through the third Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that it has revered and⁵ propitiated Khurdâd *and* Ameredâd⁷, the archangels; and through the fourth Ashem-vohû so much good work *has* arisen that whatever the creator Hôrmazd has created becomes revered and propitiated. 11. And with each mouthful (luqmah) that is eaten, while the *inward* prayer subsists, they

¹ B29 has 'from eating chatteringly is so much sin that.'

² See Mkh. XVI, 17 n.

³ See § 1 n.

⁴ These formulas begin the grace after eating, and, being uttered aloud, break the spell of the inward prayer now no longer necessary; after them the eaters are at liberty to speak.

⁵ B29 omits these two words.

⁶ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

⁷ See Horvadađ and Amerôdađ (Mkh. II, 34).

proclaim a blessing *for* Khurdâd and Ameredâd, the archangels. 12. *But*, if *it be* eaten without the *inward* prayer, as demons are *in* that place¹, they say, 'Thou mightest have eaten the poison of a serpent.' 13. Therefore, take notice as to which is the better of these two.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. The twenty-second subject is this, that the performance of *Gâdangôî*² ('intercession') is like that when some one is occasioning the ceremonial of the sacred beings. 2. Therefore, it should be expedient that it be continuous, *and that*³ they perform *Gâdangôî* as regards the priests and high-priests and the worthy.

3. For, in the commentary of the *Hâdôkht Nask*, it says that every one who performs *Gâdangôî*, and extracts anything from a person on their account, and conveys *it* to them, is as much without dishonesty ('*hiyânat*'), towards them⁴, as he who may

¹ See § 4.

² The original Pahlavi of this word can be read either *dâdô-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the law,' or *yêdatô-gôbîh*, 'a speaking of the sacred being;' in either case it implies 'pleading for the proper observance of religious duties,' especially the duty of supporting the priesthood and the poor, and it is for such purposes that the 'intercession' with those possessing property must be understood as being exercised. As the traditional mode of reading Pahl. *yêdatô* is *gâtan*, or *gâdan*, it is evident that the Pâzand inventors of the word in the text must have understood the Pahlavi in the latter of the two meanings mentioned above.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'that continuously.'

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these two words. But the meaning of *La* seems to be that he who bestows charity out of the contributions of others, without mentioning the contributors, does not act dishonestly towards the recipients.

have given to them out of his own property. 4. And *in* the spiritual *existence* they take¹ account of that profit for him, and just as they make *out* the account of the good work of that person who may have given *it*, even so much is his good work.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. The twenty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to restrain a tethered *animal* from misbehaviour, and to keep watch *over* one's own *creatures*, especially *at* the time when they have eaten meat.

2. Therefore, if they have eaten meat *and* they commit an assault, every offence that the animal ('haivân) commits may be that person's whose meat may be eaten. 3. For example, if a horse lashes *out* a kick (lakad) at any one, the offence may be that person's whose food may be eaten and caused the offence.

4. Therefore it is necessary to make an endeavour that they *shall* commit no offence whatever, especially at a time when they have eaten meat.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. The twenty-fourth subject is this, that when an infant is born from *its* mother it is necessary that they give *it* the consecrated Hâm-juice², on this account, that understanding ('haql), wisdom, and

¹ Lp, B29 have 'the spirits take.'

² See Mkh. I.VII, 28 n, Sls. X, 16.

knowledge *may* more abundantly get to it, and the want (ablat) of them *may* come more scantily upon *it*¹.

2. If, at that time, they do not perform the consecration, they *should* take forth a little Hô̄m for it², and recite³ a Yathâ-ahû-vairyô⁴, and put a trifle of water into *it*, and make Hô̄m-juice of that, and give *it* to the infant, and afterwards⁵ milk.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. The twenty-fifth subject is this, that any agreement and promise (qaûl) they make with any one it is necessary so far to perform and bring to pass.

2. Although many things *may* go⁶ to harm by means (sabab) of it, it is not desirable to perform that agreement with duplicity.

3. Because, in our religion, they call this a Mihir-drug ('breach of promise'), *and* in revelation it decrees, *as to* any one *who* commits a Mihir-drug, that the way *to* heaven becomes closed for him, and that person himself goes discomforted out of this world, so that a warning ('halâmat) becomes quite manifest unto him.

4. And a Mihir-drug is attached⁷ *in* such a manner that, *if* fortune (tâli'h) may have befallen any one⁸

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² B29 adds 'in the Hô̄m-mortar.'

³ B29 adds 'and utter.'

⁴ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁵ Lp, B29 insert '*they are to give.*'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'come.'

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'understood,' and another copy in B29 has 'considered.'

⁸ Who has broken his promise.

happily, or an insufficient quantity of his life ('humr) may have remained, the Mihir-drug extends to his children without opposition ('hilâf). 5. And every household that becomes extinct, or race whose issue fails, or *any of* the great misfortunes that happen to mankind—from which misfortune *one* obtains release with difficulty—may all be owing to the *fact* that they have committed a Mihir-drug.

6. If *committed by* oneself, it is declared, *in* one place in revelation, that the glorified Zaratust, the Spitamân, enquired of Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, thus: 'Of any of the sins that mankind commit which is the worst?' 7. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, decreed thus: 'No sin whatever is worse than this, that two persons make a covenant with one another *in* such a manner that no one whatever is between them, except me who am Hôrmazd; *and*, afterwards one of those two persons deviates *from it*, and says, "I have no knowledge ('habar) *of it*," and no one whatever is a witness, for that *other* person, except me.' 8. No sin whatever is worse than that, and that person himself *will* not go out of this world until retribution overtakes him, and in that *other* world his punishment is more severe than all; *so* that person becomes unfortunate *in* both worlds. 9. And it is the same *if* this covenant *be* with a righteous *person or* a wicked *one*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. The twenty-sixth subject is this, that the wise and the ancients say that when a man becomes fifteen years *of age* it is necessary that he takes

one of the angels¹ as his own protection², *that* he takes one of the wise as his own sage, and *that* he takes one of the high-priests and officiating priests as his own high-priest. 2. So that, if, any time, a bereavement (âstânah) approaches, he *may* beg a favour from the archangels³, in order that it *may* furnish⁴ an escape *from that* bereavement. 3. And⁵, any time any affair comes forward, and *he has*⁶ to have opinion (rât) *and* advice (masvarat), he holds a consultation with that sage, while the sage tells him *his* opinion (tadbîr). 4. And, if any *question as to* proper and improper comes forward, he speaks with that high-priest, so that he *may* tell him *in* reply.

5. When the instructions of these three persons are brought to pass, carrying *out* the commands of the sacred being is accomplished. 6. Especially the instructions of the high-priests, because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being; and the high-priests possess so much dignity (martabat) *in* the presence of the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, that they are quite able to forgive *any* trivial one of the sins of mankind⁷, and Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, quickly⁸ forgives that sin for the high-priest. 7.

¹ La, Lp have 'ancients,' but this seems inconsistent with § 2.

² La has 'ancestor,' having read ba-niyâh instead of panâh.

³ Lp, B29, J15 add '*and they may provide health of body and safety.*'

⁴ Lp, B29, J15 have '*that they may furnish him.*'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert '*if.*'

⁶ Lp, B29 have '*it is necessary.*'

⁷ B29 has '*to forgive one-third of the sins which mankind commit.*'

⁸ Lp has '*likewise.*'

Therefore, carrying *out* the commands of the high-priests becomes¹ incumbent on every one; and the fulfilment of this maxim is *better* than *that of* a whole assemblage of maxims.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. The twenty-seventh subject is this, that is, if any affair comes forward, that they *should* thoroughly understand² whether it be a good work, or a sin.

2. In that manner it becomes better that they make an evasion on the spot³, until a time *when* they make *it* known with accuracy⁴ that that affair is a sin or a reward. 3. If they perform any affair without knowing *this*, although it be a good work, it becomes a sin for them.

4. For it is declared in revelation, that, except that which they enquire of the high-priests, no affair whatever is proper to perform. 5. Whatever wisdom *there be* for any one from his own head is only one; then, *as* two wisdoms are more than one⁵, it therefore makes *it* expedient to enquire of the high-priests.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. The twenty-eighth subject is this, that, when they teach the Avesta, it is *in* like manner neces-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'is.'

² Lp has 'that they *should* be told,' and B29 has 'that *one should* realise.'

³ See Sls. X, 25, 27.

⁴ Lp adds 'and truly,' and B29 has 'make known *that* it is false or true.'

⁵ Lp, B29 omit these eight words.

sary that they teach *it* properly and truly, *and* recite *it* with deliberation and composure (sâkinî). 2. And it is necessary *for* those who are taught to recite *it* connectedly, and to keep *it* ever *in* remembrance.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being *has* decreed thus: '*As to* every one who puts the Avesta away from *his* memory, I *will* put his soul as far from heaven as the width of the earth¹.'

4. And in the commentary of the Avesta it is related *that*, in former times, *as to* any one who had been taught the Avesta and had put *it* away from *his* memory, until the time he had again made *it* easy, they would have given him bread like that which they give to the dogs. 5. *And in* another place I have read that they would have given bread to him *on* the point of a spear.



CHAPTER XXIX.

1. The twenty-ninth subject is this, that, when they provide any munificence (sa'hâvat) *or* liberality, it is necessary that they provide *it for* the worthy; and *one is* to consider thus: 'Is this person, to whom I am giving this thing, worthy or not?'

2. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* not give to the unworthy. 3. For in revelation, as regards² that person who provides any munificence for the unworthy, they call *it* a vain work *and* a gift without advantage; and day by day *it is*³

¹ Compare Chap. XCVIII, 3.

² Lp, B29 have 'for in the good religion it is declared.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it increases.'

the punishment *and* torment of that person. 4. And, whatever they give to the unworthy, they have made that thing extinct.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. The thirtieth subject is this, that it is not proper to pour *away* water at night, especially from the northern side (*gânib*) which would be the worst¹.

2. Therefore, if it become a necessity in the end (*ba-'hatam*)², it is requisite to recite one *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*³, and, *when* they make a light ready (*hâjir*)⁴, to pour *away* the water gently.

3. *In* like manner it is not proper to swallow water at night, because it is a sin. 4. *But*, if a necessity arises, it is necessary to make a light ready, and *one* first eats some morsels of food (*ta'hâm*) so that the sin may be less.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. The thirty-first subject is this, that, every time they eat bread, it is necessary to withhold three morsels from their own bodies, and to give *them* to a dog. 2. And it is not desirable to beat a dog. 3. For, of the poor no one whatever is poorer than

¹ Lp has 'side it would be,' to which B29 adds 'bold.' The reason of the impropriety is that the demons are supposed to come from the north, and anything thrown out northwards might be of use to them (see Sls. X, 7, XII, 18, 19).

² B29 has 'necessity to pour.' ³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ Lp, B29 omit these seven words. Both the recitation and light are supposed to frighten away any demons.

a dog, *and* it is necessary to give a tethered *animal* bread, because the good work is great.

4. And in revelation it is declared in this manner, that, if a dog is asleep upon the road, it is not proper that they put a foot violently on the ground, so that he becomes awake. 5. And, in former times, an allowance (*râtib*) of bread would have been made every day for the sake of the dogs, three times in summer *and* twice in winter, on this account, that *one* wishes *them* to come to the assistance of his soul at the *Kinvad* bridge.

6. In the worldly *existence* they are the guard of men and cattle. 7. If *there* had not been a dog they would not have been able to keep a single sheep. 8. Every time that he barks, just as his bark goes forth, the demons and fiends run away from the place.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. The thirty-second subject is this, that, when a hen utters a crow in a house, or the cock crows unseasonably, it is desirable that they do not kill it¹, and do not consider *it* a bad habit (*fa'hl*). 2. Because it is uttering that crow *for* the reason that a fiend has found a way into that house, and the hen or the cock, *alone*, does not possess the power (*tâqat*) that *would* keep the fiend away from that house, and the hen is going to give the cock assistance, and utters the crow. 3. Therefore, if any time the chance (*ittifâq*) happens in that manner, it is requisite to bring another cock, so that they

¹ See Sls. X, 30.

may drive away that fiend through the assistance of one another. 4. And if a cock crows unseasonably it is likewise not desirable to kill *it*, because the reason may be this which I have stated.

5. For it is declared in the good religion, that there is a fiend whom they call Sêg¹, *and*, in every house *where* an infant exists, that *fiend* strives that she *may* cause some misfortune to come upon that house. 6. *So* it is necessary that they *should* keep a cock *on* the watch for her, so that it *may* smite that fiend and force *her* to the road *away* from that house.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. The thirty-third subject is this, that, when *there* is a place and any risk *or* fear exists that a corpse² is concealed beneath the ground, *one is* to make *it* apparent *and* visible³, because it is a great good work.

2. For it is declared in the good religion, that, *when* they conceal a corpse beneath the ground, Spendârma⁴, the archangel, shudders; it is just as severe as a serpent *or* scorpion would be to any one in private sleep⁵, and *i* is also just like that to the ground. 3. When thou makest a corpse

¹ Av. ithyêgô, Pers. *sik*. In Pahl. Vend. XIX, 4, 6 she is said to be 'a secret-moving deceiver'; in Bd. XXVIII, 26 she is said to 'cause annihilation.'

² Or 'dead matter.'

³ B29 has 'it is necessary to make *it* apparent.'

⁴ Av. spenta ârmaiti, 'bountiful devotion,' the female archangel who is supposed to have special charge of the earth (see Sls. XV, 20-24).

⁵ B29 has 'in a sleeping garment.'

beneath the ground as *it were* apparent, thou makest *the ground* liberated from that affliction.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. The thirty-fourth subject is this, that it is greatly necessary to refrain from much slaughter of animals and the cattle species¹. 2. Because it says in revelation² that, *for* every one who slaughters many animals *and* cattle³, every fibre of the hair of a goat becomes, in that *other* world, like a sharp sword, *and* adheres in the soul of that person.

3. And there are several things the slaughter of which is very bad, and the sin very abundant, *as* the lamb, the kid, the ploughing ox, the war horse, the swallow bird that catches the locust, and the cock; and of the whole of these the sin is most *as regards* the cock. 4. If it becomes a necessity⁴, it is proper to kill a cock *that* does not crow⁵, and it is necessary to consecrate their heads. 5. Any head of an animal, not consecrated, it is not desirable to eat, so that it becomes so far⁶ a righteous gift. 6. If *one* be not able to consecrate the head, it is requisite to consecrate one kidney *as* a substitute (*badal*) for it.

¹ Lp, B29, J15 omit 'species.'

² In the Stûdgar Nask (see Sls. X, 8, 9).

³ Lp has 'slaughters much.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'if it becomes inevitable.'

⁵ Lp has 'that has not crowed.'

⁶ Lp, B29 have 'when it is not *along* with.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. The thirty-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to wash the face¹, they *should* recite one Ashem-vohû², *and* set the mouth firmly closed, so that the water, not staying *away* from it³, *shall* not go into the mouth. 2. *And*, as *one* washes over the face, they *should* recite the Kem-nâ-mazdâ⁴, so that the fiend Nasrust⁵ *may* become smitten.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. The thirty-sixth subject is this, that it is strictly incumbent on mankind, on man⁶ and woman, to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*⁷, because mankind feed on menstruous *matter* in the womb of the mother. 2. For that reason it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm once, so that *one may* become pure from that pollution. 3. For if *one* becomes fifteen years *of age*, and does not perform the Bareshnûm, whatever he puts a hand on, the glory and purity of that thing will diminish; and it

¹ Compare Chaps. L, LXXIV.

² See Chap. VII, 1 n.

³ B29 omits these five words.

⁴ A stanza of the Ustavaiti Gâtha (Yas. XLV, 7) beginning with those three words (see SBE, vol. xviii, p. 443).

⁵ Or nistrûst, 'contamination' (see Sls. X, 32); probably the same as the demon Nas or Nasu (see Bd. XXVIII, 29). Also mentioned in Chap. XXXVI, 7.

⁶ B29 omits 'on man.'

⁷ A tedious ceremony of purification that lasts nine nights (see SBE, vol. xviii, pp. 431-453). Its name is Av. (acc.) bareshnûm, 'top' of the head, the first part of the body to be washed.

is not proper that they put a hand on a sacred cake or any *thing* washed *with ceremony*.

4. In revelation it says, if any one *who* has not performed the Bareshnûm shall die, the demons make *him*¹ as though *he were* a corpse *kept* one month in the hot season. 5. And, when the soul arrives at the head of the K'invad bridge, the arch-angels and angels complain of the stench of that soul, *and* are not able to make *up* its account and reckoning. 6. It remains at the K'invad bridge *and* is not able to pass; it experiences much repentance and has no advantage from it.

7. If it be necessary for any one to perform the Bareshnûm of the head, and he be able to do *it*, *but* does not do *it*, if he performs the *ceremonial* ablution of the head a thousand times, it does not become pure from that pollution², and that is the pollution of Nasrust³, which is amid the veins and sinews, and the flesh and bones; it does not become pure *through* any other thing except through *the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁴.

8. And *as to* that person, also, who performs the Bareshnûm *for* mankind⁵, it is necessary that he be a man, a friend of the soul, a truthful speaker, *and* an abstainer, because through chastity and modesty (mastûrî) he becomes employed. 9. If complaint of any perfidy in him is publicly diffused⁶, in that disgrace (malâ mat) it is necessary that the high-priests

¹ B29 has 'it makes his soul.'

² Lp omits 'pollution.'

³ See Chap. XXXV, 2. B29 has 'that is bodily refuse (hî'har) and pollution.'

⁴ That is, bull's urine, the liquid that is first used, in a consecrated state, for sprinkling the body in the Bareshnûm purification. Compare Chap. LXXVII, 9, 10.

⁵ That is, the purifying priest. ⁶ B29 has 'publicly comes on.'

should dislocate his joints one by one, and it is requisite that they give him as food to the dogs. 10. So that by this action they *may* make a man observe more chastely and continently, that this result ('hâjil) of sin *may* not occur.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. The thirty-seventh subject is this, that, when *the days* of the guardian spirits¹ come on, it is necessary that all persons, among their own food and devotion, *should* order *and* provide the sacred cakes and ceremonial, the sacred feast and benedictions (âfrîngân). 2. *For* these ten days it is incumbent on every one; *and* those are better which they prepare in their own houses, because the souls² go every one to its own house. 3. And they *should* have an ear for them³, so that they *may* prepare the sacred cakes and feast and benedictions.

4. Those ten days any one of all the souls—*that* are in this *way*⁴ in every house where they provide the feast more abundantly—proclaims, as to that master of the house⁵, that family, and the whole who are in that house, and the year's affairs of every kind, *that* they are very good, and their entry (da'hl) and coming in are very good. 5. And every single

¹ See Mkh. LVII, 13 n.

² Which are supposed to revisit the earth during those days.

³ Or 'for these words,' as the Gugarâti translator assumes.

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'those ten days all the souls are in this worldly existence.'

⁵ Lp omits these five words, and B29 adds 'the mistress of the house.'

good work, on account of which we have spoken of the souls of the departed, becomes just like those we have done for our own souls. 6. And, when they pass away from this worldly *existence*, those souls come again, meeting them, and cause gladness, maintain¹ their courage, and also render *them* honour in the presence of the creator Hôrmazd, and speak *thus*: 'These righteous souls did not put us away from remembrance while they were in the world, *and* we have been satisfied with them; now we are unanimous that thou *shouldst* provide them equal shares of those good works of ours, *and* make their souls attain to the position of the righteous.' 7. They utter these words, and give those souls confidence, while they make out their account. 8. Afterwards, with them, they make the passage of the *K'invad* bridge, till they arrive at their own position, *and* then they return.

9. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* maintain the guardian spirits properly, and the souls of *their* fathers and mothers and relations *may* exist with honour from them. 10. For if they retire with dissatisfaction they utter a curse, *and*, as the soul departs from this world, they administer reproaches to it, and speak *thus*: 'Thou thinkest that they wish continually to make a way² for thee *to* that place, *but* it is not necessary for thee to come into this world³. 11. Now, hadst thou performed duty *and* good works on our behalf, and hadst thou recollected us, we would also have come to thy assistance, and would have released thee from

¹ Lp, B29 have 'restore.'

² Lp, B29 have 'an escape.'

³ That is, into heaven. Compare Chap. XIII, 6, 8.

this fearful position.' 12. And that *soul* experiences much repentance, and has no advantage whatever *from it*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. The thirty-eighth subject is this, that, so far as effort and endeavour prevail¹, it is requisite to abstain from the same cup as those of a different religion, and it is not desirable to drink the water of any goblet of theirs. 2. And if the goblet be of copper or of tin², it is requisite³ to wash *it* with⁴ water, so that it *may* be proper to drink the water⁵. 3. If the goblet be of earthenware *or* wooden, it is altogether improper⁶.

4. Because, when⁷ any one drinks with a stranger, it makes *his* heart inclined (*ma'ill*) towards him, for it would be a sin; and, on account of the sin committed, he becomes bold, and *his* soul has an inclination for wickedness.

¹ Lp has 'are necessary,' and B29 has merely 'with the endeavour necessary.'

² B29 has 'of metal.'

³ Lp inserts 'to expose *it* to fire, to polish *it* with ashes, and afterwards;' J15 inserts 'to polish *it* with fire, and, afterwards.'

⁴ B29, J15 insert 'ceremonial ablution and.'

⁵ Lp, J15 add 'if the cup or goblet be of copper or of brass, *one* makes the water *that is* drunk likewise pure in this *manner*; if it be earthen *or* wooden, *one* puts *it* far *away* from the house, *or* they present *it* to *one of* a different religion; just like that *one* performs the *ceremonial* ablution of *what is* altogether polluted.' (J15 has '*what is* polluted like a metal *one*.')

⁶ J15 adds 'to drink.'

⁷ Lp, B29, J15 have 'every time that.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. The thirty-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire¹ which they have established in a town or village. 2. And *at* night it is necessary to make *it* blaze up once, and by day twice.

3. For it is declared in revelation, that, if *there* had been no sacred fire, no one would have been able to go from town to town; because it is *owing to* the glory of the sacred fire that no one on the roads is able to commit an excess upon any one *else*.

4. It is necessary that they *should* present the whole of the firewood; and, *as to* the person who makes *it* blaze, they *should* give him bread and a salary (nafaqah). 5. For, every time that that fire is satisfied, and they maintain *it* properly, every fire that may exist in the earth of seven regions becomes satisfied with that person.

CHAPTER XL.

1. The fortieth subject is this, that it is not desirable to distress *one's* priest, *or* father, *or* mother; and, if *people* perceive much trouble, disquietude, and harm *arising* from them, it is certainly not desirable that they *should* give them back a reply with any aggravation. 2. Because their satisfaction is connected with the satisfaction of the sacred being, *and* every time that *people* distress them they have

¹ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XCII.

distressed Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious. 3. It is not possible *for* any duty *or* good work to extend to the spiritual *existences* while *one* does not make those *guardians* satisfied, and it is not possible (mumkin) that any one *should* repay these three persons all *their* dues.

4. In the commentary of the Hâdôkht *Nask* it says:—Mâ âzârayôis, Zarathustra! mâ Pourushaspem, mâ Dughdhôvâm, mâ aêthrapaitis¹, 'it is not desirable that thou, O Zaratust! *shouldest* distress *thy* father, *or* mother, *or* priest.'

5. Therefore, three times every day it is indispensable *for one* to fold *his* arms² in the presence of these three persons, *and* to say:—'What is your will (murâd)? So that I *may* think and speak and do it. 6. If *what* was not proper has come from me of itself, it is necessary that you make a righteous gift on our behalf.'

CHAPTER XLI.

1. The forty-first subject is this, that it is greatly requisite to avoid a menstruous woman, while they give *her* bread and food moderately. 2. As soon as

¹ This Avesta passage is not known to be extant elsewhere, and its orthography has been corrected in accordance with the translation attached to it by the author of Sd. In La, Lp, J15 the first two names are in the genitive, and the third is accusative; B29 differs by putting the third name also in the genitive; the last word being accusative in all. Pourushaspa and Dughdhôva (?) were the names of the father and mother of Zarathustra, and the latter name has not previously been found in the Avesta texts, but is known only from Pahlavi and Persian writings.

² That is, to stand in an attitude of obedient reverence.

she is not able to eat¹ they *should* not give *her* more, and *in* the same manner *as regards* water, on this account, that whatever remnant comes from that menstruous *woman* does not come to any use².

3. When they wish to provide³ bread they put the hand into the sleeve, or they place something on the top of the sleeve, *and* it is necessary that her bare hand *should* not come *forth* again in any place. 4. Because every drop of water that trickles on to a limb of a menstruous woman becomes a sin of three hundred stirs⁴. 5. And it is requisite *for* a menstruous woman to avoid everything that is washed *with* ceremony by fifteen steps. 6. It is *also* necessary *for her* to be *at least* three steps distant from a righteous man, and on whatever her eye casts a look it diminishes the glory⁵ of that thing.

7. And on every woman the twelve ceremonials⁶, *atoning for* the offence of menstruation, are incumbent. 8. One on account of the offence that has occurred as regards the spiritual *existence*⁷. 9. The second on account of the offence that has occurred

¹ That is, as soon as her hunger is satisfied.

² Lp, B29 have 'it is not possible to make of any use.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'bring.'

⁴ The amount of a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁵ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁶ These resemble the celebration of the Hôrnâst, but are shorter and less onerous. The Hôrnâst consists of a Yasna each day for 144 days in honour of twelve angels, each angel being revered for twelve successive days. The angels are nearly the same as stated in the text, but the celebration of the Hôrnâst is twelve times as long. The cost of this latter is said to be 350 rupis (see Byt. II, 59 n). Occasionally a still more onerous celebration is said to be incumbent on such women as can afford it (see Chap. LXVI).

⁷ Lp has 'the spirits,' and B29 has 'mankind.'

as regards the stars¹. 10. The third on account of that which² has occurred as regards the sun. 11. The fourth on account of that which has occurred as regards the moon. 12. The fifth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of fire. 13. The sixth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of water. 14. The seventh on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of earth. 15. The eighth on account of that which has occurred as regards the spirit of the wind. 16. The ninth on account of that which has occurred as regards Khurdâd³. 17. The tenth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards Ameredâd³. 18. The eleventh on account of the offence that has occurred as regards meal-time ('hurdağ gâh)⁴. 19. The twelfth on account of the offence that has occurred as regards bodily refuse *and* dead matter. 20. Therefore it is incumbent on every one *in* this manner⁵; if any one be more opulent eighteen *ceremonials* are indispensable, and if she has silver in excess (ba-ghâyât) *there should be* twenty-one, *and in* one place I have read that twenty-four are indispensable; but, for lesser people, this that I have noted is necessary.

21. That which they provide in *their* lifetime is better⁶; *and*, just as would occur when any one

¹ B29 has 'the rain.'

² Lp, B29 use the same form of words in §§ 10-16 as in §§ 8, 9.

³ See Mkh. II, 34.

⁴ Doubtful, and not understood by the Gugarâti translator.

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'thus much.'

⁶ The author evidently implies, by this paragraph, that the celebration of these ceremonials was only occasional, perhaps once in a lifetime, but the earlier the better, so as to admit of a larger growth of merit before death.

plants a tree anew, *and* is eating the fruit of it every year, even so much is that good work increasing every year. 22. If she shall live ten years, *or* if a hundred years, even so long it is becoming every year much more¹. 23. If they provide *it* after her *lifetime*, that which would be the increase departs; and in *her* lifetime, also, that occurs which every one, who *has* done a duty on his own account, has seen, that *the thing* itself *which others* accomplish after his *lifetime* is very different; so that she *should* provide *it* with her own hands, not after her decease (vafât).

CHAPTER XLII.

1. The forty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence *from* that sin *which affects* accusers². 2. That would be when any one slanders (buhtânad)³, or any one commits a rape on the wife of some one⁴, or causes a woman *to occupy* a separate bed from her own husband.

3. These are sins *for* which there is no retribution, except when thou beggest forgiveness of that person whom thy sin has assailed. 4. Afterwards, they keep back the soul, *at* the *K'invad* bridge, till the time when its antagonist arrives and exacts justice from it; then it obtains release.

5. Every time that any one applies a falsehood or a slander to some person, so that *people* are after-

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is proceeding every year to a head.'

² Any sin that injures another party who, thereupon, becomes an accuser and must be satisfied, by atonement, before the sin can be expiated (see Sls. VIII, 1 n).

³ Lp, B29 have 'applies falsehood and slander to any one.'

⁴ See Chap. LXIII, 11. Lp omits these twelve words.

wards telling that falsehood again, and it vexes the heart of that person, they are bringing punishment ever anew on the soul of that *former* one. 6. The sin does not depart through *the performance of duties* and good works, so long as he does not make *his* antagonist satisfied.

7. This is a grave sin, *and* it is requisite to be careful that they do not commit *it*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. The forty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to make an endeavour to kill noxious creatures *and* reptiles ('hasarât) of the earth; because, in revelation¹, it is put *forth as a great good work*.

2. Especially these five things:—One is the frog in the water, the second is the snake and scorpion, the third is the ant (*markis*)² that flies, the fourth is the *common* ant (*môrkeh*), and the fifth is the mouse. 3. Therefore³, every time that they bring a frog up, out of the water, and make *it* dry, and, after (*ba'hd*) that, kill it, it is a good work of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams *in weight*⁴.

4. And every time that they kill a snake, and recite the Avesta that is *appointed* for that *occasion*⁵, it is

¹ See Vend. XIV, 9-17, XVIII, 144-146.

² If *markis* were Pahlavi, it would mean 'the deadly thing.' Possibly 'the locust' (*mala'h*) is meant, but the description in § 6 is rather perplexing.

³ Lp omits 'therefore,' and B29 has 'and.'

⁴ See Chap. XII, 9 n. The frog is considered noxious because it is supposed to injure the water, being generally found in stagnant pools which are unwholesome.

⁵ An Avesta passage of about thirty words, to be used on such occasions, is to be found in the Rivâyats, but is still unedited.

just as though they have slain an apostate (*âsh môgh*). 5. *For* every one who kills a *flying* ant (*markis*) it is as much good work as *for* any one who is reciting *inward* prayer *for* ten days. 6. Among the creatures of Aharman nothing whatever is more harmful than this; for, if it dies in the air (*havâ*) it becomes a gnat, if it dies in the dust it becomes a worm, if it dies in the water it becomes a leech¹, if it dies among the excavators of flesh it becomes a venomous snake (*mâr-i af'hat*), and if it dies in dung it becomes creeping *things*. 7. *For* every one who kills a corn-dragging ant it is as much good work as *for* any one *who* recites the Hôrmazd Yast. 8. And *for* every one who kills many noxious creatures it is as much good work as *for* a priest who performs the ceremonial of the sacred beings; both good works are equal. 9. *For* every one who kills a mouse it is as much good work as *if* four lions are killed². 10. Therefore, it is incumbent on every one to make an effort to kill a noxious creature.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. The forty-fourth subject is this, that it is not desirable *for* those of the good religion, so far as they are able to manage *it*, to put a bare foot upon the ground³, because it is a sin, *and* injury⁴ occurs to Spendârmad⁵, the archangel. 2. And they call that the sin of running *about* uncovered.

¹ B29 has 'hedgehog.'

² Ants and mice (or rats) are considered noxious on account of the damage they do to certain crops and farmers' stores.

³ See Sls. X, 12.

⁴ Lp has only 'because injury.'

⁵ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. The forty-fifth subject is this, that it is continually necessary that *people should* keep in remembrance the accomplishment of repentance (taûbat).

2. Every time that a sin leaps from control it is necessary to act so that they go before the priests, high-priests, and *spiritual* chiefs, and accomplish repentance.

3. And¹ in accordance with the sin *should be* the good work, just as though the good work *were* due to that occasion when they accomplish it. 4. While mankind are living, it becomes every year a further benefit. 5. Sin is also, *in* like manner, going *on* to a head every year; and when they accomplish repentance, so that it *may* not increase further, it is just like a tree that becomes withered, and they extirpate its further growth.

6. And that repentance is better which they accomplish before high-priests and *spiritual* chiefs, and when they accomplish the retribution that the high-priest orders every sin that exists departs from them.

7. The repentance *that* high-priests accomplish they likewise call repentance². 8. If *there* be no high-priest it is necessary to go before some persons who are commissioned *by* high-priests; and if those, also, do not exist, it is necessary to go to a man *who is* a friend of the soul, *and* to accomplish the repentance.

¹ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

² Here and throughout the rest of the chapter B29 has patit, 'renunciation *of sin*,' instead of taûbat. The outward form of repentance consists of the recitation of the patit, in which all imaginable sins are mentioned and renounced.

9. At the time when *one* shall depart from the world it is incumbent on sons and daughters and relations, that they give repentance into the mouth of the afflicted *one*, and *that* they give the Ashem-vohû¹ into *his* mouth. 10. For the high-priests have said that, when they have accomplished repentance because they have committed many sins, they do not arrive in hell, *but* they administer punishment *to them* at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, and afterwards conduct *them* to their own place.

11. Repentance is that when they accomplish repentance of the sin which they have committed, and do not commit that sin a second *time*; if they do commit *it*, that *first sin* then comes back².

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. The forty-sixth subject is this, that, when people become fourteen years *of age*, it is necessary to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*³, because the high-priests have said that it is likewise necessary to take into account those nine months that they have been in the womb of the mother.

2. For in our religion there is no duty better than wearing the *sacred thread-girdle*, and it is incumbent

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

² That is, repentance is not a mere penance, but requires a change of will, a veritable renunciation of that sin for the future; otherwise it is useless.

³ See Chap. X, which mentions fifteen years in accordance with Vend. XVIII, 115, 120. But Sls. X, 13 recommends fourteen years and three months as more prudent, no doubt for the reason stated here in the text.

on man and woman. 3. And, in former days, if any one should have become completely fifteen years *of age*, and should not have worn the *sacred thread-girdle*, they would have done for him by stoning, as bread and water are forbidden ('harâm) for him.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. The forty-seventh subject is this, that, when a child of seven years shall die, an order is necessary *that* it is requisite to perform a ceremony (yast) *for* Srôsh¹ on account of it, *and* to consecrate the sacred cake of the fourth night².

2. For it says in revelation that the souls of children go with the souls of *their* fathers and mothers ; if the father is *fit* for heaven *the child* goes to heaven with him, if he be *fit* for hell it arrives in hell ; if the mother be *fit* for heaven it reaches heaven with her, if she be *fit* for hell it reaches hell with her³.

3. Therefore, every time that they accomplish the ceremony *for* Srôsh, the soul of that child becomes separated from the souls of *its* father and mother, and goes to heaven, and is imploring intercession (sifâ'hat) for *its* father and mother in the presence of the sacred beings in that *other* world.

¹ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

² That is, most of the ceremonies requisite after the death of an adult, as detailed in Chap. LXXXVII, are also to be performed in this case, for the reason here given.

³ Lp omits these twenty-three words.

CHAPTER XLVIII¹.

1. The forty-eighth subject is this, that, when they boil a cooking-pot, it is necessary to make the water two parts of one-third *each*, that one-third of the pot may be empty; so that, if *at* any time the pot shall boil, *the water* shall not go to the top². 2. For if they do not act so, and the³ water, owing to not stopping, goes into the fire⁴, it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams *in weight*⁵; therefore it is necessary to keep watch that this sin does not arise.

CHAPTER XLIX⁶.

1. The forty-ninth subject is this, that, when *one*

¹ There is some confusion in the MSS. as to the arrangement of a few of the following chapters. The order here adopted is that of B29, J15, which is here in accordance with the metrical MSS., although Chaps. 48-56 are numbered 52-60 in the latter, owing to variations in the earlier part of the work. In La Chaps. 48-50 have been originally omitted, but part of 48, prefixed to a portion of 50, has been afterwards inserted in the margin, and Chap. 49 has been similarly added after the last chapter in the book. In Lp the chapters are arranged as follows:—48, 51-53, 49, 54, 56, while 50, 55 are omitted.

² Lp, B29, J15 add '*and the water not go into the fire.*' La, Lp add '*at least one-third should be water [in such a manner that it becomes wet from ear to ear. It is necessary to keep the mouth continually closed, so that the water shall not go into the mouth],*' but the passage in brackets is clearly a portion of Chap. L, 2, 3; it was originally written also in J15, but has been struck out of that MS.

³ La has 'if a drop of.'

⁴ La has 'mouth;' the passage in that MS. being evidently the end of Chap. L, 3.

⁵ La has 'of three hundred stirs,' as in Chap. L, 3, and omits the rest of the text. The two amounts are identical, and are equivalent to a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ Inserted in La after the last chapter in the book, and numbered C. In Lp it is numbered LII.

gathers up a fire, it is requisite to leave *it* for a time, so that the ash-bed (bûm) of the fire *may* become cold; afterwards, *one is* to take *it* up and carry *it* to the precinct of fire. 2. It is not proper that they carry the ash-bed (zamîn) of a hot fire to the precinct of fire; so far is notorious.

CHAPTER L¹.

1. The fiftieth subject is this, that, every day *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is not proper to wash the hands first with water.

2. The *ceremonial* ablution is to wash the hands, face, nose, eyes, and feet thoroughly, either with fruit (mîvah)² or some grass upon which no water has come; afterwards, to make *them* dry, *and* to wash *them* three times with water *in* such a manner that it becomes wet from the face as far as the ear³.

3. It is necessary to keep the mouth closed, so that the water *shall* not go into the mouth; for if a drop, owing to not stopping, goes into the mouth, it is a sin of three hundred stîrs⁴. 4. Afterwards, *one is* to wash the hands three times with water, as far as the *upper* arms; first the right hand, *and* afterwards the left hand; and, *in* like manner, *he is* to wash the right foot and left foot.

¹ Omitted in La, Lp, though the former contains a portion of this chapter annexed to part of Chap. XLVIII, and most of its contents are repeated, in other words, in Chap. LXXIV.

² Perhaps mîvah may be taken as an adjective from mîv, 'hair,' in which case we should have 'with *something* either hairy or grassy.' According to the long-metre Sad Dar, the liquid to be used for this first wetting is either goat's or bull's urine.

³ La has 'from ear to ear' (see Chap. XLVIII, 1 n).

⁴ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Slş. I, 2).

5. Then they recite the Kəm-nâ-mazdâ¹, for, every time that they wish to recite anything as an *inward* prayer, it is necessary that the hands be washed with *ceremonial* ablution², and, if *they are* not, the Avesta is not accepted, and the fiend of corruption (nasus) does not rush *away*, *and* it becomes a Tanâvar sin.

CHAPTER LI.

1. The fifty-first subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one to send a child to school, and to teach *it* something. 2. Because every duty and good work that a child performs is just as though the father and mother had performed *it* with their own hands. 3. Therefore it is necessary to make an effort, so that they *may* teach them something good, and make *them* aware of good works and sin; for they are doing that on account of their own souls, so that those *children may* be courageous in doing good works.

4³. If they are not taught, they then perform less duty *and* good works, *and* less reaches the souls of the father and mother. 5. And it also happens that if they do not deliver children to school, and do not teach *them* anything, and they become bold in committing sin, that sin⁴ becomes *fixed* on the necks of the father and mother.

6. Therefore they have decided rightly who⁵ teach

¹ See Chap. XXXV, 2 n, which chapter, as well as Chap. LXXIV, treats of nearly the same subject.

² As described in §§ 2-4.

³ Lp, B29 insert 'because.'

⁴ B29 has 'that commission of sin.'

⁵ B29 has 'rightly for the children, *at* the time when they.'

them something, especially *what* is proper and improper according to revelation; because the chief principle is this, whether, through the duty of this world, a good *or* bad result is coming hereafter.

CHAPTER LII.

1. The fifty-second subject is this, that it is incumbent on every one that, every year *when* the month Fravardîn comes on, *he is* to provide a sacred cake *on* the day Khurdâd¹, and whatever they are able to bring to hand, *a little* of everything, *they are* to place by that sacred cake, and to consecrate *it* with the dedicatory *formula* Ayaranâmkâ², so that

¹ That is, on the sixth day of the first month of the Parsi year, a day which is called Khurdâd-sâl and kept sacred, because it is said to be the anniversary of many remarkable events, of which the following are mentioned in a Pahlavi tract that is also translated in the Persian Rivâyats (B29, fol. 401):—On that day worldly life was created, Gâyômarð came into the world and slew Arezûr, Mashya and Mashyôî grew up from the ground, Hôshâng appeared, Takhmôrup made Aharman his steed, Yim made the world free from death and decay, brought on a truce (? padmânak) with hell, and established depositories for the dead and new year's day, Frêdûn divided the world between his three sons, Mânûsêhar slew two of them, and rescued the world from Frâsyâk, Sâm the Narimânian slew the demon Gandarêpak (?), Kaî-Khûsrôî slew Frâsyâk and went to heaven, leaving the sovereignty to Lôrâsp, Zaratûst came to converse with Aûharmazd and received the religion from him, Kaî-Vistâsp accepted the religion, eighteen things come in eighteen years to Khûsrô son of Aûharmazd, Vâhrâm the Vargâvand comes from the Hindûs, Pêshyôtanû, son of Vistâsp, comes from Kangdez, Hûshêðar comes to converse with Aûharmazd, Sâm slays Az-î Dahâk and rules till Kaî-Khûsrôî reappears to reign for fifty-seven years, with Sôshâns as supreme high-priest, after which Kaî-Vistâsp resumes the sovereignty, and Zaratûst the priesthood, and the resurrection takes place on the same day of the year.

² Corrected from airyanâmkâ in all MSS. See Âf. I, 1 as far as saredhanâmkâ, then gâthâbyô, &c. (Âf. II, 1).

the affairs of that year may be better through that day's provision and the entry and coming in *of guests*.

2. For it is declared in revelation¹, that, every year, when the day Khurdâd of the month Fravardîn comes on, they allot a daily provision *for* mankind, and whatever *one* wishes to pass to the lot of mankind in that year they write down that day. 3. Therefore, when they shall consecrate this sacred cake, the archangel Khurdâd² is making intercession for that person.

CHAPTER LIII.

1. The fifty-third subject is this, that, when, in former³ times, any one wished to go on a journey (safar) that might have been at least⁴ twelve leagues (parasang), they would have consecrated a sacred cake, so that no affliction might happen in that journey, and affairs might be according to *their* wish, and employments (*sughl*)⁵ cheerful. 2. And it is *still* incumbent on every one that, when they wish to go on a journey, *they are* to consecrate this sacred cake.

3. *And*, while the person is on the journey, he *should* order the consecration of this sacred cake, in his house, every Bahirâm day⁶, so that that person *may* arrive in safety (salâmat) at *his* house. 4.

¹ B29 has 'in the good religion.'

² See Horvadað (Mkh. II, 34).

³ La, B29 omit 'former.'

⁴ B29 has 'less than.'

⁵ Lp, B29 insert 'might become.'

⁶ The twentieth day of the Parsi month.

The dedicatory formula is this—A mahê hutâstahê¹—*and* is known to the priest himself.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. The fifty-fourth subject is this, that if any one has a serving wife², *and* if the acquisition of a male child results³ from her, it is suitable for adoption *by* that person⁴, and the bridge⁵ is not severed *for* that person. 2. *But* if it be a female *child* it is necessary that the man *should* not be negligent (*ghâfil*) in appointing an adopted son for his own sake. 3. He *should* himself appoint a son of some relation, *who is* a friend of the soul, so that the bridge may not be severed *for* his soul.

CHAPTER LV⁶.

1. The fifty-fifth subject is this, that when a Navazûd⁷ ceremony is performed, and it happens that it is not possible to consecrate a sacred cake, it is necessary that *one should* eat bread with the Hôrmazd *inward* prayer; *and*, afterwards, he *should*

¹ The dedication to the angel Bahirâm, which begins with these words (see Sir. I, 20).

² A childless widow who has married again, and half of whose children, by her second husband, belong to her first one, to whom she also belongs in the other world (see Bd. XXXII, 6 n).

³ B29 has 'if a male child be born.'

⁴ The child being considered to belong to its mother's first husband, can be only an adopted son of her second husband.

⁵ The *Kinvad* bridge, which is the passage to heaven.

⁶ Lp omits this chapter.

⁷ See Chap. V, 1 n.

complete the prayer just as when they complete *it* as regards the sacred cake, so that the sin *may* be less.

CHAPTER LVI.

1. The fifty-sixth subject is this, that, when any one wishes to make an evacuation of water, it is necessary that he *should* not make the evacuation of water *while standing* on *his* feet. 2. Because, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd¹, it is said, concerning that, *that it is* a serious sin.

3. When they squat for evacuating water it is necessary that *it extend only*² from the heel as far as the end of the toes; for, if it be more, every drop is a Tanâvar sin. 4. And, when they wish to squat for the evacuation of water, *they are* to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô³; *and*, when the action is over, *they are* to recite the Ashem-vohû⁴ three times, the Humatanâm⁵ twice, the Hukhshathrôtemâi⁶ three times, the Yathâ-ahû-vairyô four times, and the Ahunem-vairîm⁷ to the end. 5. Because, every time that they act like this, they are pleasant in the eyes and hearts of mankind, and their words are more approved *in* the vicinity of kings.

¹ Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 98.

² Lp, B29 have 'that they do not make the evacuation of water more *than*.'

³ See Mkh. XXVII, 70 n.

⁴ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The recitation of this and the four following formulas is commanded in Vend. XVIII, 97.

⁵ Yas. XXXV, 4-6.

⁶ Yas. XXXV, 13-15.

⁷ Yas. XIV, end.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. The fifty-seventh subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a hedgehog; and, everywhere that they see *it*, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* into the wilderness (sa'hrâ), so that it *may* go into a hole, which is ever considered a great good work. 2. Because, when a hedgehog is in *their* nest¹, some ants will die; it will *also* catch and eat thousands of snakes and² other harmful *creatures*, and it eats all noxious creatures. 3. Therefore, owing to the whole *of this*, these words are expedient.

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. The fifty-eighth subject is this, that it is ever necessary that those of the good religion *should* make an effort that they *may* celebrate *a ceremony for their* living souls. 2. *For* the soul, *for which* they have celebrated *a ceremony*³, just as much good work as it then becomes each year, it is twice as much good work the second year. 3. So that, *in* this manner, the merit of *the ceremony for* the living soul is increasing just so much every year, while the man is living. 4. And, after that, this also occurs, that, if at the time when that person becomes an immortal soul *there* be no one *at hand*—Srôsh⁴ *being* the angel when *the ceremony for* the living soul is celebrated—Srôsh, the righteous, receives the soul by

¹ Lp, B29 have 'goes into an ant's nest.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'for every time that they have celebrated *a ceremony for* the living soul.'

⁴ See Mkh. II, 115 n.

himself, and is keeping watch *over it* during the three days¹, and does not forsake *it*, so that no danger *or* harm happens to it. 5. And the fourth night he is a helper, with the angel Rashn², at the *Kinvad* bridge, while they make up its account and reckoning, and it goes *to* its own place.

6. And this *ceremony* for the living soul is appointed for the reason that, just in the manner *that*, when an infant becomes separated from the mother, a midwife (qâbilat) is necessary for it, so that they *may* keep watch over it, *and* just in the manner that she takes up the infant³ from the ground—and, *at* the time when it is born, it is ever necessary that *there* be a woman present ('hâjirat), or they *may* perform work *for* the infant at a time *fit* for the demon—in this same manner, when the soul is becoming separated from the body it is like an infant (*tifl*), *and* does not know any way to its place. 7. When they celebrate *a ceremony* for the living soul, and have propitiated the righteous Srôsh, the righteous Srôsh becomes like the midwife, so that he receives that soul by himself, and keeps watch *that it is* out of the hands of Aharman and the demons. 8. When they do not celebrate *a ceremony* for the soul *when* living, *but*, after that⁴, the priests perform *it* before Srôsh, it is like that *which occurs* when a woman brings forth a child⁵, *and* after that they set *her* before the midwife. 9. And it happens that while some one is coming in, who takes up that child and wraps *it* up, it has perished.

¹ While it is supposed to stay near the body.

² B29 adds 'and the angel Mihir.' See Mkh. II, 118, 119.

³ Lp, B29 have merely 'and she takes *it* up.'

⁴ Lp adds 'it is necessary that.'

⁵ Lp adds 'they make no enquiry (*talab*) about it before her.'

10. Therefore, as she does the needful which they *should* do earlier by the hand of some one, *in* this same manner it makes *it* incumbent on every one to celebrate *a ceremony* for his own living soul, so that it *may* be free (īman) from these misfortunes. 11. *And*¹ that, if his decease occurs *in* any place where *there* may be no one who *will* celebrate *a ceremony* for his soul, since *a ceremony* for the living soul is celebrated, *there* are no arrears for him, and he is free. 12. And, in many things, it is that *ceremony* for the living soul which is expedient, especially in these times when the priests have remained few *in* number; *and*, when it is celebrated by one's own hands, it is a great duty.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. The fifty-ninth subject is this, that, in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers, they have not commanded the women to perform the Nyâyises². 2. *And*³ their Nyâyises are these, that three times every day, *at* dawn, mid-day⁴ prayer, and evening prayer, they stand back in the presence of their own husbands, and fold their arms and speak thus: 'What are thy thoughts, so that I *may* think them; what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* speak it; and what is necessary for thee, so that I *may* do it?'

3. For, any command, and whatever the husband

¹ B29 adds 'this also happens.'

² Periodical salutations of the sun and moon (see Chap. VI, 2), fire and water.

³ Lp, B29 have 'for.'

⁴ Literally 'former, early.'

orders, it is requisite to go about that day. 4. *And*, certainly, without the leave (riâ) of the husband *she is* to do no work, so that the Lord *may* be pleased with that wife. 5. For the satisfaction of the sacred being is in a reverence (ya st) for¹ the satisfaction of the husband; so that every time that they perform work *by* command of the husband they call them righteous in the religion; and if not, what do they call them?

CHAPTER LX.

1. The sixtieth subject is this, that we are keeping the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers with us², so that escape from hell *may* be possible for our souls³. 2. And we are completely united in hope, and through investigation (ta'hqîq) we fully understand that, when we are steadfast in the good religion, we arrive in heaven. 3. And we know that arrival in heaven occurs through virtuous actions, and through them we are saved; so that we think of good⁴, speak of good, and do good.

4. And no doing of good is better than that which *offers itself* when a difficult duty comes before one of the good religion as his soul wishes to depart. 5. Since it comes to thee, do thou give help *to* that which has escaped *his* hand, so that he *may* come out of that hindrance; and do thou not forsake *him*

¹ Lp has merely 'is in,' and B29 has 'is connected with.'

² Lp has 'through hope.'

³ B29, J15 have 'that in the good *and* pure religion of the Mazda-worshippers it is declared that we are maintaining a hope that the soul *may* obtain escape from hell.'

⁴ La puts the thinking of good last of the three.

so that he relinquishes the religion. 6. For after that, while he is in the religion, *and* while his children, after him, are in the religion¹, every duty and good work that he does—and *his* children—is just like those which are done by *thine* own hand.

7. And *it is* just like that with regard to poll-tax, it is also indispensable to give *it* in semblance of help, so that they *may* give that person *his* release ('*halâš*), and he *may* stay in his own place, *and* the advantage of a good work (THAVÂB) *may* come to that *other person*.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. The sixty-first subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain strictly from speaking falsehood; so that, every time that mankind indulge in the speaking of falsehood with fondness², it is not proper to do *so*; and³ falsehood is the chief⁴ of all sins.

2. Zaratusht enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'Who is a liar like?' 3. Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, said: 'A liar is a co-operator with Aharman.'

4. In revelation it says that *there* is no hereafter (*â'hirat*) for the speakers of falsehood, and in the midst of mankind they are contemptible (*'haqîr*).

5. If *such* a man be powerful (*mu'htasim*), *and there* be no avoiding (*'hadhar*) him in the vicinity

¹ B29 omits these ten words.

² Lp omits these fourteen words.

³ B29 omits these twenty words.

⁴ This seems to have been the meaning intended, judging from §§ 2-6; otherwise it might be translated 'end' or 'result,' especially as the writer has characterised other sins as 'the chief' (see Chaps. IX, 2, XXV, 8).

of mankind, they do not have any respect *for him*, and he is clearly (*farḡām*) an evil liar. 6. Although he possesses much wealth, it will all depart from his hands, and, finally (*'hâqibat*), begging of mankind occurs to him, and his progeny also becomes scanty¹.

CHAPTER LXII.

1. The sixty-second subject is this, that it is necessary to take early to the speaking of truth and doing of justice, and to maintain oneself therein, for nothing whatever is better among mankind than truth.

2. Owing to truth Hôrmazd created this world and that *other* world, and truth has remained on the spot, and on account of truth it becomes pure.

3. And the accursed Aharman, *being devoid* of anything good, does not issue from that which is owing to truth. 4. It is requisite to occasion the resurrection owing to truth; and, *as to* every place where truth is not taken up, the glory in that place *has* found a way *out*, and *as to* every household where much *of this* resides, it is on account of truth, and Aharman does not find a way into that place.

5. It is said in revelation that one truthful man is better than a whole world (*'hâlam*) speaking falsehood; and Gâvah of Ispahân²—when he kept *his* stand upon the truth, and was speaking words with truth until *the time* when Dahâk³, who possessed the

¹ Lp omits these six words.

² B29 adds 'he was a blacksmith.' His revolt against Dahâk is detailed in the Shâhnâmah.

³ See Mkh. VIII, 29 n.

whole realm, *and* the whole of the demons and mankind have been afraid of him, through the truth of the words spoken—was bold with them in every speech, and became victorious (*mut/haffar*) over them, by reason of the true words that he was speaking.

6. The accursed Aharman, when he perceived the spirit of truth, had fallen senseless three thousand years¹. 7. From fear of truth he never managed to hold up *his* head, and from fear of truth he did not manage to come into this world². 8. And everything that thou settest *thy* gaze (*na thar*) *upon* therein, that has remained on the spot when thou seekest again an examination of it, has remained through truth. 9. And the interpretation of the Ashem-vohû³ is in truth, *and*, for that reason, they recite the Ashem-vohû frequently.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. The sixty-third subject is this, that it is necessary to practise strict abstinence from adultery on this account, that *through* every one who beguiles the wife of another, and commits iniquity with her, that woman becomes, in a moment, unlawful as regards *her* husband. 2. And, after that, every time her husband comes round about her, it is just as though she had gone near to a strange man. 3. The righteous bestowal⁴ *of herself* on her own husband, in this

¹ See Bd. I, 22. The spirit of truth was his opposite, the *spentô mainyus* or 'bountiful spirit' of Hôrmazd.

² See Bd. III, 1-5.

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

⁴ Lp inserts 'he shall wish.'

situation, is always worse *than his going*¹ with women of a different religion, on this account, that, if that wife becomes pregnant, it is just as though one of the good religion had fallen *away* into a different religion, and² thereby that man becomes worthy of death.

4. And it also happens, when that wife becomes pregnant, *that* she *may* effect the slaughter of the infant, from fear of a bad reputation. 5. Then, *for* that person whose child it is, it is just as though he had effected the slaughter of the child with his own hand; therefore, he is worthy of death. 6. If the infant be born, and it remains³ in the religion, every sin that that child of his commits is, for that person, just as though it were committed by his own hand.

7. And if a woman of those of the good religion commits *adultery*, she becomes in a condition unlawful as regards *her* husband; *and* if an infant be born it is illegitimate. 8. And the sin owing to this will depart *at* the time when that person goes near to her husband *and* shall say: 'What is *there* in me befitting thy wife?' 9. A calamity (*âk*) *has* occurred, and a crime (*'ha tât*) *has* come into *my* body; thou knowest if thou *wilt* exercise forgiveness (*'hafû*), and if not, when *it is* not for me, do thou kill *me*; my blood is lawful (*'halâl*) unto thee.' 10. If he shall kill her, her sin will depart owing to this;

¹ B29 has 'it never becomes a righteous bestowal of herself on *her* husband, and if, in this situation, he is also.'

² B29 omits 'and.'

³ Lp, B29 have 'it does not remain,' but the text seems to be assuming that the illicit origin of the child is unsuspected, in which case it would undoubtedly remain in the religion, as it would probably do in any case.

otherwise, this sin will not depart from her in any manner (navat)¹.

11. And *one* calls this sin a sin *affecting* antagonists², *and*, so long as the antagonist does not become satisfied, the sin flows on³, *and* they keep his soul back at the head of the *Kinvad* bridge, till the time that its antagonist shall arrive and himself accomplishes *his* antagonism, and they give him back a reply⁴.

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. The sixty-fourth subject is this, that it is necessary to practise great abstinence from committing theft⁵ and seizing anything from mankind by force.

2. For it is declared in revelation that, *as to* every one who steals one dirham⁶ away from another, when they really know *it*, it is necessary to take two dirhams away from him; one dirham *being* that which *was* carried off, and one dirham as the fine of him who committed the theft. 3. It is also requisite to cut *off* one ear, and it is necessary to strike ten *blows with* a stick, and to detain *him* one period in prison.

¹ B29 omits these eleven words.

² Or accusers (see Chap. XLII, 1, 2).

³ B29 has 'it flows on,' if we read bi-rêzad; but the Gugarâti translator seems to take gunâh-barêzad (Av. berezant) as a technical epithet for the soul, as though he would say 'they keep back the soul of him *whose* sin is rampant.'

⁴ That is, the investigating angels announce their decision as to the proper fate of the soul they have detained.

⁵ B29, J15 have 'violence.'

⁶ A silver coin of 63 grains in weight, or about $5\frac{2}{3}$ annas (see Dd. LII, 1 n); say, seven-pence.

4. And if he shall steal another¹ dirham, in the same manner *one* is to take away two dirhams², to cut *off* the other ear, to strike twenty *blows with a stick*, and to detain *him* two periods³ in prison. 5. And if he shall steal three dirhams and two dângs⁴, it is requisite to cut *off his* right hand. 6. If he shall steal five hundred dirhams⁵, it is requisite to hang *him*.

7. *On* the spot the punishment is this, and among the spirits it brings punishment on the soul itself. 8. And, if the *other* person does not know *it*, they take away twice as much good work, among the spirits, from that *thief*, and give *it* to the soul of this person. 9. If *the thief* possesses no good works, they give the compensation from the constantly-beneficial treasury⁶, and exhibit the punishment *on* the soul of that *thief*.

10. *As to* that person who has seized anything

¹ Lp has 'two.'

² Lp has 'to take four.'

³ The Gugarâti translator takes 'one period' as 'one ghađî (24 minutes),' but 'two periods' as '2½ ghađî (one hour).' The word sâ'hat, 'period,' means also 'an hour,' but so short a term of imprisonment seems improbable.

⁴ That is, 3½ dirhams, nearly 1½ rūpî, or, say, two shillings.

⁵ That is, 175 rūpîs, or, say, £14 12s.

⁶ Where all supererogatory good works are supposed to be kept in store by the angels, for the purpose of granting them to souls who deserve them, but have been unable to acquire a sufficiency. It is said to be situated in the 'endless light' of heaven, and is the misvânô gâtus hvadhâtô, 'ever-benefiting place, the self-sustained,' of Vend. XIX, 122. Perhaps gang, 'treasury,' may have been originally gung, 'space,' which would better suit the idea of a 'self-sustained place' (see Dd. XXVI, 3, XXXI, 24, XXXVII, 22, 24, XXXVIII, 3). The term 'treasurer,' applied to the female personifications of conscience who meet the soul with the stores of its good works and sins (see Sg. IV, 92-96), seems to have no connection with this treasury of other people's good works.

from another by force, among the spirits they seize back four *things*¹ as compensation for every single one. 11. And if, *on the spot where people capture him*, he makes *it* convenient to return four *things* in compensation *for* one, when they have fully understood, as they capture that person who is committing highway-robbery, *that* he makes *it* convenient², they *may* kill him at once.

CHAPTER LXV.

1. The sixty-fifth subject is this, that every one is to practise thanksgiving continually, *and* it is requisite *that* he maintains *it* through good and bad; and *he is* to keep in view³ the benefits of Hôrmazd. 2. Because the creator⁴ Hôrmazd demands two things from mankind, the one is that *one should* not commit sin, and the other is that *one should* practise thanksgiving. 3. And how much soever more grateful mankind become, through virtue *and* worthiness as regards him, they⁵ grant more abundant daily provision for the grateful than that which is for other persons. 4. And *as to* every one who is not grateful *to* him, the bread that he eats becomes unlawful, and it is not proper for any one to do good *in connection* with him.

¹ Twice as much as in cases of theft without violence (see § 2).

² So that they may not interfere with such benefit for his soul as he may obtain by atonement. These old priestly laws having much more consideration for the soul than for the body.

³ La has 'to portray.'

⁴ Lp omits these fourteen words.

⁵ The angels.

5. And it is declared in revelation that when an unthankful person dies, wherever they deposit his corpse, the archangel Spendârmad¹ is trembling like a sheep that sees a wolf. 6. And *as to* a bird that eats that corpse, on whatever tree it rests and settles, it makes that tree wither away, and the person *who* sits down in the shadow of the tree becomes ill.

7. There are different things that it is necessary for those of the good religion to make predominant over themselves. 8. One is to exercise liberality *in connection* with the worthy; the second is to do justice; the third is to be friendly unto every one; and the fourth is to be sincere and true², and to keep falsehood far from themselves. 9. And these four habits (*haḡlat*) are the principles (*aḡl*) of the religion of Zaratusht, and it is necessary, when thou listenest *to them* thyself, *that* thou dost not listen to any one *else*³. 10. Because the creator Hôrmazd says, 'O Zaratusht! if thou wilt that thou become pure and saved, *and that* thou arrive at the place of the pure, do thou accomplish these two duties:—11. One is this, that thou prefer the friendship of the spiritual *existence to that of* the worldly one, and consider the things of the world as contemptible and those of the spirit precious; on this account the glory of the world is sought⁴ with scorn, and do not thou let the spirit escape. 12. The second is this, that thou speak truly with every one and act justly with me,

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n. Lp, B29 omit 'archangel.'

² Lp omits these nine words.

³ Lp has 'that what thou listenest *to* thyself, thou listenest *to* as regards any one *else*.' B29 has 'that what thou dost not approve *for* thyself, thou dost not do to any one *else*' (see § 12).

⁴ B19 has 'on this account the world is sought again.'

that is, whatever thou dost not approve for thyself do not approve¹ for any one *else*; when thou hast acted in this manner thou art righteous.'

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. The sixty-sixth subject is this, that it is incumbent on all women² to order the days (ayyâm) of the Dvâzdah-hômâst³, because the whole of any sin that may have arisen during menstruation, and *at* other times, becomes cleared away *thereby*.

2. And in the commentary of the Vendidâd it says *that* every one becomes sanctified in the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst, and all sins become cleared away from her, like that which *occurs at* harvest time, when a great wind comes on and carries it off; just like this the sin departs from her, and the person becomes clean *and* pure.

3. And, for women⁴, there is no duty more indispensable than this; for it is declared in revelation that, when they celebrate a Dvâzdah-hômâst, it is a good work of a hundred thousand Tanâvars⁵, and if

¹ B29 has 'perform.'

² B29 has 'on the wives of every one,' and J15 has 'on every one.'

³ In the Gugarâti version (p. 310) of the long-metre Sad Dar Dastûr Jâmâspji states, in a foot-note, that the Dvâzdah-hômâst consists of a Yazîsn ceremony every day for 144 days, in honour of twelve angels, so that each angel is revered for twelve successive days. He stated formerly (see Byt. II, 59 n) that this celebration was a Hômâst, and that a Dvâzdah-hômâst was a similar celebration for 264 days in honour of twenty-two angels for twelve days each. It appears, however, from Chap. XLI, 7, 20, that the number of ceremonies may vary with the wealth of the individual.

⁴ Lp omits these thirteen words.

⁵ See Sls. XVI, 6.

it be the days of the Dvâzdah-hômâst it is a good work of a thousand thousand Tanâvars, and when they celebrate *it* by day it is a good work just like this.

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. The sixty-seventh subject is this, that it is necessary for women to practise great abstinence from committing adultery. 2. For it is declared in revelation, *as to* every woman who *has* lain with a strange man, thus: 'What is it necessary to call her, and why is the explanation¹ that she is of one nature with all wizards and sinners?'

3. And in the commentary of the Vendîdâd² it says "every woman who consorts with two strange men is the first *down* upon me, who am Hôrmazd.

4. For if she takes a look into a river of water it will make *it* diminish, if she takes a look³ at a tree *or* shrub the fruit of the trees becomes scanty, and if she speaks a word with a righteous man it will make the glory⁴ of the man diminish." 5. Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd, "What occurs on⁵ her account?" 6. The creator Hôrmazd spoke thus: "It is necessary to kill her sooner than a biting serpent and similar creatures and wild beasts, because she is more harmful to my creatures."

7. Therefore, since she is like this, it is necessary for women to keep themselves *with* great effort, so that they *may* not become unlawful unto their own

¹ B29 has 'and it is by reason of that fault.'

² What follows is a free paraphrase of Vend. XVIII, 123-132.

³ Lp omits these four words.

⁴ Lp, B29 add 'and purity.'

⁵ Lp, B29 have 'what is necessary.'

husbands. 8. For, every time that *one of them* gives herself four times to another person, she is, after that, unlawful as long as¹ she may be *in* the house of *her* husband², and new sin is increasing *in connection* with her soul³.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. The sixty-eighth subject is this, that for a menstruous woman who casts an eye upon a fire it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight⁴; and if she goes *within* three steps of the fire it is a sin of a thousand and two hundred dirhams⁵ *in* weight for her; and when she puts her hand *to* the fire it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her.

2. In like manner, if she takes a look *at* running water it is a sin of twelve dirhams *in* weight for her⁶; if she goes *within* fifteen steps of running water it is a sin of fifteen dirhams *in* weight for her; and when she sits down in running water it is a sin of fifteen Tanâvars for her. 3. And when she walks in the rain, through every drop that drops upon her limbs *there* arises a sin of one Tanâvar for her.

4. *If* she comes to a Khûrshêd Nyâyis⁷, to observe *it*, it is not proper *for her* to speak a word with a

¹ B29 has 'unlawful when.'

² This seems to be the author's interpretation of the following commentary (Pahl. Vend. XVIII, 124a):—'And it is no matter to her; for, when cohabitation is three times conceded by her, *she is* worthy of death. Gôgôrasp said that this is an adulteress who is *kept* within bounds.'

³ B29 has 'increasing as to water and fire.'

⁴ About 756 grains, possibly four Farmân sins (see Sls. XI, 2).

⁵ A Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

⁶ B29 omits this clause.

⁷ Or salutation of the sun.

righteous man¹. 5. It is not proper *for her* to put a bare foot on the ground. 6. It is not proper *for her* to eat any food with a *bare* hand; it is not proper *for her* to eat bread *when* satisfied². 7. It is not proper *for* two menstruous women to eat together; it is not proper for them to sleep *so*³.

8. And so long as three days *have* not elapsed it is not proper to wash the hands⁴, and three days after that, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is requisite to remain another day, and *so* until the lapse of nine days, *when*, if she *has* perceived herself clean, it is not necessary *to remain* to the end of⁵ another *interval* of time. 9. If menstruation occurs *for* twenty-nine days, it is necessary⁶ to consider that she is menstruous a second time, and during three other days it is not proper to wash again, and it is necessary to exercise care, just like that which⁷ I first wrote *about*.

10. If she be doubtful whether menstruation is come to her, it is requisite *for her* to strip off *her* dress, and then to take notice if she has become menstruous, *or if* the dress that is stripped off be clean. 11. If she has an infant *to feed* with *her* milk,

¹ § 4 in B29 is as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her* to take a look at the sun, *or* at a righteous man.’

² La, B29 have *sêr*, but Lp has *sîr*, ‘milk,’ which is also the reading taken by the Gugarâti translator who must have understood the clause as follows:—‘It is not proper *for her so* to eat bread *and* milk.’

³ B29 adds ‘and it is not desirable *for their* limbs to touch each other.’

⁴ B29 has ‘head.’

⁵ B29 has ‘it is requisite to remain for.’

⁶ La omits these ten words, as well as ‘a second time’ further on.

⁷ B29 has merely ‘the care which.’

one puts away the dress from the infant, and gives *it* to the mother till it *has* fed *on* the milk, *and* then it is proper to give *it* to other persons. 12. It is pure, but when the mother washes *her* head she also washes¹ the head of the infant.

13. And it is necessary *for* a menstruous woman that she *should* not pass by the end of² anything ceremonially washed, for, if it be a thousand cubits (*gaz*) *in length*, she makes the whole *of it* polluted, *and* it becomes unclean. 14. With any one *who* holds a sacred-twig stand³ she *should* not speak a word; *and* if a priest holds the sacred twigs in *his* hand, *and* a menstruous woman speaks some (*ba'hîê*) words⁴ from afar, or he walks within three steps of a menstruous woman, she makes *it*⁵ unclean.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. The sixty-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper that sunshine *should* fall on a fire, for, every time that sunshine falls upon a fire⁶, it is a⁷ sin. 2. If thou expose a fire to the sun it is a sin of three

¹ Lp, B29 have 'it is also requisite to wash.'

² B29 has 'pass a look over.'

³ This consists of two metal tripods with crescent-shaped tops, to support the small faggot of sacred twigs or wires that are bound together by a girdle of narrow strips of a date-palm leaflet; the girdle being tied on the faggot in the same manner as that on the waist of a Parsi (see Sls. III, 32 n). The sacred twigs must always be present at ceremonies, sometimes held in the hand of the officiating priest, and sometimes lying on their stand.

⁴ B29 has '*and* if she speaks words with him.'

⁵ B29 has 'it becomes.'

⁶ B29 omits these eight words.

⁷ B29 has 'much.'

stirs¹; and, if thou set down anything on the top of the fire, it is necessary that it *should* not have any hole—so that the light (nûr) and strength of the fire *might* become less—so far as thou knowest.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. The seventieth subject is this, that, *as to* any persons, when they carry a corpse to the appointed place, it is necessary that two suits of clothes be put on, on account of this work. 2. It is requisite *for* those clothes to be on², and it is necessary³ to make a dog gaze at the corpse twice, once *at* the time when life becomes separated *from* it, and once *at* the time when they wish to take *it* up.

3. Then it is necessary that both those persons be connected, *and each of them is* to tie a cord on one of his own hands, so that the hand *may* go away⁴ from *that of* the other one. 4. And, when they are moving, it is necessary for him to be prepared and not to speak a word with any one. 5. And if it be a pregnant woman *they are* to take *her* up by four persons, because there are two corpses⁵.

6. When, avoiding dead matter, *one* comes again upon it, *he has*, in the end, to wash⁶ with *ceremonial* ablution⁷, and that is requisite for the reason that he

¹ The same as the twelve dirhams in Chap. LXVIII, 1, 2.

² Lp, B29 have 'to dress in those clothes.'

³ B29 omits 'it is necessary.'

⁴ That is, the cord must hang quite slack, though B29 states that 'the hand *may* not go apart.'

⁵ See Sls. X, 10.

⁶ B29 has '*he has* to wash *his* head and body.'

⁷ Lp, B29 add 'and water.'

may not thereby be rapidly a *cause of* wickedness or death for any one¹.

7. And if *one* does not show a dog to the corpse, *and* they take *it* up, how many soever *there* be, the whole *of them* become polluted². 8. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is asserted, that every one who takes up a corpse that a dog *has* not seen is polluted and worthy of death³, and never becomes clean; his soul *also* would be wicked.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. The seventy-first subject is this, that, forasmuch as it is not desirable *for* any one to eat dead matter for the sake of medicine and remedy, *let them* beware (zinhâr) when they eat *it*⁴.

2. For it asserts, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd⁵, that it is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one *who* has⁶ eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of *his* body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes. 3. And *along* with these torments, which they accomplish on him, his soul is in hell till the resurrection.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. The seventy-second subject is this, that when any one carries dead matter to water, *or* to fire, he is

¹ Lp, B29 omit 'for any one.'

² B29 has merely 'and if, to make a dog gaze at the corpse, they take *it* up, *it is* on how many soever *there* be.'

³ Compare Sls. II, 65.

⁴ B29 has 'beware that they do not eat *it*.'

⁵ Perhaps alluding to Pahl. Vend. VII, 59-64.

⁶ B29 has 'to demolish his house and abode if any one has.'

worthy of death¹. 2. And² it asserts in revelation, that *any* year when the locust comes profusely³, it comes for the reason that dead matter is brought to water and fire. 3. And, *in* like manner, the winter is colder, and the summer is hotter.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. The seventy-third subject is this, that, when a cow or a goat *has* eaten dead matter⁴, in any place, nothing whatever of *its* flesh, *or* milk, *or* hair, *should* come into use for one year. 2. After that one year it is clean: and, if it be pregnant, its young one is likewise not clean *for* one year.

3. And if a domestic fowl *has* eaten dead matter, its flesh and eggs are, *in* like manner, not clean *for* one year.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. The seventy-fourth subject is this, that *at* dawn, when they rise up from sleep, it is first necessary to throw something⁵ on the hands, that is the hand-

¹ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 65-71.

² Lp, B29 have 'for.'

³ La has sâl, and B29 san for 'year;' Lp has 'that when the bês and locust come profusely.' The bês may be either a poisonous plant (*Napellus Moysis*), or 'distress.'

⁴ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 189-192, Sls. II, 109.

⁵ According to the long-metre Sad Dar this 'something' (as in Chap. L) is Nîrang, the ritualistic liquid or consecrated bull's urine (see Chap. XXXVI, 7 n). This chapter is, to some extent, a repetition of Chap. L.

cleansing¹. 2. Afterwards, *they are* to wash the hands quite clean with water, *in* such manner that *they are* to wash the hands three times from the forearm (sâ'hid) to the end of the hand; and the face is washed from behind the ears to below the chin *and* up to the crown of the head; and *one* washes the feet three times thoroughly, as far as the leg (sâq); then *one* recites the Kem-nâ-mazdâ².

3. If it be a place where *there* is no water, and the risk be that *the time for* the Nyâyis³ *should* pass by, it is requisite to cleanse⁴ the hands three times *with* dust, and to perform the Nyâyis. 4. Afterwards, when *one* arrives at water, *he is* to wash the hands and face a second time, and to accomplish the Nyâyis⁵.

5. Before *the time* when *one* throws something on the hands it is not proper to wash the hands and face, *and* it is a Tanâvar sin; it is also not possible to work at anything whatever *with* the hands and face not washed.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. The seventy-fifth subject is this, that, when they wish to provide a supply of water *for* any cultivated *land*, it is first necessary that they make

¹ Lp adds 'or some grass upon which no water has come, or fruit, is also to go into the nose *and* eyes, *and* make *them* clean' (see Chap. L, 2).

² See Chap. XXXV, 2 n.

³ The salutation of the sun (see Chap. VI, 2).

⁴ B29 inserts 'the face and.'

⁵ B29 omits § 4.

an inspection through every course *and* channel¹ of the water, *to ascertain* whether there be dead matter therein, or not; *and*, after that, *through* the water *in* like manner. 2. If they be in the middle of it, when the water is within their cultivated *land*, *and* dead matter comes in sight, if it be possible to ward *it off* *one* wards *it off*, and if it be possible to divert the water *one* diverts *it*. 3. And if the water arrives with dead matter unawares, it is no sin for them. 4. *But* if no inspection of the stream and cultivated *land* be made, and the water arrives with dead matter, those people are polluted, and it is necessary to perform the Bareshnûm *ceremony*² *as regards* their heads.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. The seventy-sixth subject is this, when a woman brings forth, it is necessary that she *should* not wash *her* head *for* twenty-one days, nor put *her* hand again on anything, nor walk on a terrace-roof, nor put *her* foot on a threshold in *her* habitation. 2. And after the twenty-one days, if she sees herself *in* such a state that she is able to wash *her* head, she washes *her* head. 3. And, after that, until the coming on of the fortieth day, it is requisite to abstain from the vicinity of a fire and anything that is wooden³ *or* earthen; it is also requisite to abstain from everything of her cooking and pot-boiling⁴. 4. Afterwards, when it is forty days, *she is*

¹ B29 has 'when any one wishes to enter into participation of a cultivated field, it is first necessary to observe in every course.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ La 'has, B29 kôbîn; Lp has 'hûris, 'food.'

⁴ B29 omits these thirteen words.

to wash *her* head, and it is proper *for her* to do every *kind of* work.

5. Till the lapse of a second¹ forty days it is not proper *for her* husband to make an approach to her, for it is a great sin, and it is possible that she *may* become pregnant a second time, as within a *period of* forty days women become very quickly pregnant².

6. And if after the *first* forty days she sees herself impure, unless she knows with accuracy that it has come from the infant, it is necessary to consider if *she be* menstruous.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. The seventy-seventh subject is this, that, when a woman's infant is still-born, it is necessary to give *her* first something washed with ceremony *and* brought *with* fire-ashes³, so that it *may* make the heart within her pure. 2. After that, *for* three days, it is altogether improper to give *her* water, *or* anything in which *there* is water or salt. 3. And these three days are from period to period⁴, *in* such a

¹ Only B29 and the Gugarâti have 'a second.'

² B29 omits these twelve words.

³ So in B29, which agrees with Vend. VII, 163, but La, Lp are defective. The 'something' means consecrated bull's urine, as in Chap. LXXIV, 1; this, mingled with ashes, is prescribed as the first thing to be tasted by the woman.

⁴ That is, from the given hour to the same hour on the third day, although, from what follows, it appears that, if the given hour were in the middle of any period of the day, the third day would expire at the beginning of the third similar period. Whether the three days are to be inclusive, or exclusive, of the day when the term begins, that is, whether the term is to be nearly 48 or 72 hours, is not very clear.

manner that, if the duty of mid-day¹ prayer has occurred, they extend till the mid-day prayer itself, *and she is* to pass over one other hour *and it is then* proper to swallow water. 4. After that, till the lapse of forty days, *she is* to sit apart again, and, afterwards, to undergo the Bareshnûm ceremony².

5. *On* the infant's becoming a four-months' child, whenever it is *still-born* it is a dead *body*³, for the reason that so long as it does not reach the fourth month life does not come to it. 6. And if after three months this affair occurs, *one is* to exercise great caution (i'h'tiyât) and to insist strictly on this matter.

7. For our religion has reiterated on this matter that, if *one* be polluted and do not keep himself pure, so long as he is living he never becomes clean from that pollution. 8. That, if he wash *his* head ten thousand times in *ceremonial* ablution, he certainly does not any *way* become pure from it⁴. 9. Because this pollution is not from without; it is from within every bone and vein and tendon; *and* water makes clean *only* anything that is on the skin. 10. Impurity which is *in* the bones, except *through the liquid consecrated by* the religious formula⁵, does not otherwise become clean.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. The seventy-eighth subject is this, that in every habitation *where* any one departs, passing away from

¹ Literally 'former, early.'

² See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

³ And, therefore, to be treated with all the precautions necessary in dealing with a corpse to avoid the pollution alluded to in §§ 7-10. Hence the necessity of careful enquiry in doubtful cases, as recommended in § 6.

⁴ B29 omits § 8.

⁵ See Chap. XXXVI, 7 n.

the world, it is necessary to endeavour that they *may* not eat and not consecrate fresh meat *for* three days therein¹. 2. Because the danger is that some one else *may* depart, passing away; *so* the relations of that *former* person *should* not eat meat *for* three days.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. The seventy-ninth subject is this, that it is necessary to make an effort that they *may* exercise munificence and liberality towards the good and the worthy. 2. For the exercise of liberality is grand, *in* such manner as it is better and pleasanter, *in* like manner, for the ground on which a liberal man walks, better for the wind that blows upon a liberal man, better for the horse on which a liberal man sits, better, *in* like manner, for the cow and goat that² a liberal man eats, *and*³ pleasanter for the sun and moon and stars that shine upon a liberal man.

3. To such an extent is a liberal and munificent *man* precious ('hazîz), that Hôrmazd speaks⁴ thus: 'I have wished that I *might* give a recompense to a munificent man, if it be suitable for him, *but* I have not found any recompense and happiness that are suitable for him, except a blessing.' 4. And virtuous men and the united archangels are perpetually uttering blessings on account of the liberal man who maintains no refusal of his own things to a stranger.

¹ See Sls. XVII, i, 2.

² B29 has 'whose milk,' and Lp further adds 'and butter.'

³ B29 inserts 'better and.'

⁴ Lp, B29 have 'asserts.'

5. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratust, the Spitamân, thus: 'I have created the supreme heaven of heavens for the sake of any of the liberal who provide for the worthy and give them something; and gloomy hell is for all those persons who give anything to the unworthy.'

6. *In* like manner it is declared in revelation, that there are thirty-three ways to heaven, besides *that of* the souls of the liberal. 7. If the soul be of any one else, it is not able to arrive in heaven¹ by that way. 8. Besides *this* happy² way, a soul of the liberal is able to arrive in heaven by means of the thirty-three ways. 9. For no one is it easier to arrive in heaven than *for* the liberal.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. The eightieth subject is this, that there is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû³, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* ten. 2. There is a time when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a hundred. 3. A time may be when thou recitest one⁴, *and* the merit of it may be as much as *that of* a thousand. 4. A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû⁵ may be as much as *that of* ten thousand. 5.

¹ B29 omits 'in heaven.'

² B29 has 'besides by the one.'

³ See Chap. VII, 1 n. The contents of this chapter are derived from Hn. I, 11-35 (Yt. XXI, 6-15).

⁴ B29 adds 'Ashem-vohû.'

⁵ La omits 'the merit of; ' and B29 has 'when thou recitest one Ashem-vohû, *and* the merit of it,' both here and in § 5.

A time may be when the merit of one Ashem-vohû is as much as the value (qîmat)¹ of this world and that *other* world².

6. As for that Ashem-vohû whose nature³ is as much as ten, that is when they recite *it* as they eat bread. 7. That which is, from nature, as much as a hundred is when they recite *it* after eating⁴. 8. That which is so much by nature that, *having* turned side over side, they recite *it* correctly may be a merit of a thousand⁵. 9. That which is of the nature of ten thousand is that which thou recitest when thou risest up from sleep⁶. 10. And that whose nature is as much as this world and that *other* world⁷ is when they recite *it* at the time of the dissolution of life; for, if he be not able to recite *it* himself, friends and relations give *it* into his mouth. 11⁸. If he be fit for hell he becomes fit for the ever-stationary, if he be fit for the ever-stationary he becomes fit for heaven, *and* if he be fit for heaven he becomes fit for the supreme heaven⁹.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. The eighty-first subject is this, that every duty and good work, which it is requisite to perform, they *should* accomplish while within that day, and not postpone for the morrow.

¹ So Lp, B29, Hn., but La has qîmat, 'share, destiny.'

² B29 omits these four words.

³ B29 has 'value,' both here and in §§ 7, 9, 10.

⁴ La has 'sleeping.'

⁵ B29 omits § 8.

⁶ La omits § 9.

⁷ B29 has merely 'is the price of this world.'

⁸ Lp, B29 insert 'for.'

⁹ See Pahl. Hn. I, 35 a.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the creator Hôrmazd spoke to Zaratusht thus: 'O Zaratusht! I have created no one better than thee in the world, and after thee I *shall* likewise not create *one*; thou *art* my chosen one, and I have made this world apparent on account of thee. 3. And all¹ these people ('*halâiq*) whom I have created, and the whole of these monarchs who have existed and do exist, have always maintained the hope that I *should* create thee in their days, so that they *should* accept (*qabûl kunand*) the religion, and their souls *should* attain to the supreme heaven.

4. 'Nevertheless I have created *thee* at the present time, in the middle period; for it is three thousand years from the days of Gayômarth till now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain; therefore, I have created thee in the middle. 5. For whatever is in the middle is more precious and better and more valuable, *in* the same manner as the heart is in the middle of the whole body *and* is unquestionably (*lâ-garm*) very precious², *in* the same manner as the land of *Erân*³ is more valuable than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle. 6. And the country of *Erân*, which is *in* the fourth climate (*iqilm*)⁴, is better than other places, for the reason that it is in the middle. 7. Therefore, I have created thee in the middle, in the manner of *what is* precious, and I have given thee the apostleship, and have sent *thee* to a monarch, a friend of knowledge and a friend of religion.

8. 'Afterwards, I have sent thee, with thus much

¹ B29 omits 'all.'

² B29 omits these twenty-five words.

³ The Gugarâti pronunciation of Irân.

⁴ The middle one of the seven.

preciousness, to the people; and the knowledge of the good works that mankind perform¹ in life, and have not been able to bring to hand without trouble (mi'hnat), I have made clear *and* plain unto thee; and I have made thee aware of the whole of knowledge. 9. I have taught *it*² to thee in the Avesta, in a language that no one in the world considers plain *and* easy; and I have told thee its interpretation (zand) in a language that is more current among mankind, and thou likewise hast more eloquence (faḥ'h) therein.

10. 'While *thou hast* all this greatness that I have given to thee, O Zaratust! I enact a precept for thee, that "every good work which thou art able to do to-day do not postpone for to-morrow, and accomplish with thine own hand the counsel of thine own soul." 11. Do not be proud (*gharrah*) on the *score* that it is still *the time of youth*, *and* it is quite possible to do *it hereafter*, while thou thinkest thus: "I will do *it* after this." 12. For *there* have been many people whose *remaining* life was one day, and they have been taken *away* in the presence of fifty years' work³.'

13. Therefore, make an effort, so that thou *mayest* not postpone to-day's duty for to-morrow. 14. Because Aharman, the evil wicked *one*, has intrusted two fiends with this matter, the name of one is Tardy (dêr) and the name of the other is Afterwards (pas). 15. Both these fiends are united, *and* they

¹ B29 has 'the knowledge that mankind practise.'

² Lp, B29 have 'taught the whole of knowledge.'

³ It is quite uncertain whether Hôrmazd's exhortation ends here, or elsewhere.

make an effort and exertion¹ with man, so that his duty falls back behindhand². 16. For, *as to* every duty and good work which comes forward, that fiend whose name is Tardy speaks thus: 'Thou wilt live long, and it is possible to perform this duty *at* all times;' and that fiend whose name is Afterwards says: 'Pass on now; it is possible to perform *it* afterwards.' 17. And these two fiends united keep the soul away from its own duty, till the end arrives; all duties have fallen back behindhand, and *it has* to experience regret ('hasarat) and penitence. 18. It has no benefit through duty *and* good works, *and* departs from this world.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. The eighty-second subject is this, that, when thou risest up from the bed-clothes, it is necessary to tie the *sacred thread-girdle*³ again *at* that same place, and it is not desirable to put *forth* a step without the girdle.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that every single step which *one* puts forth without the *sacred thread-girdle* is a Farmân sin⁴, *and* through four steps it becomes a Tanâvar sin which would be a weight of a thousand *and* two hundred dirhams⁵.

3. Therefore, it is necessary to keep watch *over* oneself, as regards this sin, and to tie on the *sacred thread-girdle*.

¹ Lp has 'conflict.'

² B29 omits 'behindhand.'

³ See Chaps. X, XLVI.

⁴ See Sls. I, 2, IV, 10, XI, 2.

⁵ The dirham being probably about 63 grains (see Dd. LII, 1 n).

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. The eighty-third subject is this, that it is requisite to abstain from the keeping of fasts. 2. For, in our religion, it is not proper that they *should* not eat every day *or* anything, because it would be a sin *not to do so*.

3. With us the keeping of fast is this, that we keep fast from committing sin with *our* eyes and tongue and ears and hands and feet. 4. Some people are striving about it, so that they *may* not eat anything all day, and they practise abstinence from eating anything. 5. For us it is also necessary to make an effort, so that we *may* not think, *or* speak, *or* commit any sin; and it is necessary that no bad action *should* proceed from our hands, *or* tongue, *or* ears, *or* feet, which would be a sin owing to them.

6. Since I have spoken *in* this manner, and have brought forward the fasting of the seven members of the body, that which, in other religions, is fasting owing to not eating is, in our religion, fasting owing to not committing sin.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. The eighty-fourth subject is this, when they wish to sleep, it is requisite to utter one Yathâ-ahû-vairyô *and* one Ashem-vohû¹, and to accomplish repentance *one is* to speak thus: 'I am sorrowing for, and repentant and in renunciation of all that sin which I have spoken and *was* imagined by

¹ See Chap. VII, 1 n.

me, and *has* assailed me; of these actions I am in renunciation¹.'

2. Afterwards *one is* to lie down; and every time that *one* acts *in* the manner that I have mentioned, and wears the *sacred thread-girdle* on the waist—while *he is* equally sharing the whole of the good works which they are performing in all the world during that night, *and he is* of similar merit²—every single breath that he inhales and exhales is a good work of a weight of three dirhams. 3. *And* when he turns from side to side he *should, in* like manner, recite one Ashem-vohû³.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. The eighty-fifth subject is this, that, *in* every matter that comes forward, it is necessary to enquire of the wise and relations, so as to have their advice, and not to transact any business according to one's own idea *and* opinion.

2. For it is declared in revelation, that the sacred being, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to* every business that thou wishest to transact, do thou receive wisdom and knowledge at one place with the wise *who* reply, and cast away *what is* unconsidered, so that Aharman *may* not reach *it* midway, and injury (*halal*) *may* not occur to that business.'

¹ This is the general form of a Patit or renunciation of sin.

² B29 omits these six words.

³ See Chap. LXXX, 8. This chapter nearly corresponds to Sls. X, 24.

3. *In* like manner the archangel Spendârmad¹, at the time when *her* gaze passed on to Minôkîhar², issued to him this admonition *and* precept (vašt yat), *and* said: 'O Minôkîhar! although *there* be deliberation *in* an affair, this may be no reason for it as regards the spirits³; although a horse may be good, *there* may be no resource *except* a whip for it; and although *one* may be a wise man, *there* should be no retreat on his part from having advice, so that his business *may* become complete.'

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. The eighty-sixth subject is this, that it is not proper to kill a beaver⁴; *but*, if they see *it in* any place, it is necessary to take *it* up and carry *it* to running water. 2. For, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd it is ranked⁵ *as* a great sin for the *killer*⁶; and, *as to* every one who kills a beaver, the source of his seed becomes exhausted.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. The eighty-seventh subject is this, that, when

¹ See Chap. XXXIII, 2 n.

² Pahl. Mânûskîhar (see Mkh. XXVII, 41 n). It appears from Sls. X, 28, where a portion of this tale is quoted, that it comes originally from the *Kîdrast Nask*.

³ B29 has 'although a knife be sharp, *there* may be no resource except a whetstone for it,' which follows the next clause in Sls. X, 28. In the original text this change of meaning is produced by a difference in only four words, and the author of the Sad Dar has probably misunderstood the Pahlavi original when translating it.

⁴ Literally 'a water dog.'

⁵ B29 has 'decreed.'

⁶ As shown by the excessive atonements prescribed in Vend. XIV, in default of which he is said to go to hell till the resurrection.

any one departs from the world¹, it is necessary to make an effort, in those three days, so that they *may* continuously perform the ceremonial of Srôsh² and make the fire blaze, and *may* recite the Avesta; because the soul is three days in this world³.

2. The fourth night it is requisite to consecrate three sacred cakes; one *with* a dedication to Rashn⁴ and Âstâd⁵, one *with* a dedication to the spirit Râm⁶, and one *with* a dedication to the righteous guardian spirit; and one is to consecrate a dress and something as a righteous gift for that soul⁷.

3. It is necessary that the dress be new and of uniform quality (*gins*), and such as turban, shirt, vest, girdle, trowsers, shoes (*pasandil*)⁸, and mouth-veil. 4. Since they give those among the spirits a counterpart of those garments, therefore, whatever is more beautiful, *and* more surpassing in grandeur for the soul *in* that place, is necessary where that place is, because our fathers and mothers and the whole of *our* relations are *in* that place. 5. *And* since the souls recognise and ask after one another in that world, they are, therefore, more joyful on account of every one whose dress⁹ and grandeur are more surpassing. 6. In a similar manner, when the dress is old and ragged, they are ashamed, and exhibit heaviness of heart.

¹ La omits 'from the world.'

² See Mkh. II, 115 n, Sls. XVII, 3.

³ See Mkh. II, 114, 158.

⁴ See Mkh. II, 118, 119, Sls. XVII, 4.

⁵ Av. arstâd, 'uprightness;' the angel whose name is given to the twenty-sixth day of the Parsi month.

⁶ The angel of the upper air, often called Vâê the good.

⁷ B29 has 'on that cake.'

⁸ B29 has mûzah, 'boots,' and places them last.

⁹ B29 inserts 'is more beautiful.'

7. They call that dress a righteous gift because they consecrate *it*; and it is necessary to give *it* to the priests and high-priests, as it is a righteous gift on account of their position. 8. And it is suitable for them to keep *it* for the reason that the souls are nearer to them; *people should also* make an effort that the dress may be stitched like the dress of a priest.

9. The sacred beings make up the account *and* reckoning for the soul when the priest recites *frasasti ahurahê mazdau*¹ and removes the *Frasast*² from this side to that side. 10. The soul passes over the *K'invad* bridge when, *on* the fourth night, it arrives from the world *at* the *K'invad* bridge. 11. First it goes to the abode of fire (*âtas-gâh*)³; afterwards, one step reaches to the star station, the second step reaches to the moon station, the third step to the sun station, *and* with the fourth step it reaches the *K'invad* bridge⁴, *and* they convey it to its own place.

¹ 'Glory *be* to Ahura-mazda.' Lp adds '*ahunahê vairyêhê* as far as *ashaya nô paiti-gamyâd*,' that is 'to the Ahuna-vairya formula,' &c. as far as 'may he come to us in righteousness' (Yas. VIII, 1-3).

² A *Frasast* is a sacred cake marked on the upper side with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while repeating the words *humat hûkht huvarst*, 'well-thought, well-spoken, well-done,' thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts. It is placed before the consecrating priest, but to his right, while the ordinary sacred cakes are to his left (see Haug's *Essays*, pp. 396, 407, 408).

³ That is, when it leaves the vicinity of the body, after hovering about it for three nights (see *Sls.* XII, 5).

⁴ In other accounts the soul has to pass over this bridge before it steps forwards to the stars and moon and sun (see *Mkh.* II, 123, 145, VII, 9-12, Dd. XXXIV, 3, AV. V, 2, VII-IX, 1).

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. The eighty-eighth subject is this, that, *as to any piece of wood* on which they carry a corpse, or on which they wash *it*, and that which may be defiled with blood and impurity, that on which menstruous defilement, or a bare limb, is deposited by a *menstruous* woman, and that on which they impale a human being, it is necessary to avoid the whole of these *pieces of wood*, and not to work with¹ them again, because one's dress becomes impure; and it is not proper to burn *them*. 2. It is necessary to put *them* in a place where any one, *who* pulls *them* up and stirs *them*, *will not*² bring *them* into the use of mankind.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. The eighty-ninth subject is this, that³ Hôrmazd keeps watch when any one, through imposition (*hîlat*) and unawares, eats dead matter, *or* gives *it* to one of the good religion, or throws dead matter upon one of the good religion. 2. While his will and command are, *that* it is necessary that *such a person should* undergo the Bareshnûm ceremony⁴, and accomplish repentance⁵ before the *spiritual* chiefs and high-priests. 3. So that, after that, *one may* indicate to him the sin in these *actions*, and he *may* perform the retribution which the high-priest mentions, in order that, owing to this, his sin *may* depart.

¹ La has 'to eat on,' Lp 'to buy with,' B29 'to touch on.'

² B29 has 'any one *will not* take *them* up and not stir *them* about, so that he does not.'

³ B29, J15 insert 'the religion of.' ⁴ See Chap. XXXVI, 1 n.

⁵ See Chap. XLV, 7 n.

CHAPTER XC.

1. The ninetieth subject is this, that it is not proper that they *should* give anything to a sinful person *or one* worthy of death, because¹ it is like that they have placed in the jaws of a destructive serpent (azdahâ). 2. And, if this be food which he devours *and* they give, they pass into the committing of sin; *and* that person *who* may have given food to him is a participater with him. 3. In eating food, if *there* be no danger and fear of them², it is not desirable to give anything to them, for it would be a great sin.

CHAPTER XCI.

1. The ninety-first subject is this, that is, *in* what mode is it necessary to wash everything that becomes polluted by dead matter?

2. Gold *one is* to wash over once with *ceremonial* ablution³ to make *it* dry once with dust, and to wash *it* over once with water. 3. Silver (nuqrah) *one is to do* twice; copper, tin, lead, and brass *articles* three times; steel four times; stone *articles* six times; turquoise, ruby (yâqût), amber, carbuncle, cornelian ('haqîq), and, like these, whatever is from a mine (ma'hdan) are all to be washed six times in the manner which I have stated. 4. Afterwards they are clean *in* that manner, when every single time *one* washes *them* over with *ceremonial* ablution, makes

¹ B29 omits these six words.

² That is, if the sinners begging assistance be not dangerous.

³ That is, with consecrated bull's urine (see Sls. II, 112-117).

them dry with dust, and washes *it* off¹; and just like this *on* the occasion of the other times—up to three times, or four, or six—as far as whatever is ordered.

5. For pearls two modes² are ordered, but the conclusion is this, that they *should* wash *them* six times, just like stone *articles*. 6. The whole of wooden and earthen *ware* it is requisite to throw *away*. 7. All clothing of the body it is requisite to wash six times *in* the manner that I have stated, *and*, after that, to put *them* in a place where the sun and moon must *shine* on them *for* six months³; after that they are fit for a menstruous woman.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. The ninety-second subject is this, that it is necessary to properly maintain the sacred fire⁴ and some one who *will* work with assiduity (kahdân) to provide⁵ maintenance and sympathy for it. 2. And the supply of its firewood is entirely *in* such a manner that they burn this year the firewood of last year⁶. 3. *At* midnight they make *it* blaze up, *and* put incense upon *it in* such a manner that the wind carries off its scent.

4. The demons and fiends rush away, because there is the glory of the sacred fire that we are able to make a living existence in the midst of this

¹ Lp, B29 add 'with water.'

² Pahl. Vend. VII, 188 gives three opinions.

³ See Pahl. Vend. VII, 36.

⁴ Literally 'the fire of Bahirâm.' Compare Chap. XXXIX.

⁵ Lp, B29, J15 have 'so that some one *may* keep watch over it, and is to provide proper.'

⁶ So that it may be quite dry, as to put anything damp into a fire would be considered sinful (see AV. X, 6-14).

people. 5. For, if no fiend¹ and the glory of the archangels and the day of the sacred fire had not existed, it would not have been possible to produce the living existence any day. 6. And, therefore, it makes *it* expedient that they supply a fire-attendant to maintain the firewood and fire, so that a seeking for *its* safety ('hâfiyat) *may* come into *operation*, and they *may* know a support and protection for it that would be acceptable.

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. The ninety-third subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion to practise abstinence from uttering slander (*ghaibāt*) behind *one's* back².

2. In the commentary of the Vendîdâd it states, that³ slander is the greatest of all sins. 3. Every one who perpetrates slander *about* any one is like him who has eaten dead matter—and the eating of dead matter is a sin⁴ *that* has likewise been mentioned, before this, in this book⁵—but the statement is like this, while they do not indicate *any* punishment for it in this world⁶, it does not go *without it* in that *other* world. 4. Therefore it is necessary for those of the good religion to make an effort, so that they *may* guard themselves from this slander.

5. In order that they *may* show thy soul, *when*⁷ resigning life, the satisfaction (*igzâ*) for the sin, it

¹ That is, the absence of fiends. B29 has 'if the splendour.'

² Literally 'face.' ³ B29 inserts 'the perpetration of.'

⁴ B29, J15 have 'a great sin.' ⁵ See Chap. LXXI.

⁶ Thereby differing from the sin of eating dead matter.

⁷ Lp, B29 have 'show at the time of.'

states, in the commentary of the Vendîdâd, *as to* any one by whom slander is perpetrated, if *the injured person* goes before him *and* begs a righteous gift from him, and he provides a righteous gift for that *person*, the sin departs from him.

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. The ninety-fourth subject is this, when a person confers a benefit *or* kindness upon any one, it is necessary that *the latter should* understand the value of it, and lay the obligation (minnat) upon himself; and, if he be able, he *should* provide a benefit to that amount (miqdâr) for that *person*.

2. It is declared in revelation, *that*, when a person confers a benefit upon any one, Hôrmazd¹ gives him ten times as much, *as* an equivalent. 3. And, if *the other* be not understanding² the justice *of this*, it is related in the commentary of the Avesta *in* this manner, that it is a great sin for him. 4. And Aharman³ speaks like this, namely: 'That sinner is akin to me; *in* the end he will come into my hands; I will not give him into the hands of any demon, *but* I will inflict punishment *with* my own hands.' 5. *And* the chief priest⁴ says it is necessary for all Zaratustians that they keep themselves far from this sin.

CHAPTER XCV.

1. The ninety-fifth subject is this, that it is necessary that it be expedient for all those of the

¹ Lp, B29 add 'the good *and* propitious.'

² Lp, B29 have 'praising.'

³ Lp, B29 add 'the accursed.'

⁴ Probably meaning the commentator.

good religion to perform the salutation of the sun¹ three times every day.

2. If *one* performs *it* once, it is a good work of one Tanâvar²; if he performs *it* twice, it is twice as much; *and* if he performs *it* three times, it is thrice as much. 3. And if he does not perform one repetition, it is a sin of thirty stîrs³; if he does not perform two repetitions, it is twice as much sin; and if he does not perform three repetitions, it is thrice as much sin.

4. And it is the same as this with regard to *the salutations* of the moon and fire⁴. 5. Therefore it is expedient, in the religion, for every one of the good religion to bring the salutations *into* practice.

CHAPTER XCVI.

1. The ninety-sixth subject is this, when any one departs to that *other* world it is not proper for others that they *should* utter an outcry, maintain grief, *and* make lamentation *and* weeping. 2. Because every tear *that* issues *from* the eyes becomes one *drop* of that river⁵ before the *K'invad*

¹ The Khûrshêd Nyâyis (see Chaps. VI, 2, LXVIII, 4).

² That is, sufficient to counterbalance a Tanâvar or Tanâpûhar sin (see Sls. I, 2).

³ Equivalent to an Aredûs sin, or blow with a weapon (see Sls. I, 1, 2).

⁴ The Mâh and Âtash Nyâyis. B29 also interpolates 'the Mihir' Nyâyis.

⁵ 'This river is the many tears that men shed from *their* eyes, as they make lamentation and weeping for the departed. They shed those tears unlawfully, and they swell to this river. Those who are not able to cross over are those for whom, after their departure,

bridge, *and* then the soul of that dead *person* remains *at* that place; it is difficult for it to make a passage there, and it is not able to pass over the *K'invad* bridge. 3. It is therefore necessary that they recite the Avesta and celebrate the ceremonial, so that the passage of that place *may* become easy for it.

CHAPTER XCVII.

1. The ninety-seventh subject is this, that it is expedient for¹ those of the good religion, that they converse, according to their own ability, *in* the presence of officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, and hearken cordially to whatever they say. 2. And they *should* understand *their* statements, and, during them, they *should* not utter any reply *or* question (sûâl).

3. For in the commentary of the Avesta it says, *as to* every one who brings altercation ('huggat) into any statement of the elders of the religion, '*one* breaks out his tongue, or he goes out from this world abortively (mubattalâ).'

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1. The ninety-eighth subject is this, that it is necessary for all those of the good religion, that they learn the Avesta characters *in* the presence of

much lamentation and weeping were made; and those *who* cross more easily are those for whom less was made' (AV. XVI, 7-10).

¹ Lp, B29 insert 'all.'

priests *and* teachers, so as to read, *and that* no error *may* continue *in* the Nyâyises and Yasts.

2. And it is still more expedient for priests *and* teachers, that they teach the Avesta characters to all those of the good religion¹; and if a priest, while teaching, shows incompetence (taqîr), it is a great sin for him. 3. For Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, spoke to Zaratust thus: '*As to every priest and teacher who commits a blunder in teaching*² those of the good religion, I make him just as far from heaven as the width of the earth³.'

CHAPTER XCIX.

1. The ninety-ninth subject is this, that it is not proper for officiating priests, high-priests, *spiritual* chiefs, and priests, that they teach Pahlavi to every one.

2. For Zaratust enquired of Hôrmazd thus: 'To whom is it proper to teach Pahlavi?' 3. *And* Hôrmazd, the good *and* propitious, gave a reply thus: '*To every one who is of thy family (nasl), an officiating priest, a high-priest, a spiritual chief, and every one who is an intelligent priest.* 4. ⁴ Besides these that I have mentioned, if *one* teaches *it* to others⁵ it is a great sin for him; *and* if he has performed many duties *and* good works, the end for him may *still* be hell.'

¹ B29 omits these seven words.

² Lp, B29 insert 'the Avesta to.'

³ Compare Chap. XXVIII, 3.

⁴ B29 inserts 'it is not proper for any other person.'

⁵ Lp has 'if *there be* any one of the others, it is not proper that *one* teaches *him*.'

CHAPTER C.

1. The hundredth subject is this, when a person molests or smites any one *who is* innocent, it is a sin of one Tanâvar every day for that *person*, as long as he lives¹. 2. *And*, when he departs from this world, the angel Mihir and the angel Rashn make up his account and reckoning. 3. *He is*² full of affliction, and experiences much regret and penitence, and has no advantage from it³. 4. It is *therefore* necessary to keep oneself far from this sin⁴.

¹ See Sls. X, 17.

² Lp, B29, J15 have 'afterwards, he remains *in* that place.'

³ B29, J15 add '*in* that place.'

⁴ B29, J15 add 'and to do good to every one.' In La this chapter was originally numbered XCIX, and Chap. XLIX was subsequently inserted after it, and numbered C. In Lp it was numbered XCVIII, and occurs again as Chap. C, while Chap. XCIX is a repetition of XLIX (which is numbered LII in Lp). The discrepancy in the numbering of the chapters, of one in the case of La, and two in Lp, extends backwards as far as the confusion mentioned in p. 311, note 1, and was evidently due to that confusion.

INDEX.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. The references in this index are to the pages of the introduction, and to the chapters and sections of the translations; the chapters being denoted by the larger ciphers. •

2. Though different forms of the same name may occur in the translation only one form is usually given in the index, to which the references to all forms are attached; except when the forms differ so much as to require to be widely separated in the index.

3. Abbreviations used are:—Av. for Avesta; com. for commentary or commentator; Dr. for Doctor; Gug. for Gugarâtî; Hâd. for Hâdökht; Int. for Introduction; m. for mountain; Mkh. for Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad; MSS. for manuscripts; n. for foot-note; Pâr. for Pârsî; Per. for Persian; Pl. for Pahlavi; Prof. for Professor; Pz. for Pâzand; rev. for revelation; scrip. for scripture; Sd. for Sad Dar; Sg. for Sikand-gûmânîk Vigâr; Sk. for Sanskrit; Test. for Testament; Vd. for Vendîdâd.

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- Sindh, land, Int. 23.
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- Sîrôzah, rite, Sd. 5, 1 n.
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 30, 2; 56, 4; 84, 1.
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- Yazd, town, Int. 23.
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 256 n; Sd. 1, 2, 3; 4, 3, 4; 9,
 5; 10, 15; 52, 1 n; 61, 2;
 65, 9, 10; 67, 5; 81, 2, 10;
 85, 2; 98, 3; 99, 2; the Spît-
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 79, 5; supreme, Sg. 1, 18.
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TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

CONSONANTS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.	
	I Class.			II Class.								III Class.
Gutturales.												
1 Tenuis	k	.	.	.	क	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	𐬕	k	
2 " aspirata	kh	.	.	.	ख	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	𐬖	kh	
3 Media	g	.	.	.	ग	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	𐬗	.	
4 " aspirata	gh	.	.	.	घ	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	𐬘	.	
5 Gutturo-labialis	q	.	.	.	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	.	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	.	.	.	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	.	
7 Spiritus asper	h	.	.	.	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs	
8 " lenis	,	.	.	.	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	.	
9 " asper faucalis	'h	.	.	.	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	.	
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	.	.	.	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	.	
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	.
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	.	'h	.	.	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	.
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)												
13 Tenuis . . . . .	.	k	.	.	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	𐬡	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	.	kh	.	.	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	𐬢	kh
15 Media . . . . .	.	g	.	.	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	𐬣	.
16 " aspirata . . . . .	.	gh	.	.	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	𐬤	.
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	.	ñ	.	.	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	𐬥	.

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.				Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.								
18 Semivocalis	y				य	𐬨	𐬨	ي	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper		(y)				𐬨	𐬨				
20 " lenis		(y)				𐬨	𐬨				
21 " asper assibilatus		s			श	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ש	
22 " lenis assibilatus		z				𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z
Dentales.											
23 Tenuis	t				त	𐬨	𐬨	ت	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th				थ	𐬨	𐬨	ת	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata						𐬨	𐬨				
26 Media	d				द	𐬨	𐬨	ד	ד	ד	
27 " aspirata	dh				ध	𐬨	𐬨	ד	ד	ד	
28 " assibilata						𐬨	𐬨				
29 Nasalis	n				न	𐬨	𐬨	ن	ن	נ	n
30 Semivocalis	l				ल	𐬨	𐬨	ل	ل	ל	l
31 " mollis 1		l				𐬨	𐬨				
32 " mollis 2						𐬨	𐬨				
33 Spiritus asper 1	s				स	𐬨	𐬨	س	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2						𐬨	𐬨				
35 " lenis	z					𐬨	𐬨	ز	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1						𐬨	𐬨				
37 " asperimus 2						𐬨	𐬨				

Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.)		Labiales.	
38 Tenuis	t	38 Tenuis	p
39 " aspirata	th	48 Tenuis	ph
40 Media	d	49 " aspirata	b
41 " aspirata	dh	50 Media	bh
42 Nasalis	n	51 " aspirata	
43 Semivocalis	r	52 Tenuissima	m
44 " fricata	r	53 Nasalis	w
45 " diacritica	r	54 Semivocalis	hw
46 Spiritus asper	sh	55 " aspirata	f
47 " lenis	zh	56 Spiritus asper	v
		57 " lenis	
		58 Anusvāra	
		59 Visarga	

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	ō									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	ɛ			ए						
9 " longa	ē			ऐ						
10 Lingualis brevis	ɛ			ऋ						
11 " longa	ī			ॠ						
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ऋ						e
15 " longa	ē (ai)	(e)		ॠ						ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	āi	(āi)		ॠ	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄	اي	א	āi
17 " "	ei (ēi)			ॠ						ei, ēi
18 " "	oi (ōu)			ॠ						o
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ						o
20 " longa	ō (au)	(o)		ॠ						ō
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	āu	(au)		ॠ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅	او	א	āu
22 " "	eu (ēu)			ॠ						
23 " "	ou (ōu)			ॠ						
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			ॠ						
25 Palatalis fracta	ī			ॠ						
26 Labialis fracta	ü			ॠ						ü
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ॠ						

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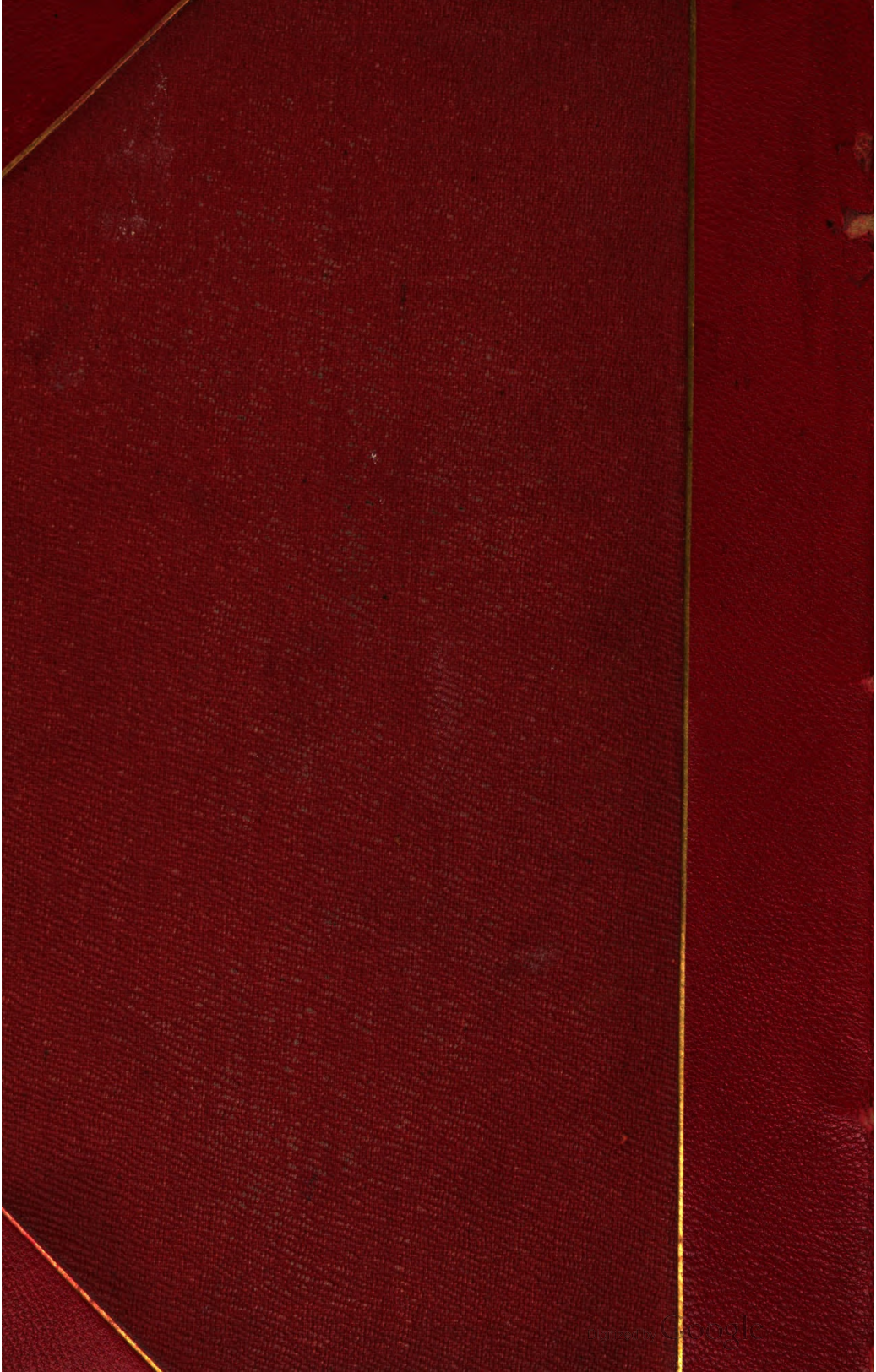
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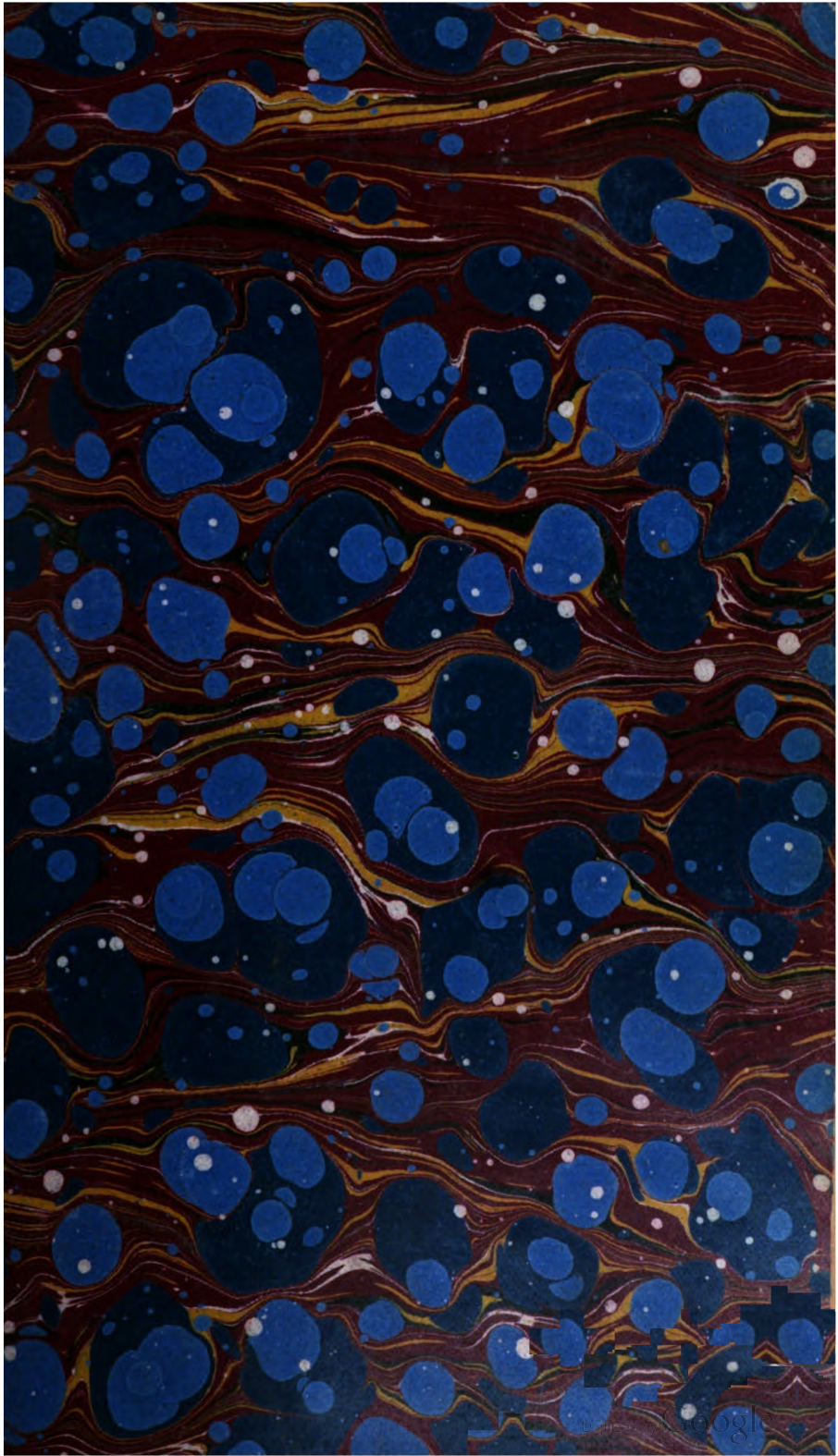
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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. XXV

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1886

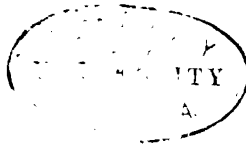
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THE LAWS OF MANU

TRANSLATED

WITH EXTRACTS FROM SEVEN COMMENTARIES



BY

G. BÜHLER

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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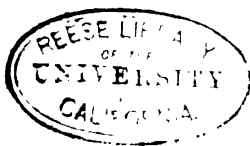
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INTRODUCTION.

I.

DIFFICULT as the historical problems are which the Dharma-sûtras translated in vols. ii and xiv of this Series offer, they are infinitely less complicated than those connected with the metrical law-books and especially with the Manu-smṛiti, or, to speak more exactly, with Bṛigu's version of the Institutes of the Sacred Law proclaimed by Manu. Though mostly the materials available for the inquiry into the history of the Dharma-sûtras are scanty, and in part at least belong to the floating traditions which are generally current among the learned, but of uncertain origin, they not only exhibit no extravagancies, but agree fully with the facts known from strictly historical sources. Moreover, and this is the most important point, though the text of the Dharma-sûtras has not always been preserved with perfect purity, they have evidently retained their original character. They do not pretend to be anything more than the compositions of ordinary mortals, based on the teaching of the Vedas, on the decisions of those who are acquainted with the law, and on the customs of virtuous Āryas. In some cases their authors say as much in plain words. Thus Āpastamba repeatedly laments the sinfulness and the weakness of 'the men of later times,' and Gautama warns against an imitation of the irregular conduct of the ancients whose great 'lustre' preserved them from falling. It is, further, still possible to recognise, even on a superficial examination, for what purpose the Dharma-sûtras were originally composed. Nobody can doubt for a moment that they are manuals written by the teachers of the Vedic schools for the guidance of their pupils, that at first they were held to be authoritative in restricted circles, and that they were later only acknowledged as sources of

the sacred law applicable to all Âryas. This fact is fully acknowledged by the Hindu tradition, even in cases where the Dharma-sûtras no longer are the property of particular Vedic schools.

The metrical *Smṛitis*, on the other hand, are surrounded by clearly fictitious traditions, by mythological legends which either may have grown up spontaneously, because the real origin had been forgotten, or may have been fabricated intentionally in order to show that these works possess divine authority and, hence, have a claim to implicit obedience on the part of all Âryas. Nay, what is more, such legends or portions of them have been introduced into the text, and obscure the real character of the *Smṛitis*. These peculiarities are particularly marked in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, where the whole first chapter is devoted to the purpose of showing the mighty scope of the book, and of setting forth its divine origin as well as the manner in which it was revealed to mankind. Its opening verses narrate how the great sages approached Manu, the descendant of self-existent Brahman, and asked him to explain the sacred law. Manu agrees to their request, and gives to them an account of the creation as well as of his own origin from Brahman. After mentioning that he learnt 'these Institutes of the Sacred Law' from the creator who himself produced them, and that he taught them to the ten sages whom he created in the beginning, he transfers the work of expounding them to Bhrigu, one of his ten mind-born sons. The latter begins his task by completing, as the commentators call it, Manu's account of the creation. First he gives the theory of the seven Manvantaras, the Yugas, and other divisions of time, as well as an incidental description of the order of the creation. Next he briefly describes the duties of the four principal castes, passes then to an encomium of the Brāhmaṇas and of the Institutes of Manu, and winds up with an enumeration of the contents of all the twelve chapters of the work, which he promises to expound 'exactly as it was revealed to him.' In the following chapters we find frequent allusions to the situation which the first describes. In about forty passages a new

topic is introduced by a prefatory verse which contains phrases like 'such and such a matter has been explained to you, now listen to,' &c., or 'I will next declare,' &c.

Twice (V, 1-3 and XII, 1-2) the sages are represented as interrupting Bhrigu's discourse and expressing their desire to be instructed on particular points, and on both occasions Bhrigu is again named as the narrator. Moreover in a number of verses¹ Manu is particularly mentioned as the author of certain rules, and II, 7 the authoritative-ness of Manu's teaching is emphatically asserted, 'because he was omniscient.' In two other passages Manu appears, however, in different characters. VII, 42 he is enumerated among the kings who gained sovereignty by their humility, and XII, 123 he is identified with the supreme Brahman.

This account of the origin of our Manu-smṛiti would have to be slightly modified by those who accept as genuine the verse² which stands at the beginning of the Smṛiti according to the commentators Govindarāga, Nārāyaṇa, and Rāghavānanda, as well as according to the Kasmīr copy and other MSS. As this verse contains an invocation of the self-existent Brahman, and a promise to explain the laws which Manu taught, it indicates, as Govindarāga says³, that 'some pupil of Bhrigu recites the work which had descended to him through an unbroken line of teachers.' According to this version we have, therefore, a triple exordium instead of a double one, and our Manu-smṛiti does not contain the original words of Bhrigu, but a recension of his recension such as it had been handed down among his pupils. The additional verse is apparently intended to make the story more plausible.

The remarks which the commentators make on this narrative are scanty, and, though they are meant to support its credibility, they are, partly at least, calculated to discredit it. Medhātithi states in his remarks on Manu I, 1, that the Pragāpati Manu was 'a particular individual, perfect

¹ See the index s. v. Manu.

² See note on Manu I, 1.

³ इह भृगुशिष्यः कश्चिद्विद्विज्ज्ञपरंपरायात्स्मृत्यर्थप्रवक्ष्यमिदमाह ॥

in the study of many branches of the Veda, in the knowledge (of its meaning) and in the performance (of its precepts), and known through the sacred tradition which has been handed down in regular succession¹. Govindarāga closely agrees, and says that Manu is 'a great sage, who received his name on account of his acquaintance with the meaning of the whole Veda, who is known to all learned men through the tradition handed down in regular succession, and who is entrusted with causing the creation, preservation, and destruction (of the world)²'. Kullūka, on the other hand, though he agrees with respect to the etymology and explanation of Manu's name, deriving it from man, 'to know (the meaning of the Veda),' and though he admits the human character of his Śāstra, somewhat differs in the description of the person. Referring to XII, 123, he declares Manu to be a manifestation or incarnation of the supreme Soul. Further, Medhātithi and Kullūka adduce in their remarks on the same verse various passages from the Śruti and the Smṛiti, tending to prove the authoritative-ness of the Manu-smṛiti. Both quote slightly varying versions of the famous Vedic passage which declares that 'All Manu said is medicine.' Medhātithi adds only one more anonymous verse, to the effect that 'the Vedas were proclaimed by the great sages, but the Smārta or traditional lore by Manu³.' Kullūka gives two other passages, one from the Bṛhaspati-smṛiti which places Manu's Śāstra at the head of all works of the same class, and another from the Mahābhārata which declares that 'the Purāṇas, Manu's laws, the Vedas, and the medical works must not be opposed by (adverse) reasoning.' Both commentators mention also that the pre-eminence of Manu's teaching is admitted in other passages of the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the

¹ मनुर्नाम कश्चित्पुरुषविशेषोनेकवेदशास्त्राध्ययनविज्ञानानुष्ठानसंपन्नः स्मृतिपरंपराप्रसिद्धः ॥

² मनुर्नाम महर्षिरशेषवेदार्थज्ञानेन प्राप्तमनुसंज्ञ आगमपरंपरया सकलविद्वज्जनकर्णगोचरीभूतः सर्गस्थितिप्रलयकारणेधिकृतः ॥

³ अथो यजूर्भि सामानि मन्त्रा आपर्वशाश्च ये । महर्षिभिस्तु तत्प्रोक्तं स्मार्तिं तु मनुर्व्रवीत् ॥

Itihâsas, and the Smṛitis. Finally, in the notes on Manu I, 58, they discuss the question, how the Smṛiti can be called the Mânava Dharmasâstra, though, as is admitted in the work itself, Brahman was its real author. Medhâtithi offers two explanations. First he contends that Brahman produced only 'the multitude of injunctions and prohibitions,' while the work itself was composed by Manu. Next he says that, according to others, the Sâstra may be called Manu's, even if it were first composed by Brahman. In proof of this assertion he points to the analogous case of the river Ganges, which, though originating elsewhere, i.e. in heaven, is called Haimavatî, because it is first seen in the Himavat or Himâlaya, and to that of the Kâthaka Sâkhâ, which, though studied and taught by many others, is named after Kâtha. In conclusion, he adds, 'Nârada also records, "This work, consisting of one hundred thousand verses, was composed by Pragâpati (Brahman); it was successively abridged by Manu and others¹."' Kullûka, who gives a somewhat insufficient abstract of Medhâtithi's discussion, refers to the same passage of Nârada, and bases on it his own explanation of I, 58, according to which it means that Brahman first composed the law-book, and that Manu condensed its contents in his own language and taught it in that form to his pupils.

This is, as far as I know, all that the commentaries say about Manu and the history of the Mânava Dharmasâstra, and their remarks contain also the substance of all that has been brought forward in other discussions on the same subject, with which we meet elsewhere². Important as they may appear to a Hindu who views the question of the origin of the Manu-smṛiti with the eye of faith, they are of little value for the historical student who stands outside the circle of the Brâhmanical doctrines. The statements regarding the person of Manu can, at the best, only furnish materials

¹ नारदश्च स्मरति । शतसाहस्रो ग्रन्थः प्रजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः
क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति ॥

² See e. g. the passages translated in Professor Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 87-94.

for mythological research. The arguments in support of the authenticity and authoritativeness of the *Manu-smṛiti* are extremely weak. For the Vedic passage which the commentators adduce is, strictly speaking, a misquotation. It occurs in four slightly differing versions in three *Samhitās* and in one *Brāhmaṇa*¹. But in all the four places it refers, in the first instance, to Vedic Mantras which Manu is said to have revealed or seen. As, however, the assertion of the wholesomeness of Manu's teaching is couched in general terms, it may probably be inferred that many sayings, attributed to the father of mankind, were known to the authors of the four Vedic works, and it is not improbable that legal maxims were included amongst them². But Medhātithi's and Kullūka's assumption that our *Manu-smṛiti* is meant in the passages quoted would require very strong special proof, as its language and part of its doctrines by no means agree with those of the Vedic times. Of course, no such proof is offered, and it is not probable that it ever will be offered. The quotations made by the commentators from the *Mahābhārata* and from the *Bṛhaspati-smṛiti*, as well as their well-founded assertion that in the *Purāṇas* and in many *Smṛitis* Manu is frequently referred to as an authority on the sacred law, are of greater importance. It is undoubtedly true that the two works mentioned by Kullūka refer to a particular *Dharmasāstra* attributed to Manu, and the same remark holds good with respect to those passages of the *Purāṇas* and of the *Smṛitis* where, in enumerations of the authors of *Dharmasāstras*, Manu is placed at the head of the list. Yet even this evidence is of little use, because on the one hand the antiquity of many of the works in which Manu's name occurs is extremely doubtful, and on the other hand the existence of several recensions of Manu's laws is admitted, and can be shown to have been a fact. Hence a reference to a *Manu-smṛiti* in a

¹ *Kāṇḍika* XI, 5 (apparently quoted by Medhātithi); *Maitrāyaṇīyā Samhitā* I, 1, 5; *Taittirīyā Samhitā* II, 2, 10, 2; and *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa* XXIII, 16, 7 (quoted by Kullūka).

² I would not infer with Professor Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 364, that a legal work ascribed to a Manu was known to the authors of the four works; see also below, p. lx.

Purāṇa or a Smṛiti does not prove much for Bhrigu's Samhitā, if, at the same time, it is not made evident that the latter is really meant, and that the work in which it is contained really has a claim to be considered ancient. In illustration of this point it may suffice to remark here that the Brīhaspati-smṛiti, which Kullūka adduces as a witness, is by no means an ancient work, but considerably later than the beginning of our era, because it gives a definition of golden dināras, an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman denarii¹. Regarding Manu and the Mahābhārata more will be said below. Medhātithi's quotation from Nārada is very unlucky; for it is inexact, and worded in such a manner as to veil the serious discrepancy which exists between the stories told in the Mānava Dharmasāstra and in the Nārada-smṛiti. The introduction to the latter, as read in the MSS. of the vulgata, does not state that the original law-book of one hundred thousand verses was composed by Pragāpati and abridged by Manu and others, but alleges that its author was Manu Pragāpati, and that Nārada and Sumati the son of Bhrigu summarised it². The text of Nārada, which is accompanied by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's edition of Asahāya's commentary, names one more sage, Mārkaṇḍeya, who also tried his hand at Manu Pragāpati's enormous work. Whichever of the two versions may be the original one, it is evident that Medhātithi's representation of Nārada's statement is inexact, and that the latter differs considerably from the story in our Manu-smṛiti, which asserts that it is the original work composed by Brahman, and revealed by Manu to Bhrigu, who explains it to the great sages 'exactly as he received it.' Hence Nārada's story discredits the details of the account given in the Mānava Dharmasāstra. It might, at the best, be only quoted to prove the existence of the general belief that Manu was the first lawgiver of India. These remarks will

¹ West and Bühler, Digest, p. 48, third edition.

² See Jolly, Nārada, p. 2, and Tagore Lectures of 1883, p. 46. My conjecture that the introduction to Nārada belongs to Asahāya, not to the Smṛiti itself (West and Bühler, Digest, p. 49), is not tenable.

suffice to show that the explanatory notes offered by the Indian commentators on the origin and history of the Manu-smṛiti are not suited to furnish a basis for a critical discussion of these questions, and that hence they have been deservedly set aside by most modern Sanskritists who have written on the subject. As regards the theories of the latter, it would be useless to enumerate those preceding Professor Max Müller's now generally accepted view, according to which our Manu-smṛiti is based on, or is in fact a recast of an ancient Dharma-sūtra. But, well known as are his hypotheses and the later discoveries confirming them, an introduction to the laws of Manu would, I think, be incomplete without a full restatement of his arguments and of their additional supports furnished by others.

The considerations on which Professor Max Müller based his explanation of the origin of the Manu-smṛiti may be briefly stated as follows¹. The systematic cultivation of the sacred sciences of the Brāhmins began and for a long time had its centre in the ancient Sūtraśāstras, the schools which first collected the fragmentary doctrines, scattered in the older Vedic works, and arranged them for the convenience of oral instruction in Sūtras or strings of aphorisms. To the subjects which these schools chiefly cultivated, belongs besides the ritual, grammar, phonetics, and the other so-called Aṅgas of the Veda, the sacred law also. The latter includes not only the precepts for the moral duties of all Āryas, but also the special rules regarding the conduct of kings and the administration of justice. The Sūtra treatises on law thus cover the whole range of topics, contained in the metrical Smṛitis attributed to Manu, Yāgyavalkya, and other sages. Though only one Dharma-sūtra, that of the Āpastambīyas, actually remains connected with the aphorisms on the ritual and other sacred subjects, the existence of the Dharmasāstras of Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, and Viṣṇu, which are likewise composed in Sūtras, proves that formerly

¹ See his letter to Mr. Morley, reprinted in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. ix-xi, and *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 132-134. Compare also the analogous views formed independently by Professors Weber and Stenzler, *Indische Studien*, vol. i, pp. 69, 143, 243-4.

they were more numerous. The perfectly credible tradition of the *Mīmāṃsā* school, which declares that originally each Vedic school or *Karana* possessed a peculiar work on Dharma, confirms this assumption. While the Dharma-sūtras possess a considerable antiquity, dating between 600–200 B. C., the metrical *Smṛitis* cannot be equally ancient, because there is much in their form that is modern, and especially because the epic *Anuṣṭubh* Sloka, in which they are written, was not used for continuous composition during the Sūtra period. As the metrical *Smṛitis* are later than the Dharma-sūtras, it is, under the circumstances stated, very probable that each of them is based on a particular Dharma-sūtra. The *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* in particular may be considered as a recast and versification of the Dharma-sūtra of the *Mānava Sūtrakarana*, a subdivision of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* school, which adheres to a redaction of the Black Yagur-veda.

Considering the state of our knowledge of Vedic literature thirty years ago, the enunciation of this hypothesis was certainly a bold step. The facts on which it rested were few, and the want of important links in the premises laid it open to weighty objections. No proof was or could be furnished that the Sūtras of Gautama, Vasishṭha, and Viṣṇu originally were manuals of Vedic schools, not codes promulgated for the guidance of all Āryas, as the Hindu tradition, then known, asserted. The assumption that it was so, rested solely on the resemblance of their form and contents to those of the *Āpastambīya Dharma-sūtra*. No trace of a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* could be shown, nor could any connexion between the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* and the school of the *Mānavas*, except through their titles, be established. The assertion that the Brāhmins had turned older Sūtras, and especially Dharma-sūtras, into metrical works, written in epic Slokas, had to be left without any illustration, and no cause was assigned which would explain this remarkable change. As a set off against these undeniable weaknesses, Professor Max Müller's hypothesis possessed two strong points which secured for it from the outset a favourable reception on the part of all Sanskritists of the historical school. First, it substituted a rational theory

of historical development for the fantastic fables of the Hindu tradition and for the hopeless uncertainty which characterised the earlier speculations of European scholars concerning the origin of the so-called Indian codes of law. Secondly, it fully agreed with many facts which the beginning exploration of Vedic literature had brought to light, and which, taken as a whole, forced on all serious students the conviction that the systematic cultivation of all the Indian Sâstras had begun in the Vedic schools. Subsequent events have shown that Professor Max Müller was right to rely on these two leading ideas, and that his fellow Sanskritists did well to follow him, instead of taking umbrage at the minor flaws. Slowly but steadily a great number of the missing links in the chain of evidence has been brought to light by subsequent investigations. We now know that the Sûtra works of other schools than the Âpastambîyas included or still include treatises on the sacred law. The Dharma-sûtra of the Baudhâyanîyas, the oldest Sûtra-*karana* of the Taittiriya Veda, has been recovered. Though the connexion between the several parts of the great body of Sûtras has been severed, it is yet possible to recognise that it once was closely joined to the *Grîhya-sûtra*¹. The recovery of the entire collection of *Hiranyakeśi-sûtras* has proved that these too include a Dharma-sûtra, which in this instance has been borrowed from the earlier Âpastambîyas². The mystery which surrounded the position of the Dharma-sâstras of Gautama, Viṣṇu, and Vasishṭha has been cleared up. To the assertion that they were composed by ancient Rishis for the welfare of mankind, we can at present oppose another tradition according to which they were at first studied and recognised as authoritative by particular schools only, adhering respectively to the Sâma-veda, Black Yagur-veda, and the Rig-veda³. Internal evidence confirming this tradition has been found in the case of Gautama's Dharma-sâstra and of the Viṣṇu-smṛiti, or, more correctly,

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxi.

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, pp. xlv-xlviii; vol. vii, pp. x-xvi; vol. xiv, pp. xl-xlv.

of the *Kāthaka Sūtras*. These latter discoveries are of particularly great importance, because they fully establish the truth of the assumption, underlying Professor Max Müller's theory, that in post-Vedic times the Brāhmins did not hesitate to change the character of ancient school-books and to convert them into generally binding law-codes, either by simply taking them out of their connexion with the *Srauta* and *Gr̥hya-sūtras* or by adding besides matter which, in the eyes of orthodox Hindus, must greatly increase the sentiment of reverence felt for them. It is especially the case of the so-called *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, which deserves the most careful attention. The beginning and the end of the work distinctly characterise it as a revelation of the god *Vishṇu*. *Vishṇu*, *Vaishṇava* worship and philosophy are on various occasions praised and recommended in the course of the discussions. Yet the difference in the style of the introductory and concluding chapters leaves no doubt that they are later additions, and the perfectly credible tradition of the *Pandits* of *Puna* and *Benares*, the occurrence of particular sacred texts known to the *Kāthakas* alone, as well as the special resemblance of its contents to those of the *Kāthaka Gr̥hya-sūtra*, make it perfectly certain that the work is only a *Vaishṇava* recast of the *Kāthaka Dharma-sūtra*¹. We thus obtain in this case the confirmation of almost every fact which the conversion of the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Mānavas* into the revealed code of the *Pragāpati Manu* presupposes, with the sole exception of the substitution of epic *Slokas* for aphoristic prose. With respect to the last point, the further exploration of the *Smṛiti* literature has furnished numerous analogies. As an instance to the point we can now cite the fragments of the so-called *Bṛihat Saṅkha Dharmasāstra*, which, as the quotations show, must

¹ A quotation in *Govindarāga's Smṛitimaṅgarī*, fol. 12^b, l. 8 (India Office Collection, No. 1736), contains a very small portion of this work. When explaining the penance for the murder of a Brāhmana, mentioned *Manu* XI, 74, *Govindarāga* says, अथस्यानं कठसूत्रकृता व्याख्यानं [तं] । त्वत्प्रागो भक्त्यागो वस्त्रत्याग इति ॥ त्वग् [त्वत्प्रागो] क्षुरादिना देहत्यागम् ॥ The quotation shows that the *Dharma-sūtra* of the *Kaṭhas* mentioned the fanciful expiations ending in death, which are given in all the ancient law-books, but omitted in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*.

formerly have consisted of prose and verse, while the available MSS. show Sûtras and Anushṭubhs in one chapter only, and Slokas alone in the remainder¹. There are, further, such works like the two Âśvalāyana Smṛitis and the Saunaka-smṛiti, evidently versifications of the corresponding *Gr̥hya-sûtras*, with or without the additions of extraneous matter². In short, among all the general propositions concerning the origin of the metrical Smṛitis, which Professor Max Müller advanced, only one, the assertion that during the Sûtra period of 600–200 B.C. works written in continuous epic verse were unknown, has proved untenable in its full extent. It seems no longer advisable to limit the production of Sûtras to so short and so late a period as 600–200 B.C., and the existence of metrical school-manuals at a much earlier date has been clearly demonstrated³. It is now evident that the use of the heroic metre for such works did not begin all of a sudden and at a certain given date. But it seems, nevertheless, indisputable that the use of aphoristic prose was adopted earlier than that of verse. For in all known cases a Sûtra, not a metrical *Samgraha*, *Vārttika*, or *Kārikā*, stands at the head of each series of school-books, and some of the most salient peculiarities of the Sûtra style reappear in that of the metrical manuals⁴. With respect to the conjectures specially affecting the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, the former existence of a *Mānava Dharma-sûtra*, consisting of prose mixed with verses in several metres, has been established by the discovery of some quotations in the *Vāsishṭha Dharma-sûtra*, and their contents show that the work known to the author of the latter *Śāstra* was closely related to our *Manu-smṛiti*. As regards the connexion of this *Dharma-sûtra*, and consequently of our *Manu-smṛiti* with the *Sûtrakaraṇa* of the *Mānavas*, the results of the late researches have not been equally satisfactory. The recovery of the writings of the *Mānavas* has not only not furnished any facts in support of the supposed connexion, but, on the contrary, has raised difficulties, as it

¹ West and Bühler, *Digest of H. L.* p. 40, third edition.

² West and Bühler, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

³ Goldstücker, *Mānavakalpa-sûtra*, p. 78.

⁴ West and Bühler, *loc. cit.* pp. 42. 44.

appears that the doctrines of the Mānava *Gr̥hya-sūtra* differ very considerably from those of our Mānava *Dharmasāstra*. All that has been brought forward in substantiation of this portion of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis is that as close an affinity exists between the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*, the modern recension of the *Kāthaka* *Dharma-sūtra*, and our *Manu-smṛiti*, as is found between the *Kāthaka* and Mānava *Gr̥hya-sūtras* and between the *Kāthaka* and Mānava *Samhitās*, and that hence the Vedic original of the *Manu-smṛiti* may be supposed to have belonged to the Mānava school¹. The conclusive force of this argument is no doubt somewhat weakened, as Dr. von Bradke has pointed out, by the fact that the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* is not the original *Kāthaka* *Dharma-sūtra*. But to reject it altogether on account of this circumstance would be going too far. For the agreement between the *Smṛitis* of Manu and *Vishṇu* extends to many subjects where the latter shows no traces of recasting, and may be reasonably supposed to faithfully represent the original *Dharma-sūtra*. Nevertheless a full reconsideration of this point is indispensable. Before we proceed to that, it will, however, be advisable first to supplement Professor Max Müller's arguments against the antiquity of our *Manu-smṛiti* by the discussion of some of its passages which clearly admit an acquaintance with a large body of older legal literature and particularly with *Dharma-sūtras*, and, secondly, to re-examine and complete the proof for the former existence of a Mānava *Dharma-sūtra* and for its having been the precursor of the metrical law-book.

Among the passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* which disprove the claim, set up by its author, to be the first legislator, and which show that he had many predecessors, the first place must be allotted to its statements regarding controversies and conflicting decisions on certain points of the ritual and of the law. Such cases are by no means rare. Thus the observances of 'some,' with respect to the order of the several ceremonies at a *Srāddha*² and to the disposal

¹ Professor Jolly, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii, pp. xxvi-xxvii; and Dr. von Bradke, *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. xxxii, pp. 438-441.

² The same difference of opinion is mentioned in *Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra* IV, 1, 10.

of the funeral cakes, are mentioned Manu III, 261. Discussions of the ancient sages, exactly resembling those met with in the Dharma-sûtras¹, are given IX, 31-55 regarding the long-disputed question whether a son begotten on a wife by a stranger, but with the husband's consent, belongs to the natural parent or to 'the owner of the soil.' In the same chapter it is stated, just as in Gautama's Dharma-sûtra², that 'some' permit the procreation of a second son with an appointed widow. Manu X, 70-71, we find a decision on the question whether, as 'some' assert, the seed be more important, or, as 'others' state, the soil, or, as 'again others' maintain, the seed and the soil have equal importance, and, XI, 45, we are told that the sages, i. e. all sages, are convinced of the efficacy of penances for atoning unintentional offences, while 'some' declare that they even destroy the guilt of him who sinned intentionally. The latter point is discussed in exactly the same manner Gaut. XIX, 3-6. In other cases the author is less explicit. He merely places conflicting opinions side by side without indicating that they belong to different authorities, and hence he has mostly succeeded in misleading the commentators as to his real meaning. Thus we read Manu II, 145, that the teacher is less venerable than the father and the mother, while the next following verses teach exactly the contrary doctrine. The commentators are much perplexed by this contradiction. But if we turn to Gautama II, 50-51, where it is said, 'The teacher is chief among all Gurus; some say (that) the mother (holds the first place),' it is not doubtful that the Manu-smṛiti gives in the first verse the opinion of Gautama's 'some' as the pûrvapaksha, and adduces the following one in order to prove its incorrectness. A similar case occurs Manu III, 23-25, where three opinions regarding the permissibility of certain marriage-rites are enumerated, the last of which is the siddhânta or the author's own view.

It might be contended that these passages, the list of

¹ See especially Vas. XVII, 6-9, where one of the verses of the Manu-smṛiti occurs.

² Gaut. XVIII, 8.

which might be considerably enlarged, do not necessarily force on us the conviction that they refer to actual law-books which preceded our Manu-smṛiti. If they stood by themselves, they might possibly be explained as showing nothing more than that legal and ritual questions had long engaged the attention of the learned. But this subterfuge becomes impossible, as we find in other verses the explicit confession that the author of the Manu-smṛiti knew Dharmaśāstras. Three passages allude to their existence in general terms. The first occurs in the definition of the terms *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, Manu II, 10, 'But by *Sruti* (revelation) is meant the Veda, and by *Smṛiti* (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law.' In the text the last word, *dharmaśāstram*, stands in the singular. But it must doubtlessly be taken, as Kullōka¹ and Nārāyaṇa² indicate, in a collective sense. Another mention of law-books is found Manu XII, 111, where a *dharma-pāṭhakaḥ*, 'one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law,' is named among the members of a parishad or assembly entitled to decide difficult points of law. The commentators are unanimous in explaining *dharma*, literally 'the sacred law,' by 'the Institutes of the sacred law' or 'the *Smṛitis* of Manu and others,' and it is indeed impossible to take the word in any other sense than that of 'law-books'.³ The third passage is perfectly explicit, as the word *Dharmaśāstra* is used in the plural. It occurs in the section on funeral sacrifices, Manu III, 232, 'At a (sacrifice in honour) of the manes he must let (his guests) hear the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law (*dharmaśāstrāṇi*),' &c.⁴ Here the existence of many earlier law-books is plainly acknowledged. The character of the Institutes of the sacred law, known to the author of our Manu, may be inferred

¹ मन्वादिशास्त्रं स्मृतिः ॥

² धर्मशास्त्रं प्राधान्येन । यन्मानुशासनीयं तद्धर्मशास्त्रम् ॥

³ Medh. धर्मपाठको मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्राणामध्येता ॥ Gov. मानवादिधर्मध्येता ॥

Kull. मानवादिधर्मशास्त्रवेदी ॥ Nand. धर्मशास्त्रपाठकः ॥ The full significance of this passage will be shown below, p. lii.

⁴ See also Professor Stenzler in the Indische Studien, vol. i, p. 245; Dr. Jöhantgen, Das Gesetzbuch des Manu, p. 76.

from some other passages which reveal an acquaintance with the *Āṅgas* of the *Veda*¹. *Manu* II, 141, and IV, 98, these auxiliary sciences are mentioned in a general way. From *Manu* III, 185, where it is said that a *Brāhmaṇa* who knows the six *Āṅgas* sanctifies the company at a *Srāddha* dinner, we learn that their number, as known to our author, did not differ from that mentioned in all Vedic works. Further, the name of the first *Āṅga*, the *Kalpa*, occurs III, 185, and the mention of a *Nairukta* among the members of a *parishad* shows that the fourth, the *Nirukta*, was also known. With the latter and the remaining four, which the author of the *Manu-smṛiti* in all probability also knew, we are not immediately concerned. But the first, the *Kalpa*, possesses a very great interest for our purposes. This term, as is well known, denotes collectively those *Sūtras* of the Vedic schools which teach the performance of the *Srauta* sacrifices, the rites especially described in the *Sruti*. Hence both *Srauta-sūtras* and, of course, also *Sūtra-kāraṇas* must have preceded the *Manu-smṛiti*. If it is now borne in mind that according to the Hindu tradition, mentioned above, all *Sūtra-kāraṇas* formerly possessed *Dharma-sūtras*, and that in some existing *Kalpas* the *Dharma-sūtras* are closely connected with the *Srauta-sūtras*, it becomes exceedingly probable, nay, certain, that our *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is later than some of the *Dharma-sūtras*. This conclusion is further corroborated by those passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* where the author quotes the opinions of individual predecessors. *Manu* III, 16 we read, 'According to *Atri* and (*Gautama*) the son of *Utathya*² he who weds a *Sūdra* woman becomes an out-cast, according to *Saunaka* on the birth of a son, and according to *Bhrigu* he who has (male) offspring from a (*Sūdra* female alone).' Under the above explanation, which is adopted by the majority of the commentators,

¹ See also Professor Stenzler, loc. cit. ; Dr. Jöhäntgen, loc. cit. p. 74.

² The form *Utathya* is a corruption of the Vedic *Ukathya*, and shows the substitution of a dental for a palatal, which is not uncommon in the *Prākṛit* dialects. Hence it possesses a certain value as an additional proof for the post-Vedic origin of the *Manu-smṛiti*.

and is confirmed by an analogous passage of the aphoristic Dharmaśāstra of Uśanas¹, the author adduces there the opinions of four older authorities, all of which are credited by the Hindu tradition with the revelation of law-books. We still possess several Smṛitis attributed to Atri, Saunaka, and to Gautama, as well as one said to belong to Bṛigu. With the exception of the aphoristic Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra all these works are modern, some being metrical recensions of older Sūtras, and some of very doubtful origin. It is, therefore, impossible that any of the existing Dharmaśāstras, Atri, Saunaka, and Bṛigu, can be referred to by Manu, and, as a matter of fact, the opinions quoted cannot be traced in them. But if we turn to Gautama's Sūtra we find among those persons who defile the company at a Srāddha dinner, and who are thus excluded from the community of the virtuous, the sūdrāpati, literally 'the husband of a Sūdra female².' The real signification of the compound seems, however, to be, as Haradatta suggests, 'he whose only wife or dharmapatnī is a Sūdrā.' As it appears from Manu III, 17-19, that the opinion attributed to the son Utathya was the same, it is not at all unlikely that the Manu-smṛiti actually quotes the still existing Sūtra of Gautama. Another reference to a lost Sūtra occurs at Manu VI, 21, where it is said of the hermit in the forest, 'Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.' The original Sanskrit of the participial clause is 'vaikhānasamate sthitaḥ,' and means literally 'abiding by the Vaikhānasa opinion.' The commentators, with the exception of Nārāyaṇa, are unanimous in declaring that

¹ Uś. Dharmaśāstra, chap. III, पतितो वृषलीपतिः । न पततीत्येके । ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहिताश्चतस्रोनुपूर्वेण भार्या भवतीति वसिष्ठ आह । पतति न पततीति संज्ञयः । वृषल्यां पततीति हारीतः । जननात्यततीति शौनकः । तदपत्यः पततीति गोतमः ॥ Though Uśanas' statements regarding the opinions of the ancient lawyers do not agree with those of the Manu-smṛiti, except in the case of Saunaka, they are yet important, because they show that differences of opinion regarding the effects of a marriage with a Sūdrā did occur. See also Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 53.

² Gautama XV, 18; Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. 255.

the word *Vaikhānasa* here denotes a *Sāstra* or *Sūtra* promulgated by *Vikhanas*, in which the duties of hermits were described at length¹. The correctness of this opinion seems to me indisputable. For the word *mata*, 'opinion,' in *Manu's* verse, requires that the preceding part of the compound should denote either a person, or a school, or a work. If we take *vaikhānasa* in the sense of hermit in the forest, we obtain the meaningless translation, 'a hermit may subsist on flowers, &c., following the opinion of hermits.' It is, therefore, necessary to interpret *vaikhānasa* with the commentators in the sense of *vaikhānasa sâstra*, and to refer it to a particular work which taught the duties of hermits. The existence of such a book is attested not only by *Manu's* commentators, but also by other ancient and modern authors. *Baudhâyana* mentions it explicitly², and seems to give a short summary of its contents in the third chapter of the third *Prasna* of his *Dharmasâstra*. *Haradatta*, the commentator of *Āpastamba* and *Gautama*, also appears to have known it. In his notes on *Gautama III*, 2, he gives the derivation of *vaikhānasa*, a hermit in the forest, saying, 'The *vânaprastha* is called *vaikhānasa*, because he lives according to the rule promulgated by *Vikhanas*,' and adds, 'For that (sage) chiefly taught that order³.' If the statements made to me by Indian *Pandits* are to be trusted, we may even hope to recover the work in course of time. It must be an exceedingly ancient book, as the secondary meaning of *vaikhānasa*, a hermit, which can have arisen only in the manner suggested by *Haradatta*⁴, occurs in the

¹ Medh. वैखानसं नाम शास्त्रं यत्र वानप्रस्थस्य धर्मो विहितास्तेषां मते स्थितः ॥ Gov. वैखानसाख्ये वानप्रस्थशास्त्रदर्शने स्थितः ॥ Kull. वैखानसो वानप्रस्थः । तद्धर्मप्रतिपादकशास्त्रदर्शने स्थितः ॥ Nand. वैष्वा[खा]नसमतं विष[ख]मसा प्रोक्तं सूक्तं [च] तत्र हि वानप्रस्थधर्मस्य पूर्वोपदेशः क्रियते ॥ Nâr. वैखानसमते वानप्रस्थमते ॥

² Baudh. Dharma. II, 11, 14; Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 259.

³ वैखानसो वानप्रस्थः । विखनसा प्रोक्तेन मार्गेण वर्तते इति । तेन हि स आश्रमः प्राधान्येन प्रतिपादितः ॥

⁴ The double *vṛiddhi* in *vaikhānasa* is according to the analogy of the words enumerated in the *âkṛiti-gaṇa anuratikâdi*, Pân. VII, 3, 20.

oldest known Dharma-sûtra. Under these circumstances it is not advisable to assume that it had any connexion with the Vaikhānasa Sûtra¹, a subdivision of the Taittiriya, which seems to have been one of the youngest schools adhering to the Black Yagur-veda¹. But it is evident that the ancient Vaikhānasa Sûtra, which treated of an important portion of the sacred law, preceded our Manu-smṛiti.

Another reference to the opinion of a person who is the reputed author of a still existing Dharma-sûtra is found at Manu VIII, 140, where the rate of legal interest on secured loans is thus described: 'A money-lender may stipulate, as an increase on his capital, for the interest allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred.' If we turn to the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra, we read, III, 51², 'Hear the interest for a money-lender, declared by Vasishtha, five māshas (may be taken every month) for twenty (kārshāpasas).' Though the wording of the Manu-smṛiti differs from that adopted in the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra, the meaning of both passages is the same. The eightieth part of one hundred is one and a quarter per cent, and the same rate is obtained if five māshas are charged for twenty kārshāpasas, i. e. for four hundred māshas³. Both law-books, therefore, evidently refer to the same rule of Vasishtha. But the correctness of the further inference that the author of the Manu-smṛiti used the Vāsishtha Dharmasāstra is not so easily demonstrable as might seem from the extracts given above. For Vas. III, 51 itself is a quotation, marked as such by its final iti (left untranslated) and the phrase, 'Now they quote also,' which is prefixed to Sûtra 48. Hence it might be argued that the agreement of the

¹ See Professor Max Müller, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 199; Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 83. A portion of the Vaikhānasa Srauta-sûtra is preserved in the modern transcripts, belonging to the Bombay University and the Munich Royal Libraries, which Professor Haug had made from a Barodâ MS.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. 16; according to Dr. Führer's edition, Vas. III, 50.

³ *Gagannātha*, in *Col. Dig.* I, 25, gives a somewhat different calculation. But the general sense remains the same. I follow *Krishnapandita* and *Hara-datta on Gautama XII*, 29.

two passages furnishes no stringent proof for the posteriority of the *Manu-smṛiti* to that which bears *Vasishṭha*'s name, that, on the contrary, it perhaps merely indicates the dependence of both works on a common source, be it on some older work or on the tradition current in the Brāhmaṇical schools. Such an objection would in most similar cases be perfectly legitimate, but in the present one it is, I think, barred by some peculiar circumstances. From the above-mentioned Hindu tradition, preserved by Govindasvāmin¹, we learn that the *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra* originally belonged to a school of *Rig*-vedins who ascribed the settlement of their laws to the famous Vedic *Rishi* *Vasishṭha*. The rule limiting the monthly interest on secured loans to one and a quarter per cent is found also in Gautama's *Dharma-sūtra* XII, 29, a work which, as has been shown elsewhere², is older than the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti*. But neither there nor in any other work where it occurs³ is its enunciation attributed to *Vasishṭha*. Hence it is most probable that this addition was made by those who attributed their laws to *Vasishṭha*, and who, therefore, had an interest in vindicating the invention of an important legal maxim for their spiritual head. If their law-book gives the rule in the form of a quotation, they probably do not mean to indicate that an older verse ascribing it to *Vasishṭha* existed, but that the rule itself was an ancient one, and had been taken from a law-book or from the tradition of the Brāhmaṇical schools. With this explanation the mention of *Vasishṭha*'s name, made in *Manu* VIII, 140, still remains an indication that its author knew and referred to the existing *Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra*.

These passages are far too numerous to be set aside as possibly later interpolations, and there is, indeed, no circumstance connected with any of them which could lead to such a supposition. We must, therefore, admit that they clearly disprove the claim of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the first

¹ See above, p. xx.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, pp. liii, liv.

³ See e. g. *Yāgy.* II, 37, and the texts of *Bṛhaspati* and *Vyāsa* quoted in *Col. Dig.* I, 26-27.

place among Indian law-books which the first chapter sets up, and that they furnish a strong support to the view according to which the *Manu-smṛiti* belongs to a later stage of literary development than the *Dharma-sūtras*.

In turning to the second point of our supplement, it will be advisable to reconsider in detail the passages of the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti*, which prove the former existence of a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, and which, as the preceding discussion has established the priority of the *Vasishṭha-smṛiti* to our *Manu*, possess a particularly great importance. The chief passage occurs *Vasishṭha* IV, 5-8¹, where we read :

5. The *Mānava* (*Sūtra* states), 'Only when worshipping the manes and the gods, or when honouring guests, he may certainly do injury to animals.'

6. 'On offering the honey-mixture (to a guest), at a sacrifice and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only, may an animal be slain; that (rule) *Manu* proclaimed.'

7. 'Meat can never be obtained without injury to living beings, and injury to living beings does not procure heavenly bliss: hence (the sages declare) the slaughter (of beasts) at a sacrifice not (to be) slaughter (in the ordinary sense of the word).'

8. 'Now he may also cook a full-grown ox or a full-grown he-goat for a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kshatriya* guest; in this manner they offer hospitality to such (a man).'

As has been stated in the introduction to *Vasishṭha*², all the four *Sūtras* must be taken as a quotation, because the particle *iti*, 'thus,' occurs at the end of IV, 8, and because the identity of *Sūtra* 6 with *Manu* V, 41, as well as the close resemblance of *Sūtra* 7 to *Manu* V, 48, shows that the quotation is not finished with *Sūtra* 5. If we accept this explanation

¹ पितृदेवातिथिपूजायामप्येव पशुं हिंस्यादिति मानवम् ॥ ५ ॥ मधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदेवतकर्मणि । अत्रैव च पशुं हिंस्यान्नायपेत्य ब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ ६ ॥ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसां मांसमुत्पद्यते क्लृप्तिम् । न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्गस्तस्माद्भागो वधोवधः ॥ ७ ॥ अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय महोद्वाणं वा महाजं वा पच्येदेवमस्मा आतिथ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ॥ ८ ॥

² Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, pp. xviii-xix.

we have in our passage the usual arrangement followed in the Dharma-sûtras. First comes the prose rule, next the verses which confirm it, and finally a Vedic passage on which both the rule and the verses rest. It may be added that the explanation of the passage given by *Krishnapandita* Dharmâdhikârin in his commentary on *Vasishtha*, according to which the word *Mânavam*, explained above by 'the *Mânava* (Sûtra),' is to mean 'the (opinion) of Manu' (*manumatam*), cannot be upheld, for several reasons. First, the wording of the text of Sûtra 5 looks like a real quotation, not like a summary of Manu's views by *Vasishtha*. This becomes quite clear, if we compare *Vasishtha* I, 17, where undoubtedly a rule of Manu, corresponding to *Mânava* Dh. VII, 203, and VIII, 41, is given in *Vasishtha*'s words, 'Manu has declared (that) the (peculiar) laws of countries, castes, and families (may be followed) in the absence of (rules of) the revealed texts¹.' Secondly, the great differences between several other passages, quoted by *Vasishtha* as Manu's, and the corresponding passages of the text of our *Manu-smṛiti*, as well as the fact that the latter, as we have seen, refers to the *Vâsishtha* Dharmaśāstra, do not permit us to assume, with *Krishnapandita*, that *Vasishtha* knew and referred to our Manu.

If it is thus necessary to admit that *Vasishtha*'s quotation is taken from a *Mânava* Dharma-sûtra, the agreement of the doctrine taught in the quotation and of a portion of the text with those of our *Manu-smṛiti* show further that this Dharma-sûtra must have been the forerunner of our metrical law-book. An examination of the other quotations from Manu, which occur in the *Vasishtha-smṛiti*, will show that this agreement was, though pretty close, not complete. The identity of the view, ascribed to Manu by *Vasishtha* I, 17, with the contents of Manu VII, 203, and VIII, 41, has already been mentioned. *Vasishtha* III, 2, a *Mânava* Sloka is quoted which agrees literally with Manu II, 168. The same remark applies to the quotation at *Vasishtha* XX, 18, which is found Manu XI, 152. Another passage,

¹ देशधर्मजातिधर्मकुलधर्माम्बुतभावादब्रवीन्नुः ॥

Vas. XIII, 16, shows considerable verbal differences. According to Vasishṭha, Manu's verse is: 'Be it fruit, or water, or sesamum, or food, or whatever be (the gift) at a Srāddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for it is declared in the Smṛiti that the hands of Brāhmaṇas are their mouths,' while we read Manu IV, 117, 'Be it an animal or a thing inanimate, whatever be the (gift) at a Srāddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for it is declared in the Smṛiti that the hand of a Brāhmaṇa is his mouth¹.' The last quotation which occurs Vas. XIX, 37, and refers to the sulka, (exemptions from) taxes and duties², is in the Trishūbh metre, and, hence, cannot have a place in our Manu-smṛiti. But it is remarkable that the latter does not even show a corresponding Anushūbh verse, and that the contents of the quotation do not quite agree with the teaching of our Manu. The latter mentions the exemption of a sum less than a kārshāpāna incidentally X, 120. It agrees also with Manu's doctrines that Srotriyas, ascetics, alms, and sacrifices should not be taxed. But there are no indications that infants, messengers, and ambassadors, or the remnant left to a plundered trader, should go free. With respect to those living by arts (silpa), our Manu teaches, VII, 138, and X, 120, just like most other ancient authors, that artisans are to do monthly one piece of work for the king. Though this corvée amounts to a pretty severe tax, it is, of course, possible to contend that Manu's rule does not exactly contradict that quoted by Vasishṭha. Besides these passages, there are some other verses³ which contain the well-known phrase, 'manur abravīt, thus Manu spoke,'

¹ Vas. मानवं वात्र शोकमुदाहरन्ति । फलान्यापस्तिलान्मन्त्रान्यन्नान्यष्टादिकं भवेत् । प्रतिगृह्णाप्यनभ्यायः पायसास्या ब्राह्मणाः स्मृता इति ॥ Manu, प्राणि वा यदि वाप्राणि यत्किञ्चिष्टादिकं भवेत् । तदालभ्याप्यनभ्यायः पायसास्यो हि द्विजः स्मृतः ॥

² 'No duty (is paid) on a sum less than a kārshāpāna, there is no tax on a livelihood gained by arts, nor on an infant, nor on a messenger, nor on what has been received as alms, nor on the remnants of property left after a robbery, nor on a Srotriya, nor on an ascetic, nor on a sacrifice.'

³ Vas. XI, 23; XII, 16; XXIII, 43; XXVI, 8.

and mention Manu as the authority for the rule taught. With respect to these references it seems to me not probable that they have been taken from the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. We shall see below¹ that from the earliest times the mythical Manu, the father of mankind, was considered as the founder of the social and moral order, and that he was considered to have first taught or revealed religious rites and legal maxims. Hence I believe that these four verses give nothing more than an expression of the belief that their doctrines go back to the first progenitor of men². The first three among them either contradict or find no counterpart in our *Manu-smṛiti*. The fourth agrees in substance with *Manu XI*, 260–261. But it occurs in a chapter which is probably spurious, or, at least, full of interpolations. Whatever view may be taken concerning these passages, the allegation that the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, known to *Vasishṭha*, closely resembled, but was not identical with our *Manu*, need not be modified.

If we look for other traces of the *Sūtra*, quoted by *Vasishṭha*, it is possible that *Gautama*, who mentions an opinion of *Manu*, *XXI*, 7, refers to it. His *Dharma-sūtra* is even older than *Vasishṭha*'s, and long anterior to our *Manu-smṛiti*. But the possibility that *Gautama* refers not to a rule of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, but to a maxim generally attributed to the mythical *Manu*, is not altogether excluded. *Gautama* says, 'Manu (declares that) the first three (crimes, the intentional murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, drinking *Surā*, and the violation of a *Guru*'s bed) cannot be expiated³.' The wording of the *Sūtra* shows that it is not a quotation, but a summary of *Manu*'s opinion. Our *Manu-smṛiti* explicitly teaches, *XI*, 90, the same doctrine with respect to the intentional murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, and, if my explanation of *XI*, 147 is accepted, also with respect to the intentional drinking of *Surā*. As regards the third offence, there is no

¹ See p. lviii.

² The meaning of the phrase in the verse, occurring in the quotation from the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, is probably the same.

³ *ऋषि प्रथमान्यनिर्देश्यानि मनुः ॥* The same opinion is expressed in the *Mahābhārata XII*, 165, 34, but not attributed to *Manu*.

direct statement. But the expiations, prescribed XI, 104-105, amount to a sentence of death. Hence our Manu-smṛiti, too, practically declares the crime to be inextinguishable during the offender's lifetime. Its original, the Dharma-sūtra, may, therefore, be supposed to have had the rule which Gautama attributes to Manu. Nevertheless, owing to the circumstances mentioned above, Gautama's passage cannot be adduced as a perfectly certain proof of the early existence of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra.

Among the remaining Dharma-sūtras¹ there is only the fragment attributed to Uśanas which seems to quote a Sūtra of Manu. At the beginning of the first chapter² we find a very corrupt passage containing a prose-quotation which according to two of my MSS. belongs to Manu, but according to a third to Sumantu. As the latter copy is, however, clearly more incorrect than the other two, and as a Sūtra by Sumantu is not known from other sources, the reading of the first two seems to be preferable. The contents of the quotation which apparently prescribes that on the death of an infant, of an emigrant, of one who keeps no sacred fires, of one who kills himself by starvation or by self-cremation, and of one slain in battle, no period of impurity need be kept, agree with the teaching of our Manu-smṛiti, V, 78, 89, 94, 98.

There is, further, one among the Vedic books on the ritual, the Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya-sūtra, which possibly refers to the Mānava Dharma-sūtra. This work quotes the verse, Manu V, 41, which, as has been shown above, occurred also in the Dharma-sūtra as well as several other Ślokas of

¹ Regarding the passage of Āpastamba II, 16, 1, which ascribes the revelation of the Śrāddhas to Manu, see below, p. lix.

² I transcribe the whole beginning of the work, तत्र जन्ममरणयोः काले देशान्तरयोः शौचं दशरात्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतके मातुरित्येके ॥ उपस्युष्य ---- मनुराह ॥ बाले देशान्तरस्यैवानग्निं चोराध्वाने (?) अनाशकेग्निप्रवेशे युज्यते च सद्यः ॥ शौचान्नं पतितान्नमिदं निन्दितान्नं सह संवसेत् ॥ Thus two MSS.; the third reads, उपस्युष्य तु सुमन्तुराह । and further on, शौचान्नं हतिं ताभिरुत्त ° । It is impossible to restore the whole passage. The end of the quotation may have been सद्यः शौचमिदमिति ॥

our Manu-smṛiti, partly in better versions¹. As the *Grihya-sûtra* agrees also in a number of its rules very characteristically with Manu, it is not improbable that its author may have drawn on the original of the latter. But before one can be perfectly confident on this point, it is necessary that some difficult questions regarding the critical condition of Sāṅkhâya's text should be cleared up more fully than has been done hitherto. More important than the passages from the last work is the evidence which the Kāmandakiya Nitisâra furnishes, where twice opinions of the Mānavâh and once an opinion of Manu are quoted, but rejected in favour of the views of the author's teacher, Kānakya Kauṣilya. In one case the doctrine, attributed to the Mānavâh, agrees with the teaching of our Manu-smṛiti. We read in the discussion on the number of the prakṛitis, the constituent elements of the mandala or political circle to which a king must pay attention, Kām. Nīt. VII, 24-25, 'With respect to this (question) the Mānavas record that five constituent elements, the ministers and the rest, belong severally to each of the twelve kings. But those original twelve (kings) and those (others), the ministers and the rest, (are) seventy-two (in number, and form) the whole circle of constituent elements².' Our Manu-smṛiti states, VII, 155-156, that twelve kings belong to the mandala, and adds ver. 157, 'The minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the treasury, and the army are five other (constituent elements of the circle); for these are mentioned in connexion with each (of the first twelve); thus the whole circle (consists), briefly (speaking, of) seventy-two (constituent parts).' The other two passages differ. According to Kāmandaki II, 3, the Mānavas teach that the sciences, which a king must study, are three only, the threefold (Veda), the theory of professions and trades, and the

¹ Oldenberg, Sāṅkh. Gri. S. in the Indische Studien, vol. xv, p. 11.

² द्वादशानां नरेन्द्राणां पञ्च पञ्च पृथक्पृथक् । अनायासाच्च प्रकृतीरामनन्तीह मानवाः ॥ २३ ॥ मौला द्वादश यास्वेता अनायासास्तथा च याः । समतिर्ज्ञाधिका ह्येताः सर्वे प्रकृतिमखलम् ॥ २५ ॥ I read according to the commentary समतिर्ज्ञाधिका instead of the senseless समतिज्ञाधिका of the text.

science of government, 'because the science of dialectics or reasoning is a subdivision of the threefold (Vedic lore¹),' while Manu VII, 43 enumerates five branches of learning, or at least four, if either Medhâtithi's or Nârâyana's explanation of the term âtmavidyâ, rendered in the translation by 'the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul,' is accepted². Again, we hear, Kâmandaki XI, 67, that Manu fixed the number of ministers (amâtya), which the king must appoint, at twelve. But according to Manu VII, 54, no more than seven or eight are required. These quotations show that Kâmandaki knew a work, attributed to Manu, which contained rules on the duties of kings, and in some respects agreed with the seventh chapter of our Manu-smṛiti. If I conclude that this must have been the old Mânava Dharma-sûtra, it is because Kâmandaki twice alludes to it by the title Mânavaś, literally 'those who study a work proclaimed by Manu,' or, more freely rendered, 'the Mânava school.' It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the Mânava Dharmasâstra, or of any other work which is destined for all Âryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or in a similar way. Nor is it usual to contrast, as Kâmandaki does, the rules taught by Manu with those of other teachers and afterwards to reject them³. If a Hindu writer on law finds it necessary to set aside an opinion of Manu, he either passes by it in silence or he interprets the passage where it occurs in accordance with the principles of some other Smṛiti with

¹ अथैवास्मिन् दृष्टानीतिरिति विद्या हि मानवाः । अथैवा ह्यविभागोऽयं
स्यमान्नीतिरिति नाना ॥ ३ ॥

² With respect to Medhâtithi's and Nârâyana's explanations, see the note to the translation. I will add that Kâm. Nt. II, 7, आन्वीक्षिक्यान्विज्ञानम् 'The science of dialectics (is) a means of fully recognising the Soul or Self,' speaks in favour of Nârâyana's explanation, and that it would perhaps have been better if I had placed the latter in the text.

³ As the learned editor of the Nitisâra (Preface, p. 2) asserts that its author was a Buddhist, it might be conjectured that the latter treated Manu with small respect, because he belonged to a heterodox sect. But it ought to be noted that no proof is offered for the above assertion, and that the work contains no trace of Buddhism.

which he himself agrees. Hence it is not doubtful that Kāmandaki's references point to a work of Manu which, though highly esteemed, did not hold the same paramount position as Bṛiḡu's version of Manu's laws. In other words, Kāmandaki's Manu must have been the property of a particular school, and that was just the case with the Mānava Dharma-sūtra. The fact that all the known Dharma-sūtras contain a more or less detailed description of the duties of kings agrees well with this supposition, and so does the circumstance that Kāmandaki's Nītisāra is either really an ancient work, composed long before the beginning of our era, or at least a later recension of such an old book¹. These are all the certain indications of the former existence of a Mānava Dharma-sūtra which I have been able to find. It is possible that the same work is also alluded to in some verses of the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans of the Mahābhārata. But this question is, as we shall see below, surrounded with great difficulties, and its solution somewhat doubtful. Among the passages, discussed above, none are so important as Vasishṭha's quotations. The remainder contribute, however, to give a more definite idea of the range of subjects included in the lost work, and they confirm the conclusion, drawn from the former, that the Mānava Dharma-sūtra closely resembled our Manu-smṛiti.

The investigations concerning the last point, the question if any traces of a connexion of our Manu-smṛiti with the writings of the Mānava school are discoverable, have hitherto led, as stated above, to a negative result. They were, of course, directed to a comparison of the Mānava Gr̥hya-sūtra with the Dharmasāstra, as both works of

¹ The work claims to be the composition of a pupil of Kāndragupta's famous minister, Kāṇakya Kauṇilya or Kauṇalya, to whom a portion of the Maṅgalā-karavaṇa is dedicated, and who is frequently referred to as the Guru or teacher. Though there is no clear evidence corroborating this statement, there is also none to rebut it. In favour of this claim speaks the fact that the name of the author is a nomen gentile. For among the ancient writers the practice of signing their books with the family-name is almost universal. Later it seems to have fallen into disuse. The Nītisāra is quoted by the oldest commentator of Manu, Medhātithi.

necessity frequently treat of the same subjects. On comparing the corresponding portions of the two works, Professor Jolly¹ found no special agreement with respect to the ages prescribed for the performance of the *Samskâras*, with respect to the marriage-rites and to the rules for the conduct of students and of *Snâtakas*. Nor was he able to discover in the *Manu-smṛiti* any of the curious technical terms and phrases used in the *Gṛihya-sûtra*, while the somewhat closer resemblance in the Mantras of the *Vaisva-deva* ceremony and in a few other points turned out to be without conclusiveness on account of the concurrent agreement of other *Gṛihya-sûtras*. Dr. von Bradke's re-examination of the question² did not yield any other result. I can only bear witness to the general correctness of these remarks. Though it is possible to adduce some passages, not mentioned by Professor Jolly³, in which the *Gṛihya-sûtra* shows a special affinity with the *Smṛiti*, the very great differences which occur in other sections⁴, the absence of an agreement in particularly characteristic rules⁵, and the

¹ On the *Vishnu Dharma-sûtra* and the *Kâtaka*; Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy, 1879, ii, p. 82 seq.

² Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxii, p. 438.

³ Among the rules which specially agree, I may mention one from the section on the Initiation, *Mân. Gṛi. Sû. I*, 22 (end), चप भेषं चरते [चरेत्] । मातरने-वाये । याद्यान्याः सुहृदो यावत्यो वा संनिहिताः स्युः ॥ 'Next he shall go out to beg, first, to his mother and to other females who are friendly, or to as many as may be near.' These *Sûtras* correspond to *Manu II*, 50, 'Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his own maternal aunt, or of (some other) female who will not disgrace him (by a refusal).' I am not aware that this rule occurs in any other *Smṛiti*.

⁴ Among the very great discrepancies I would point to such as those occurring in the section on the marriage-rites. The *Manu-smṛiti III*, 20-34, describes the well-known eight modes by which a woman may be obtained from her family. But the *Mânava Gṛihya-sûtra I*, 7-8, knows two only, the *Brâhma* and the *Saulka* rites, the latter of which corresponds to the *Âsura* or *Mânusha* rite of the other *Smṛitis*, and sanctions the purchase of the bride from her parents.

⁵ The absence of an agreement in characteristic rules is particularly noticeable in the chapter on the study of the *Veda* and the stoppages of the *Veda* study. There the general rules, e. g. regarding the beginning, length, and ending of the school-term, which are found also in other *Smṛitis*, agree in both works. But none of those special prescriptions which the *Mânava Gṛihya-sûtra* gives for the time when and the ceremonies with which particular portions of the *Maitrâyaṇi Samhitâ* are to be learnt can be traced in the *Manu-smṛiti*.

non-occurrence of Mantras, peculiar to the Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānava school in the Manu-smṛiti, do not permit us to consider them as decisive for the settlement of the question. On the other hand, this negative result does not preclude the possibility that the supposed connexion between the original of the Manu-smṛiti and the Mānava school may nevertheless have existed. For the examples of the Hairanyakesas and Mādhyamdinas show that the Sūtras, adopted by a school, are not always composed by one and the same teacher, but sometimes are made up of fragments originally belonging to different authors. In the case of the Mādhyamdinas the author of the Srauta-sūtra is a Kātyāyana, while the Grīhya-sūtra bears the name of a Pāraskara. In the case of the Hairanyakesas the Dharma-sūtra, though it is ascribed to Hiranyakesin Satyāśhādha, is in reality the work of Āpastamba, and differs both in its language and in its contents very much from the Grīhya-sūtra¹. Moreover, the Hairanyakesa Kayana-sūtra has been taken over, as its colophon clearly proves, from the Bhāradvāgas. It is, therefore, still possible that the ancient Mānava Dharma-sūtra was considered as the special property of the Mānavas, but was not composed by the same teacher as the Grīhya-sūtra, or that, though both works had the same author, the materials for their composition were borrowed from different sources. Either supposition would explain the discrepancies between the two works. If we now could show that some other work belonging to the Mānava Karana shows a special affinity to the Manu-smṛiti, the view that the original of the latter was first the property of that school might be still upheld. A renewed examination of the various treatises, studied and claimed as their own by the Mānavas, has convinced me that such a connecting link is actually found among them. This is the Srāddhakalpa, a description of the ordinary funeral sacrifices which the Mānava Grīhya-sūtra does not treat in detail, but barely touches in the sections on the Ashṭakā rites (II, 8-9). If this treatise has not been taken into consideration by Professor Jolly and

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxiii.

Dr. von Bradke, the reason is that it is not contained in Professor Haug's collection of the *Mānava Sūtras*, the only one which has hitherto been accessible to European students. In my copy of the works of the *Mānava* school it stands after the *Pravarādhyāya*¹. It consists of four short *Khandas*. The first begins with the words, 'Now we will explain the rules for the funeral sacrifices,' and treats of the following points: the invitation of qualified *Brāhmaṇas*, their hospitable reception with the *Arghya* in the house of the sacrificer, the invocations asking the *Visvedevas* and the *manes* to attend, and the burnt oblations offered to *Soma*, *Yama*, and *Agni*. The *Mantras* which are to be used seem, if not all, at least for the greater part, to have been taken from the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*. This section shows hardly any special agreement with the *Manu-smṛiti*, except in the rule, known also from other *Dharma-sūtras*, which prescribes the entertainment of two guests at the rite in honour of the gods, and of three at the offering to the *manes* or of one on either occasion, as well as in the number and the deities of the burnt oblations which precede the *Srāddha* (*Manu* III, 123, 211). But the second *Kanda*, which contains the description of the *Srāddha* ceremony, opens with a couple of verses, the first of which corresponds almost literally² with *Manu* III, 274. The only important difference is that at the end the words 'in the rainy season and under (the constellation) *Maghāḥ*' take the place of *Manu*'s 'when the shadow of the elephant falls towards the east.' It must be noted that, though *Vishṇu* LXXVIII, 52-53 and *Vasishṭha* XI, 40 have passages which contain similar prayers of the *manes*, their wording differs very considerably from that of the *Srāddhakalpa* and of

¹ My MS. of the writings of the *Mānava Kāṇva*, which was copied in 1864-65 at *Nāsik*, includes, besides the *Samhitā* and the *Upanishad*, counted as the fifth *Kānda*, all the portions of the *Srauta-sūtra*, known from Professor Haug's MSS. together with the *Kumāra* or *Kumārila Bhāṣya* and portions of a later *vṛtti* by *Mirra Bālakṛishṇa*, as well as the *Gṛhya-sūtra* with its *Bhāṣya*, the *Pūranā-khya*, by *Bhaṭṭa Ashṭāvakra* (not by *Kumārila*, as I conjectured in *West and Bühler's Digest*, p. 46, note a), and the *Srāddhakalpa*.

² अग्निं नः स्वकुले भूयाद्यो नो दद्यान्नयोदशीम् । पायसं मधुसर्पिण्यां वर्षासु च मघासु च ॥

the Manu-smṛiti. The second verse¹ bears a faint resemblance to Manu III, 202, as it declares that water offered in vessels of gold, silver, or Udumbara 'becomes imperishable.' The following prose portion has little in common with Manu's rules. Curiously enough, it prescribes that the funeral cakes are to be offered after the guests have finished their meal, a custom which Manu III, 261 attributes to 'some.' The section closes with some Slokas², the last of which is nearly identical with Manu III, 283. The chief difference is, that in the first line the word Srāddhe, 'at a Srāddha,' occurs instead of snātvā, 'after his bath.' The second var.lect. samāhitaḥ, 'with a concentrated mind,' instead of dvigottamaḥ, 'a Brāhmaṇa,' is found in the Southern MSS. of Manu. The next section, which is not numbered in the colophon as Khandā 3, but separately, treats of the Abhyudaya, or Vṛiddhi-srāddha, the funeral oblations which must be offered on all joyful occasions, such as the celebration of the birth of a son, a wedding, and so forth³. As Manu mentions this variety of the Srāddha only incidentally, III, 254, the contents of this Khandā find no counterpart in the Smṛiti. But among its numerous Slokas one line agrees literally with Manu IX, 186 a⁴. The fourth and last section of the Kalpa, which is marked as the Parisishta, the addenda, gives miscellaneous rules regarding the times when Srāddhas may be performed, the manner in which the fulfilment of certain special wishes may be secured, and the persons to be entertained on such occasions. It consists chiefly of

¹ सौवर्णेषु च पात्रेषु राजतौदुम्बरेषु च । दत्तमक्षय्यतां याति सङ्गो नार्थकृतेन च (sic) ॥

² दश पूर्वोद्देशापरानात्मनश्चेकविंशतिम् (sic) । आङ्गकुम्भोचयेत्पापाम्बह-
तोप्येनसः पितृन् ॥ आङ्गं च यो न दद्यात्पितृभ्यश्च कदाचन (sic) । षड्विधसह-
स्राणि विहायां जायते कृमिः ॥ यदेव तर्पयत्यङ्घ्रिः पितृभ्याङ्गे समाहितः । तेनैव
सर्वमाप्नोति पितृयज्ञक्रियाफलमिति ॥ इति मानवभ्रातृकल्ये द्वितीयः खण्डः
समाप्तः ॥

³ Beginning अथ वृद्धिभ्रातृ व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ Colophon, इति मानवसूत्रे
अभ्युदयभ्रातृम् ॥

⁴ त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यं त्रिषु पिंडः प्रवर्तते ॥

verses, seven¹ of which are either quite or nearly identical with passages of the *Manu-smṛiti* III, 82, 125-126, 145, 185, 148, and 186, while another, which teaches that the invited *Brāhmaṇas* and the sacrificer must remain chaste 'because the manes dwell with them²,' agrees in substance with *Manu* III, 189. Two among the seven *Slokas*, those corresponding to *Manu* III, 125-126, occur also in the *Vāsishtika* and *Baudhāyana Dharmasāstras*. The remainder are not traceable in the ancient *Sūtras*.

These remarks show that the *Mānava Srāddhakalpa* consists, like many other handbooks of Vedic schools, of several pieces, which probably have been composed successively at different times. Even the whole treatise may be possibly later than the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, and may have been added in order to supplement its too curt rules on funeral sacrifices. But in spite of these admissions, the fact that it contains so many verses partly or wholly agreeing with the *Manu-smṛiti*, keeps its importance for the point under consideration. If an adherent of the *Mānava* school found it necessary to compose a treatise on a subject like the *Srāddhas*, he would, as a matter of course, base it on the usage and the teaching of his school. Hence it may be assumed that the verses which he inserted were current in

¹ a. कुर्यादहरहः आहवन्नाद्येनोदकेन वा । पयोमूलफलैर्वीर्यं पितृभ्यः प्रीतिमाहरेत् ॥ In the corresponding verse of *Manu*, *Medh.* and *Gov.* read आहरन् instead of *Kullūka's* आहहन् ॥ b. द्वौ देवे चीन्यत्रे [च] एकैकमुभयत्र वा । भोजयेत्सुखमुदोपि न प्रसज्येत विस्रारं [रे] ॥ सतिश्रयां देशकालौ च दूष्यं ब्राह्मणसंपदः । पंचैतानि [तानि] स्तरो हन्ति तस्माच्चैह तु [वेह तु] विस्रारं [रे] ॥ c. यत्नेन भोजयेन्नाद्ये बद्धं च वेदपारगं । शास्त्रांतगमश्चैव हृदोगं वा समाप्तिगम् ॥ d. पञ्चाग्निं वि [ग्निस्त्रि] सुपर्शं च [च] त्रिणाचिकेतः षडंगवित् । ब्रह्मदेयानुसंतानो ज्येष्ठसामग एव च ॥ e. मातामहं मातुलं च स्त्रीयं ऋशुरं गुरुं । दौहित्रं पिदपतिं बंधु [धुम्] क्षत्रियाज्यौ च भोजयेत् ॥ f. वेदार्थी विप्रवक्ता च ब्रह्मचारि [चर्ये] सदा स्थिताः [तः] । शतायुश्चैव विज्ञेया ब्राह्मणाः पंक्तिपावनाः ॥ The fifth and sixth verses have been transposed by a mistake of the copyist.

² पूर्वेषुरामंत्रितो विप्रैः [त्रैविं] पितरः संवसंति वै । यजमानश्च ता रात्रिं चसेयुर्ब्रह्मचारिणः (sic) ॥

the latter, and it is not improbable that they may have occurred in one of its written works. As, further, the *Manu-smṛiti* rests on a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, and has derived from the latter a number of its verses, the most natural explanation of the partial agreement between the *Śrāddhakalpa* and the *Smṛiti* is that both have drawn on the same source, the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. If that is so, the latter must have been considered as authoritative by the *Mānavas*, and have been their peculiar property. Though several links in this chain of arguments must unfortunately remain hypothetical, it seems to me, especially if taken together with Professor Jolly's and Dr. von Schröder's above-mentioned discoveries regarding the relation of the books of the *Kāthaka* school to those of the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānavas* and of the *Vishṇu-smṛiti* to the *Manu-smṛiti*, sufficiently strong to show that also this part of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis is more than an ingenious conjecture.

In conclusion, I may mention that two other circumstances—a certain agreement between the *Maitrāyaṇa-brāhmaṇopaniṣad* and the *Manu-smṛiti*, as well as the preference which the latter shows for North-western India in its description of the countries where pure *Āryan* customs prevail (II, 17–22)—may also point to a connexion of the *Manu-smṛiti* and of its original with the *Mānava* school. In the *Upaniṣad* VI, 37, we find quoted, as a generally known maxim, a verse which occurs *Manu* III, 76. Two other verses, *Manu* VI, 76–77, agree in substance with *Maitr. Up.* III, 4¹, and some of *Manu*'s statements regarding the *Ātman* and the results of the *guṇas* or qualities closely correspond to the doctrines taught in the *Upaniṣad*². On a closer examination these resemblances lose, however, a good deal of their significance. For the ideas expressed in *Manu* III, 76 are likewise traceable in a Vedic passage quoted in *Vasishṭha's Dharma-sūtra*. The comparison of the human body to an impure dwelling (*Manu* VI, 76–77) reappears even in Buddhistic works³. The corresponding philosophical tenets, finally,

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv, p. 298, note 1. ² See below, p. lxxiii.

³ *Dhammapada*, 147–150; *Johāntgen*, *Das Gesetzbuch des Manu*, p. 93.

occur in a portion of the *Manu-smṛiti* which probably is not ancient¹, and they are held by several of the special schools of philosophy. As regards the passages in *Manu*'s second chapter which praise the holiness of the districts between the *Drishadvatī* and the *Sarasvatī*, and between the *Yamunā* and the *Gaṅgā*, they may indicate, as Dr. Johāntgen thinks², that the home of the school which produced the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* lies in those districts. If that were certain, it would agree well enough with the facts known regarding the ancient seats of the *Mānavas*. The latter are a North-western sect, and extended, as the *Mahārṇava* asserts³, from the *Mayūra* hill to *Gūgarat*. Unfortunately, however, the *Dharma-sūtras* of *Vasishṭha* and *Baudhāyana* contain almost exactly the same statements as *Manu*, and hence the verses of the latter possibly mean nothing more than that the *Mānavas*, like many other Vedic schools, considered India north of the *Vindhya*s, and especially the districts adjoining the sacred rivers, as the true home of *Brāhmanism* and of *Āryan* purity.

II.

While the preceding discussion has shown that our *Mānava Dharmasāstra* is based on a *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* which probably was the exclusive property of the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānava* school, we have now to consider some questions connected with the conversion of the locally authoritative *Sūtra* into a law-book claiming the allegiance of all *Āryans* and generally acknowledged by them. The problems which now have to be solved, or at least to be attempted, are the following: 1. what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding *Mānava Dharma-sāstra* for the manual of the Vedic school? 2. why was so prominent a position allotted to the remodelled *Smṛiti*?

¹ See below, p. lxix.

² Loc. cit. pp. 109-110.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxxi; and L. von Schröder, *Maitrāyaṇīya Smṛti*, I, pp. xxiv-xxviii. The ancient inscriptions name *Maitrāyaṇīya Brāhmanas* as donees in the Central India Agency and *Gūgarat*. The *Mānava* school still exists in the latter country and in *Khāndesh*.

3. how was the conversion effected? and 4. when did it probably take place?

Though the absence of all historical information, and even of a trustworthy tradition, makes it impossible to give full and precise details in answering the first question, it is yet, I think, possible to recognise the general cause which led to the production of that class of secondary *Smṛitis* to which the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* belongs¹. This cause lies, it seems to me, in the establishment of special law schools which were independent of any particular *Sākhā* of the Veda, and which supplanted the Vedic *Karāṇas* as far as the teaching of the sacred law is concerned. Evident as it is that the Vedic schools first systematised and cultivated the six sciences which, on account of their close connexion with the Veda, are called its *Āṅgas* or limbs, it is no less apparent that, as the materials for each of these subjects accumulated and the method of their treatment was perfected, the enormous quantity of the matter to be learnt, and the difficulty of its acquisition depressed the Vedic schools from their high position as centres of the intellectual life of the *Āryas*, and caused the establishment of new special schools of science, which, while they restricted the range of their teaching, taught their curriculum thoroughly and intelligently. In the Vedic schools a full and accurate knowledge of the sacred texts was, of course, always the primary object. In order to gain that the pupils had to learn not only the *Samhitā* text of the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas*, but also their *Pada*, *Krama*, and perhaps still more difficult *pāṭhas* or modes of recitation. This task no doubt required a considerable time, and must have fully occupied the twelve terms of four and a half or five and a half months which the *Smṛitis* give as the average duration of the studentship for the acquisition of one Veda². As long as the *Āṅgas* consisted of short simple treatises, it was also possible to

¹ Regarding the various classes of secondary *Smṛitis*, see West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 32, third edition.

² See *Manu* III, 1, and IV, 95, as well as the parallel passages quoted in the notes.

commit them to memory and to master their contents in the twelve terms, consisting of the seven or eight dark fortnights from the month Pausha to Vaisākha¹. But when the Kalpa or ritual alone reached dimensions as in the Sûtras of the Baudhâyanîyas and Âpastambîyas, while the grammar developed into as artificial a system as that of Pânini, it became a matter of sheer impossibility for one man to commit to memory and to fully understand the sacred texts together with the auxiliary sciences, especially as the number of the latter was increased in early times by the addition of the Nyâya or Pûrvâ Mîmâmsâ, the art of interpreting the rules of the Veda². The members of the Vedic schools were then placed before two alternatives. They might either commit to memory all the Vedic texts of their Sâkhâs together with the Ângas, renouncing the attempt at understanding what they learnt, or they had to restrict the number of the treatises which they learnt by heart, while they thoroughly mastered those which they acquired. Those who adhered to the former course became living libraries, but were unable to make any real use of their learning. Those who adopted the second alternative might become great scholars in the science of the sacrifice, grammar, law or astronomy, but they could not rival with the others in the extent of the verbal knowledge of the sacred books. Thus the Vedic schools ceased to be the centres of intellectual, and were supplanted by the special, schools of science.

The present state of learning in India proves beyond doubt that this change actually took place in the manner described, and direct statements in the ancient text-books, as well as their condition, allow us to recognise the various stages which led up to it. The true modern representatives of the ancient *Karâṇas* are the so-called Vaidiks, men who, mostly living on charity, devote their energy exclusively to the acquisition of a verbal knowledge of the

¹ See Manu IV, 98, and the parallel passages quoted in the note. According to some Smṛitis the Ângas might be studied at any time out of term (Vas. XIII, 7).

² Regarding the early existence of the Pûrvâ Mîmâmsâ, see Sacred Books of the East, vol. ii, p. xxvii; and the verse on the constitution of a Parishad, quoted Baudh. I, 1, 8; Vas. III, 20.

sacred texts and of the *Āṅgas* of their *Sākhās* as well as of some other works, more or less closely connected with the Veda. A perfect Vaidik of the *Āśvalāyana* school knows the *Rig-veda* according to the *Samhitā*, *Pada*, *Krama*, *Garā* and *Ghana Pāthas*, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*, the ritualistic *Sūtras* of *Āśvalāyana*, *Saunaka's Prātisākhya* and the *Sikshā*, *Yāska's Nirukta*, the grammar of *Pāṇini*, the Vedic calendar or *Gyotisha*, the metrical treatise called the *Khandas*, *Yāgñavalkya's Dharmasāstra*, portions of the *Mahābhārata*, and the philosophical *Sūtras* of *Kaṇvāda*, *Gaimini*, and *Bādarāyana*. Similarly the Vaidiks of the *Yagus*, *Sāman*, and *Atharvan* schools are able to recite, more or less perfectly, the whole of the works of their respective *Sākhās* as well as some other non-Vedic books¹. But it would be in vain to expect from such men an explanation of the literary treasures which they possess. It is not the professional Vaidik who can perform the great sacrifices according to the *Srauta-sūtras*, interpret the intricate system of *Pāṇini's* grammar, or decide a knotty point of law according to the *Dharma-sūtra* or the secondary *Smṛiti* which he knows by heart. For these purposes one must go to quite different classes of men. The performance of the great *Srauta* sacrifices lies in the hands of the *Srottriya* or *Srautī*, who unites with a thoroughly verbal knowledge of the sacred texts of his *Sākhā* a full acquaintance with the meaning of the *Srauta-sūtras* and with the actual *kriyā* or manual work, described in the *Prayogas*. The *Srautī*, as well as his humbler fellow-worker, the so-called *Yāgyūka* or *Bhattachā*, who knows the *Grihya-sūtras* and performs the rites prescribed for domestic occurrences, likewise both belong to the representatives of the Vedic schools. They make, however, no pretence to a knowledge of the whole range of the *Āṅgas*, but content themselves with studying the *Kalpa*, or parts of it, and perhaps the *Sikshā*². Real

¹ Regarding the necessity for a Vaidik to learn non-Vedic books, see Vas. XXVII, 6.

² Regarding the present condition of the Vedic schools and of Vedic learning, see Haug, *Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 47; and R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar's careful paper, 'The Veda in India' (*Ind. Ant.* III, 132 sqq.). From personal observa-

proficiency in the other still surviving *Āṅgas*, grammar, law, and astronomy is to be found only with those *Pandits* who fulfil their duty of studying the Veda by committing to memory a few particularly important sections, such as the *Pāvamāni-hymns* of the *Rig-veda* or the *Satarudriya* of the *Yagur-veda*, or by confining themselves to the few verses which occur in the *Brahmayagñā* and the *Samdhyā-vandana*¹. Their chief aim is to be perfect in one or more of the special sciences which they study, without reference to a particular Vedic school. Thus, though a *Pandit* who chiefly devotes himself to the sacred law may belong to the Vedic school of *Baudhāyana* or *Āpastamba*, he will not make *Baudhāyana's* or *Āpastamba's* *Dharma-sūtra* the starting-point of his studies. On the contrary, it will frequently happen that he possesses no knowledge of the *Dharma-sūtra* of his school, except a few passages quoted in the commentaries and digests. If he has read the whole work, he will consult it only as one of the many utterances of the ancient sages. He will not attribute to it a higher authority than to other *Smṛitis*, but interpret it in accordance with the rules of the secondary *Dharmaśāstras* of *Manu* or *Yāgñavalkya*. A good illustration of this state of things is furnished by *Sāyana-Mādhava's* treatment of *Baudhāyana* in his *Vyavahāramādhava*, a treatise on civil and criminal law supplementing his commentary on *Parāśara's Smṛiti*. Though he himself tells us, in the introduction to the *Parāśara-smṛiti-vyākhyā*², that he belonged to the school of *Baudhāyana*, and though he seems to have written a commentary on *Baudhāyana's* *Sūtras*, he relies, e. g. for the law of Inheritance, not on *Baudhāyana's* *Dharma-sūtra*, but on *Vigñānesvara's* exposition of *Yāgñavalkya*. He quotes *Baudhāyana* only in three places³. As far as the law is concerned, *Sāyana* follows the theories of the

tion I can add to Professor *Bhāṇḍārkar's* statements that Vaidiks of the White *Yagur-veda* are found also in Northern India. I have also heard of Vaidiks of the *Sāma-veda* among the *Parvatīyas* in the Panjab, and of the *Atharva-veda* in the Central India Agency.

¹ *Bhāṇḍārkar*, loc. cit. p. 132 note.

² *Parāśara-smṛiti-vyākhyā*, p. 3, ver. 7 (Calcutta edition).

³ *Burnell, Dāyavibhāga*, pp. 9, 39, 41.

special law school of his time and of his country, without particular reference to the teaching of his Vedic *Karāṇa*.

This depression of the Vedic *Karāṇas* through special schools, which took over the scientific cultivation of a most important portion of the *Aṅgas*, is not of modern date. It goes back to a time which lies long before the beginning of the historical period of India. We have various indications in the ancient books which force us towards this conclusion. Thus Yāska's *Nirukta*, a work which undoubtedly belongs to a very early period, quotes *Vaiyākaraṇas*, grammarians; *Nairuktas*, etymological exegetes; and *Yāgñīkas*, ritualists; and contrasts their conflicting opinions¹. If these schools were at issue with respect to grammatical or exegetical questions, it follows that the subjects which they taught were no longer cultivated by the same persons as auxiliary branches of the Vedic lore, but that each had received in a special school a separate development as an independent science. The actual condition in which the various *Aṅgas* have been preserved, fully agrees with this view. It shows that two at least, grammar and astronomy, slipped away from the control of the Vedic *Karāṇas* in very early times. For not one of those schools, the text-books of which have survived, possesses a grammatical or an astronomical handbook of its own. Pāṇini's *Aśṭādhyāyī* is the sole representative of the *Vyākaraṇa* class of the *Aṅgas*, and is equally acknowledged by the followers of all Vedas. But grammar, as taught by Pāṇini, is no longer a mere handmaiden of the *Vedavidyā*. It is an independent science which lays down the laws, applicable to the whole Sanskrit language, and treats what we now call the classical Sanskrit as the standard of *Āryan* speech, the Vedic forms as anomalies. As the numerous quotations of older schools and older teachers in Pāṇini's own work, in the *Prāṭisākhya*s, and in Yāska's *Nirukta* clearly show, a very considerable number of more ancient works did precede the *Aśṭādhyāyī*, and the latter is undoubtedly the final outgrowth of a long scientific development². A good many of the lost

¹ *Nirukta* I, 12; V, 11; VII, 4; XIII, 9.

² See Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 150, who says

works seem to have treated grammar from the same standpoint as Pāṇini's book. But it may be reasonably supposed that the earliest among them mainly or even exclusively taught the rules applicable to the Vedic texts, studied by the several *Karāṇas* to which the authors belonged. This stage of grammatical research belongs, however, to a remote past. Indian grammar, as it first becomes known to us, is no longer entirely subservient to the wants of the Veda-study, but works, though it still takes account of the Veda, for its own ends.

The science of astronomy is still more loosely connected with the Vedic schools. All the traces of its really having been an *Aṅga* consist in the small treatise, entitled *Gyotisha*, of which two slightly different recensions are extant, one belonging to the *Rig-veda* and one to the *Yagur-veda*. All the other works on this subject, even the ancient ones such as the *Gārgī Samhitā*, as well as the *Vāsishtā Samhitā* and *Siddhānta*, show no connexion with the Veda or Vedic schools, except that their authorship is ascribed to *Rīshis* or descendants of the families of *Rīshis*.

As regards the sacred law, the fact that such late offshoots of the Vedic tree, as the *Āpastambīyas* and the *Hairanyakesas*, possess *Dharma-sūtras*, proves that this subject much longer formed part of the curriculum of the Vedic schools. But already one of the most ancient grammarians of the historical period of India, *Patañjali*, hints that in his times the *Dharma* was taught not only in the Vedic but also in special schools. For on the one hand he refers to the *Dharma-sūtras*¹, on the other he teaches the formation of a special word, *dharmavidyā*, which denotes 'a person who studies or knows the *dharmavidyā*, the science of the sacred law².' Possibly the word *dharmasāstra*, the Institutes of the sacred law, which occurs

most appropriately that the Hindus ought to speak not of the *Pāṇinīyādya vaiyākaraṇāḥ*, but of the *Pāṇinīyāntāḥ*.

¹ See the remarks on Pāṇini I, 1, 47.

² See the remarks on Pāṇini IV, 2, 60 (vol. ii, p. 248, Kielhorn). I follow Dr. Kielhorn, who prints the words '*vidyā ānaṅgakshatradharmatripūrvā*' as a remark of *Patañjali*, not as a *Vārttika* of *Kātyāyana*.

occasionally in his Bhâshya¹, may also point to manuals, studied by the special schools, which differed from the Dharma-sûtras. But it is not absolutely conclusive, as a Dharma-sûtra too may be called a Dharmaśāstra, because it teaches the sacred law. If we go back to still earlier times we find the existence of special law schools clearly indicated even in some of the Dharma-sûtras. The passages which are most explicit on this point are those which describe the constitution of a Parishad or an assembly of learned men, entitled to decide doubtful law cases. For we read, Vasishṭha III, 20, and Baudhâya I, 1, 8, 'Four men who each know one of the four Vedas, a student of the Mīmāṃsā, one who knows the Aṅgas, one who recites (the works on) the sacred law (dharmapâṭhaka), and three Brâhmanas belonging to (three different) orders (constitute) an assembly consisting of, at least, ten (members)².' Here the reciter or teacher of the sacred law is named side by side with him who knows the Aṅgas. As the two works in which the verse occurs are Dharma-sûtras belonging to the Kalpa section of the Aṅgas, it is evident that the teacher of the sacred law must be a person who specially devotes himself to the study of that subject, and knows more than one Dharma-sûtra. Hence it follows that special law schools must have existed at the time when these two Dharma-sûtras were composed³. It may also be that already then these special schools had elaborated

¹ See Kâtyâyana's Vârttika 39 on Pâṇini I, 2, 64, and Patañjali's remarks thereon (Kielhorn, Mah. vol. i, p. 242).

² See also Manu XII, 111; and above, p. xxv.

³ The significance of the passage quoted comes out still stronger, if we compare Gautama's rule (XXVIII, 49), which differs very considerably: 'They declare that an assembly (parishad, shall consist) at least (of) the ten following (members, viz.) four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, (and) three men who know (three) different (institutes of) law.' Gautama says nothing of men specially devoted to the study of the sacred law. He requires three persons, knowing three different Dharma-sûtras. He and Âpastamba are perfectly aware of the fragmentary character of their rules, and particularly refer their pupils (Gaut. XVI, 49; Âp. I, 3, 11, 38) in certain cases to the teaching of other schools, which, being comprised under the general term Smṛiti, have authority, provided the teachers were orthodox Śiṣṭas (Gaut. I, 2; Âp. I, 1, 1, 2; Vas. I, 4; Baudh. I, 1, 1, 3).

manuals of their own which differed from the Dharma-sûtras. In favour of this opinion the metrical quotation at Baudhâyana II, 4, 14-15 may be adduced, as it seems to have been taken from a work in Anushâubh-Slokas¹. Though the unsatisfactory state of the text of Baudhâyana does not allow us to insist too strongly on this passage, it is undeniable that the formation of special law schools must inevitably lead after a short time to the composition of manuals for their use. It is, no doubt, true that their founders possessed in the Dharma-sûtras, the number of which, to judge from the quotations, must have been very great, plentiful materials on which they could base their investigations. But the treatment of a science from a new point of view was in itself an incentive to the production of new manuals, and there were in the case of the special law schools also other reasons which made such a course desirable. Minute as the Dharma-sûtras generally are on the majority of the topics connected with the moral duties of Âryas, their arrangement of the rules is frequently unsystematic, and their treatment of the legal procedure, the civil and the criminal law, with the exception of one single title, the dâyavibhâga, i. e. the law of inheritance and partition, extremely unsatisfactory. With respect to the other titles, the Dharma-sûtras give nothing more than a few hints, intended to indicate the general principles, but they never proceed systematically, and always show most embarrassing omissions. From the standpoint of the Vedic schools, a more detailed and orderly treatment of these matters was, of course, irrelevant, as their chief aim was to point out the road to the acquisition of spiritual merit, and to guard their pupils against committing sin. Though some of their members might be called upon, and no doubt actually were destined in later life, to become practical lawyers, as Dharmâdhikârin, i. e. legal advisers of kings and chiefs, or as judges, and to settle the law between man and man, the few general principles which they had learnt during their course of instruction would suffice for their wants. For the details

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xli.

were settled according to the law of custom, which, as the Dharma-sûtras themselves indicate, was in ancient times even a greater power in India than it is in our days. When the sacred law became a separate science to which men devoted all or the best part of their energy, the case became different. However much the specialists might be convinced of the supreme importance of the moral side of the Dharma, they could not possibly shut their eyes against the glaring deficiencies of the old text-books, and they were, of a necessity, driven to remedy them. In order to effect this, two courses were open to them. They might either remodel the old existing works or compose entirely new ones. As might be expected from the universal tendency, observable throughout the whole of the sacred literature of India, they gave preference to the former alternative, and the result of their work was that class of the secondary Smritis, the chief surviving representatives of which are the Dharmasâstras of Manu and Yâgñavalkya. These works reveal their origin by the following marks. They are the exclusive property of the special law schools, and they show a fuller and more systematic treatment of all legal topics, while, at the same time, more or less clear traces of older redactions, connected with the Vedic schools, are to be found. They are free from all signs of sectarian influence, or of having been composed, like many of the later Digests, at royal command. They, finally, exhibit unmistakable marks of being school-books. If we examine our Manu-smṛiti with respect to these points, its connexion with an older Vedic work has been shown above, and the fact that it is, and has been ever since we have any information regarding its existence, in the keeping of the *Pandîts*, who especially devote themselves to the study of law, will be patent to every student of the Dharmasâstras. That it treats all legal topics more fully and more systematically than the Dharma-sûtras, and especially devotes much more space to those subjects which are briefly noticed in the latter works, is no less evident. It will suffice here to point out the fact that the description of the duties of the king, including

the administration of justice and the civil and criminal law, occupies considerably more than one-third of the whole. For chapters vii-ix contain no less than 982 verses, while the total number amounts to 2,684¹. None of the older law-books devotes more than one-fifth of its text to such matters². The freedom of the *Manu-smṛiti* from all sectarian influence is perfect. It nowhere teaches the performance of other rites than those prescribed in the Vedic writings, and it nowhere inculcates the exclusive worship of one of the deities of the Paurāṇik sects as we find it recommended, for instance, in the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*. Nor is there any hint that it was written by order of some king or chief with the purpose of serving as a Digest of the sacred law. Finally, the marks of its being a school-book, intended for the instruction of all Āryas, are unmistakable. We are told, *Manu* I, 103, that 'a learned Brāhmaṇa must carefully study these (Institutes), and must duly instruct his pupils in them,' but that 'nobody else (shall do it).' Who the pupils, entitled to learn the work, are, is explained II, 16. There it is said that 'he for whom (the performance of) the rites, beginning with the Garbhādhāna and ending with the Antyeshī, is ordained together with recitation of sacred formulas, is entitled to study it, but no other man whatsoever.' Hence Brāhmins are to teach the Sāstra, and all Āryas may learn it. It further agrees with its character as a school-book, if the phalasruti or statement of the rewards to be gained by its study, *Manu* XII, 126, asserts that a twice-born man, who is able to recite 'these Institutes, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach (i. e. after death) whatever condition he desires.' The first object which the student may gain is self-improvement, and the second happiness after death³.

¹ About the same ratio, 367 : 1009 is found in *Yāgyavalkya's Smṛiti*.

² Thus in the *Gautamīya*, seven pages of the text out of thirty-four are filled with legal matters; in the *Vāsisṭha*, twelve pages out of eighty-one; in the *Āpastambīya*, ten out of ninety-eight; and in the *Baudhāyanīya*, about seven out of a hundred and fifteen.

³ Other secondary *Smṛitis*, e. g. *Yāgyavalkya's* (III, 330-334), give much more detailed statements regarding the rewards to be obtained. But in substance they always agree with *Manu*.

If we accept the conclusion which the preceding discussion tends to establish, that the special law schools produced the first and the most ancient division of the secondary *Smṛitis* on the basis of older Dharma-sūtras, and that one among these schools, which, however, cannot be further specified, turned the Mānava Dharma-sūtra into our metrical *Smṛiti*¹, we obtain also satisfactory answers to two other questions. First, it becomes explicable why the latter work shows so little connexion with the special doctrines and usages of the Mānavas. If adherents of the Vedic Mānava school, as Professor E. Hopkins conjectures², had undertaken the revision of their Dharma-sūtra, they would not have forgotten to mention such ceremonies as those which, according to their *Gṛihya-sūtra*, must be performed on beginning the study of particular portions of their *Samhitā*³, and, above all, they would have allowed Mantras belonging to the Maitrāyaṇī Sākhā to stand. Again, if the task had fallen to the share of the members of some other Vedic school, we should find some points mentioned which were of special interest to them. The entire absence of all distinctive marks of any Vedic school which the *Manu-smṛiti* exhibits can only be explained on the hypothesis that it was remodelled by persons for whom such minute distinctions had no interest, and who concentrated their attention on those rules which they considered essential for all Āryas. Secondly, the view expressed above furnishes us with an answer to the question why the *Manu-smṛiti*, like all other works of its class, emphatically claims the allegiance of all Hindus. It is obvious that every special law school must assert, if its labour is not to be in vain, the general applicability of its doctrines and rules to all mankind.

If we now turn to the second point, what reasons induced the special law schools to select just the Mānava Dharma-sūtra among the large number of similar works

¹ This view, which I first taught in my lectures on the Hindu law, delivered in the Vienna University during the winter, 1881-82, has been accepted by Professor J. Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 41, and Lecture II *passim*, as well as p. 347 (end).

² Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xix.

³ See above, p. xxxix, note 5.

for the basis of their studies and to recast it, the answer is not difficult to find. The reason for this selection, and for the high veneration in which the *Manu-smṛiti* has been held and is still held by Hindus, lies, without doubt, in the myths which, since very early times, have clustered round the name of Manu, and in progress of time have been more and more developed and brought into a system.

In Vedic mythology, Manu, or Manus, as he is also called in the *Rig-veda*, is the heros eponymos of the human race, and by his nature belongs both to gods and to men. As a divine being he is described as the son of the *Âditya Vivasvat* and of 'the female of equal colour,' whom *Vivasvat's* wife, *Saranyû*, made to take her place¹, or as the offspring of *Svayambhû*, self-existent Brahman². In the same quality he is invoked at the sacrifices as *pragâpati*, the Lord of created beings³, and in *Kutsâ-yana's* hymn of praise, which is quoted in the *Maitrâyaṇa Brâhmaṇopaniṣad* (V, 1), he is identified with Brahman, the supreme Soul⁴. In the systematised theology of the *Nairuktas* he appears as one of the deities residing in heaven⁵. His human character comes out still more frequently. He is named in the *Rig-veda* together with other sages of a remote antiquity⁶, the *Taittiriya-saṃhitâ* speaks of him as of the father of a family who divides his estate among his sons⁷, and the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* opens one of its legends regarding him with a passage which represents him as following the usual daily customs of men⁸.

Manu's position as the progenitor of mankind is usually

¹ *Vâḷakhilya* IV, 1; *Atharva-veda* VIII, 10, 24; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4, 3, 3; and *Nirukta* XII, 10.

² See the Vedic sloka quoted *Nirukta* III, 4, about which more will be said below. A third account, *Vâḷakhilya* III, 1, makes him the son of *Samvarana*, who possibly may be identical with the *Rishi* mentioned *RV.* V, 33, 10.

³ *Taitt. Saṃh.* III, 2, 8, 1; IV, 1, 9, 1; *Vâg. Saṃh.* XI, 66; *Maitr. Saṃh.* II, 7, 7.

⁴ The edition reads *annam*, food. But Professor Max Müller's MS. has correctly Manu (*S. B. E.* XV, p. 303 note). My copy has मनुः.

⁵ *Nirukta* XII, 33-34.

⁶ *RV.* I, 80, 16; I, 112, 16, &c.

⁷ *Taitt. Saṃh.* III, 1, 9, 4.

⁸ *Sat. Br.* I, 8, 1; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, p. 216, 'In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands.'

indicated in general terms only. In the *Rig-veda* he is repeatedly called 'Father Manu'.¹ In other passages we meet frequently with the assertion that 'the five tribes,' or 'these created beings,' or 'the races of men' are his offspring.² But in the famous legend of the flood, given by the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*³, we have a circumstantial account of the manner in which he produced the human race. According to that *Brāhmaṇa*, Manu alone was saved by the advice of a fish from a great flood which destroyed all created beings. Being desirous of offspring he engaged in worshipping and in performing austerities. During this time he offered a *Pāka-yagñā*. His oblations produced a woman, *Idā* or *Iā*, a personification of the *idā* ceremony and of 'the blessing of the sacrifice.' Though solicited by *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* to become theirs, she acknowledged herself Manu's daughter, and stayed with him. 'With her,' the *Brāhmaṇa* concludes in somewhat ambiguous terms, 'he went on worshipping and performing austerities. Through her he generated this race, which is called the race of Manu.' Though this legend is alluded to in another *Brāhmaṇa*⁴, and repeated in later Sanskrit works, it may be reasonably doubted whether it contains the original version of the production of mankind through Manu. It seems more probable that an older myth ascribed to him not a reproduction, but the first creation or procreation of the human race.

Being the father of mankind, Manu is naturally considered as the founder of social and moral order, as a ruler of men, and as a *Rishi* to whom sacred texts were revealed, as the inventor of sacrificial rites, and the author of legal maxims. We find, therefore, passages which assert that he was a king⁵, which speak of his coronation, or make him

¹ RV. I, 80, 16; I, 124, 2; II, 33, 13, &c.

² RV. III, 24, 3; *Taitt. Samh.* I, 5, 1, 3; I, 5, 6, 1; III, 4, 22; III, 4, 3, 7; VI, 1, 5, 6, &c.; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4, 3, 3.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii, pp. 216-219.

⁴ Weber, *Indische Streifen*, vol. i, p. 11, note 3.

⁵ See e.g. *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* XIII, 4, 3, 3, and RV. I, 112, 8. In the latter passage the epithet *sūra*, the hero, characterises Manu as a royal personage.

the ancestor of kings. Thus a Mantra, recited at the Abhisheka of a king¹, asserts that Pragâpati formerly anointed Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Yama, and Manu, and among the mythical kings Saryâta is called Manu's son², while Purûravas is the offspring of Manu's daughter, Idâ or Iâ³. In later times this ancient idea, which makes Manu the first king of men and the ancestor of kings, has led to his being placed at the head of mythical and of partly historical genealogies. From him springs Ikshvâku, the first king of the solar dynasty and the historical Kalukya, and Kola kings name Manu as the founder of their families.

Much more frequently the Veda alludes to, or explicitly mentions, Manu as the inventor of sacrificial rites. The Rig-veda contains a very large number of passages⁴ which speak of Manu's sacrifices, and of his having kindled the sacred fire, or invoked the gods to accept the offerings of the Rîshis just as they accepted those of Manu. The same assertions are repeated in the Yagur-veda⁵, and the Sata-patha-brâhmaṇa (I, 5, 1-7) says very explicitly, 'Manu, indeed, worshipped with sacrifices in the beginning; imitating that, this progeny (of his now) sacrifices.' In addition to the fire-worship, Manu is also said to have invented the Srâddhas or funeral sacrifices. The chief passage bearing on this point occurs in Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra II, 18, 1, where it is stated that the gods went to heaven in reward of their sacrifices, and that Manu, seeing men left behind, 'revealed this ceremony, which is designated by the word Srâddha.' Though this passage is not marked as a quotation, its style clearly shows that it has either been borrowed from a Brâhmaṇa, or that it gives a summary of

¹ Ait. Br. VIII, 8, 1.

² Sat. Br. IV, 1, 5, 2; compare also Ait. Br. IV, 32; VIII, 21, where the name is Sâryâta.

³ RV. I, 31, 4; X, 95; and Sat. Br. XI, 5, 1, 1. In the first passage I take manave in the sense of mânavâya.

⁴ See Bergaigne, Religion Védique, I, 62-70, where, it seems to me, a great many difficult passages have been explained more successfully than in the translations of other Vedists, who take the word manu too freely in the sense of man.

⁵ See e. g. Taitt. Samh. I, 7, 1, 3; II, 5, 9, 1; III, 3, 2, 1; V, 4, 10, 5.

a longer story contained in such a work¹. It is probably on account of this legend that 'Manu, the offspring of the Sun,' receives in the Mahâbhârata² the epithet *Srâddha-deva*, which may be rendered either 'the deity of the *Srâddha*,' or, perhaps better, 'he whose deity is the *Srâddha*, i. e. the *Srâddha*-worshipper.' Closely connected with Manu's position as inventor of sacrifices is the ancient myth, mentioned above, which makes him the father of *Idâ*; and from the same idea spring probably the legends regarding his bull, whose voice destroyed the demons, and regarding the sacrifice of his wife, *Manâvî*³.

That Manu was credited with the revelation of Mantras has been stated above⁴ in the remarks on the passages from the three redactions of the *Yagur-veda* and of the *Tândya-brâhmana*. The older works, however, nowhere attribute to him entire hymns, but mostly small numbers of verses only. The same is the case in the Index of the *Rishis* of the White *Yagur-veda*, while the *Sarvânukramanî* of the *Rig-veda* ascribes five entire *Sûktas*, VIII, 27-31, to Manu *Vaivasvata*, as well as a few verses to Manu *Âpsava* and to Manu *Sâṃvarana*. An interesting passage in the beginning of the last section of the *Khândogyaopaniṣad*⁵ informs us that that work was revealed by *Brahmâ* (*Hiraṇyagarbha*) to *Pragâpati* (*Kasyapa*), by *Pragâpati* to Manu, and by Manu to mankind. This legend proves that the ancient Vedic schools believed Manu to have taught more than a few verses and hymns. It also helps us to understand better the phrase of the four Vedic books quoted, 'All

¹ If Professor Max Müller, India, What can it teach us? pp. 234-235 and 365, thinks that *Âpastamba*'s passage betrays a consciousness of the later origin of the *Srâddha* rites, I am unable to follow him. It seems to me more probable that it is only intended to explain the holiness and efficacy of the funeral sacrifices, and why they secure heaven for the worshipper and the worshipped ancestor. In the *Brâhmanas* similar introductions, in which the *Devas* play the part of Manu, are prefixed to the descriptions of most sacrifices. As the *Srâddhas* specially concern men, the father of mankind is very appropriately represented as their inventor.

² Mah. XII, 121, 29.

³ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii, pp. 29-30; see also the passages and essays quoted there in note 1.

⁴ See p. xvi.

⁵ Sacred Books of the East, vol. i, p. 144.

Manu said is medicine.' As has been pointed out above, the assertion contained in this sentence is so general that it makes us suspect the existence of many sayings of Manu on religious subjects. Though the *Khândogya* is probably not as ancient as the *Samhitās* of the *Yagur-veda*, or even as the *Tândya*, and though it hence would be more than hazardous to assume that this very passage is alluded to in the latter, the idea that Manu acted as mediator between Brahman and mankind, and that he taught the way to final liberation, may yet belong to very early times, and may have been one of the causes which led to the sweeping generalisation. The same passages probably testify also to the early existence of the belief that Manu first settled the Dharma, which, as the preceding discussion shows, is but a natural outgrowth from the conceptions which make him the founder of the moral and social order of the world. The published *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* contain, as far as I know, no explicit statement on this subject. But an allusion to it seems to occur in the passage of the *Taittirīya-samhitā* which declares that Manu divided his estate among his sons. Baudhāyana¹, at least, has taken it in this sense, as he places it at the head of his rules on inheritance. The oldest direct testimony on this point is the *Sloka* quoted in Yāska's *Nirukta* III, 4, which says, 'According to the sacred law the inheritance goes without a distinction to the children of both sexes, (that) Manu, the offspring of the Self-existent (*Svāyambhuva*), has declared at the beginning of the creation².' The text shows the Vedic accents, the use of which appears to be confined to the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*. As the verse is emphatically called a *Sloka*, it cannot have been taken

¹ Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. 224.

² I do not share Professor von Roth's misgivings (*Nirukta*, Notes, pp. 24-26) regarding the genuineness of this verse, and of the whole legal discussion in sections 4-6 of the third book of the *Nirukta*. We know now that the views of the ancient authors on the succession of daughters differed very considerably. Hence the incidental discussion of this vexed question in the *Nirukta* need not raise any suspicion. Similar digressions are not uncommon in other Vedic works. The difficulty with respect to the compound *ṛkslokābhyām*, in the words introducing the verse, disappears if it is taken as a *Dvandva*, and not, as Professor von Roth seems to do, as a *Karmadhāraya*.

from a work of the former class. It probably belongs to one of the lost accented Brāhmaṇas. That it did not form part of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra follows, not only from the use of the accents, but also from its contents. Its doctrine does not agree with that of our Manu-smṛiti, which, with respect to the greater part of the rules on inheritance, may be considered as a faithful representative of the original Dharma-sūtra. Though Manu IX, 131-139 strongly insists on the right of an appointed daughter, and, indeed, of every daughter who has no brothers, to succeed to the paternal estate, he nowhere lays down the rule, which, according to Yāska, is taught in our verse, that daughters under all circumstances share equally with sons. To daughters who have brothers Manu allots one-fourth of a share.

In the Dharma-sūtras the verses which contain the phrase 'manur abravīt, thus Manu has said,' or equivalents thereof, become more frequent. The passages of Vasishṭha and of Sāṅkhāyana in which it occurs have been discussed above. Two verses of this description are found in Baudhāyana's Dharma-sūtra (IV, 1, 13; 2, 15), and a considerable number in Usanas' aphoristic Dharmasāstra¹. In the Mahābhārata², in our Manu-smṛiti itself, in the Nārada-smṛiti³, and in other secondary law-books it is also of common occurrence. Its real meaning is, as Professor Hopkins (loc. cit.) has pointed out, no other than that the rule to which it is appended was thought to be ancient and indisputable. Hence it is sometimes used vicariously for appeals to the teaching of the Veda⁴ and of Pragāpati. That the cause of

¹ Instances of this kind occur, especially in the Śrāddhakalpa, chapter IV, भवति चात्र श्लोकः । दक्षानुयोगाद्धनहेतोः पतिताम्नुरवधीत् (sic) ॥ ---- असमानयाजकाश्च क्षुतिविक्रयिकाश्च ये । अस्य पूर्वप्रजातानां पतिताम्नुरवधीत् (sic) ॥ and in chapter VI, नष्टः रूपतडागास्तु सरांसि सजितस्तथा । असंपृक्त-न्यदोषाणि मनुः स्वार्यंभुवोवधीत् ॥ अजृताङ्गानि मूलानि धान्यकाः सक्तवश्च ताः । परपाकनिवृत्तानां भोज्यासं मनुरवधीत् ॥ ---- स्त्रीमुखे च सुरागन्धमदो-यमनुरवधीत् ॥

² Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xix.

³ J. Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 46.

⁴ Compare e. g. Vas. XVII, 10-11, and Manu IX, 182-3.

its adoption was not the existence of a primeval Mānava Dharma-sūtra or Sāstra, but the belief in the revelation of the law by Manu is proved also by the wide divergence of the doctrines attributed to the father of mankind from each other and from the teaching of the Manu-smṛiti.

These legends and mythological conceptions are amply sufficient to show why the special law schools should have directed their attention to the Mānava Dharma-sūtra, and should have chosen that in preference to other similar works as the basis of one of their text-books. Even if the author of the Sūtra, who in the tradition of the Mānavas¹ is sometimes called Manvâkârya and sometimes Mānavâkârya, really was a historical personage named after the progenitor of men, and was considered as such by the adherents of his own school, yet a confusion between him and his mythical namesake was in course of time inevitable. Even Āpastamba, who himself claims to be no more than a common sinful mortal, has not escaped the fate of being turned into a half-divine being by the authors of the Mahābhārata² and of the Purāṇas.

¹ All I can adduce regarding the tradition of the Mānavas is found in some not very clear verses of the Maṅgalāraṇas, prefixed to the two books of Ashvâakra's commentary on the Gr̥hya-sūtra. In the beginning of the prathamapurushabhāṣya he says, according to Professor Haug's MS. (Munich Roy. Lib. Sansk. MSS., No. 51), नमो भाष्यकाराय मानवाचार्योय नमः । यस्याः प्रसादान्मनुना शब्दशास्त्रमिदं (?) कृतम् । सरस्वत्युपनामानि (?) सा नः पातु सरस्वती ॥ My MS. omits the invocation of the Bhāṣyakāra and of Mānavâkârya and reads in the last line सरस्वतूपनानि कल्पयतु सा ॥ The dvitīyapurushabhāṣya begins, according to my MS., सरस्वत्याः प्रसादेन यचैतन्मृतवानुरा । भगवान्मानवाचार्यः पूरयास्व प्रयत्नतः ॥ १ ॥ अष्टावक्त्रेण देवेन तां तुष्टा तु (?) सरस्वतीम् । शते पूर्वे तु वर्षाणामृतौ शिशिरसंक्षिप्ते ॥ २ ॥ नमस्कृत्य तां देवीं यस्या एव प्रभावतः प्राप्तं यत्तन्महातुष्य [यत्तन्महापुष्य?] बृहद्वर्माभिधायकम् ॥ ३ ॥

In the first line of the second verse I propose to read अष्टावक्त्रेण देवेन कृतं तुष्टा सरस्वतीम् and to translate, 'As the venerable Mānavâkârya composed this (Sūtra) by the favour of Sarasvatī, (even so) the (commentary) called Pūraṇa was carefully written by Ashvâkradeva after he had pleased Sarasvatī, when one hundred years (of the Lokakāla) were completed, in the season called the dewy one.' These verses seem to indicate that, according to the tradition of the Mānavas, a historical Mānavâkârya or Manvâkârya composed the Gr̥hya-sūtra, which was also called Br̥haddharma, by the special favour of the goddess Sarasvatī.

² See Mah. XIII, 66, 12.

A Manu who composed a treatise on the sacred law which gained some notoriety was, therefore, sure of divine honours. As soon as the identification of the author of the *Sûtra* with the father of mankind was made, it was a matter of course that the *Manu-smṛiti* obtained a particularly high position, and was accepted as the paramount authority on the sacred law.

The legends given above render us yet another service. They explain the origin of the seemingly contradictory statements of the *Smṛiti* regarding Manu. When he is represented there as a descendant of self-existent Brahman and a *Pragâpati* who takes a prominent part in the creation, or as identical with the supreme Brahman¹, and on the other hand as a *Rîshi* and as a king of the remotest antiquity, it is now patent that these conceptions have been taken over from Vedic literature and that, different as they are, they have all grown out of the one fundamental idea which makes the first man and progenitor a half-divine and half-human being, an assistant in the work of creation, and the founder of moral and social order among men. Some of the remaining elements of the myth of Manu, as told in the *Smṛiti*, are likewise clearly developments of Vedic ideas. Thus the interposition of the androgynous *Virâg* in Manu's genealogy (I, 32-33) is foreshadowed by a curious passage of the *Atharva-veda*, VIII, 10, where the female *Virâg* is said to have been 'in the beginning this (whole world),' and to have yielded blessings to various classes of beings. According to verse 24, 'Manu, the son of *Vivasvat*, was her calf², when *Prîthi Vainya* milked from her agriculture and grain-bearing plants.' It would, therefore, seem that *Virâg*, who repeatedly plays a part in Vedic cosmogony, was already there connected with Manu. Further, the substitution of seven or more Manus for one, has probably been caused, as the *Petersburg Dictionary* (s. v. *manu*) suggests, by the diversity of the genealogies found in the various Vedic passages. It is even not improbable that the Vedic schools believed, when *Kâtyâ-*

¹ The same identification occurs *Mah. I*, 1, 32.

² This statement alludes to the fact that Indian cows do not allow themselves to be milked, except when their calves stand by.

yana composed his *Sarvānukramanikā* of the *Rig-veda*, in the existence of several distinct Manus. Finally, the association of the ten great sages whom Manu Svāyam-bhuva created, and who in turn created other Manus (I, 34-36), in the work of creation, rests on such passages as those quoted by Āpastamba II, 24, 3-6, 13, where successive destructions of the world are mentioned, and 'this creation is declared to be the work of Praṇapati and of the sages.' But the complete development of the myth of Manu belongs to the schools of the Paurāṇikas and Aitihāsikas, and we find in the *Purāṇas* and in the *Mahābhārata* many legends which are partly identical with or closely related to that told in our *Smṛiti*¹.

The third problem, to say how the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* into our *Manu-smṛiti* was effected, presents very considerable difficulties, and admits of an approximative solution only. It involves the consideration of three questions. First, which portions of our *Manu-smṛiti* are ancient and which are later additions? secondly, whence have the additions been derived? and thirdly, whether they have been added at one time or successively? In our attempts to distinguish between the old and the modern elements in our *Manu-saṃhitā* we must be guided, except where we have quotations from the old *Dharma-sūtra*, by the analogies which the other existing *Dharma-sūtras* furnish. For it may be assumed as a general maxim, that rules and other statements of our Manu, which find counterparts in the critically unsuspecting portions of the *Sūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha, probably occurred also in the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. Single exceptions are, of course, possible, because, though the *Dharma-sūtras* show a very decided class-affinity, they yet differ in the details. The one devotes greater attention to one subject, and the other to others. Hence it may be, that occasionally a rule which is found in the *Dharma-sūtras*, nevertheless did not occur in the *Mānava-sūtra*, but was added on its

¹ See H. H. Wilson, *Vishnu-purāṇa*, vol. i, pp. 104-5 (ed. Hall); Professor Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, pp. 247-256.

revision. To a certain extent we may also avail ourselves of the *Vishnu-smṛiti* for the same purpose. But a greater degree of caution will be necessary, as this work, though in the main a representative of the *Kāthaka* Dharma-sūtra, contains also an admixture of modern elements. On the other hand, those rules and discussions which cannot be traced in one of the old Sūtras, are at least suspicious, and require careful consideration. The ultimate decision, if such passages have indeed to be considered as additions, must depend on various collateral circumstances. The safest criterion will always be the character of the ideas which they express. If these are entirely foreign to the Sūtras or to Vedic literature, they may be confidently rejected as interpolations. A good deal depends also on their position and on the manner in which they fit into the context. Numerous cases will, however, remain doubtful.

If we examine Manu's text according to these principles, the more important results will be as follows:—The whole first chapter must be considered as a later addition. No Dharma-sūtra begins with a description of its own origin, much less with an account of the creation. The former, which would be absurd in a Dharma-sūtra, has been added in order to give authority to a remodelled version. The latter has been dragged in, because the myths connected with Manu presented a good opportunity 'to show the greatness of the scope of the work,' as Medhātithi says. The table of contents, given at the end of chapter I, was, of course, also foreign to the original Sūtra. Chapters II–VI, on the other hand, seem to represent with tolerable faithfulness the contents of the corresponding sections of the *Mānava* Dharma-sūtra. Nearly all the rules are found in the other Dharma-sūtras and in the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, and more than three-fourths of the verses find counterparts in the aphorisms and verses of the older law-books. Nevertheless, the hand of the remodeller is not rarely visible. There are, besides the verses which announce the transition from one subject to the other¹, a considerable number of smaller and some

¹ These verses probably mark the subdivisions of the *Adhyāyas*, the *Kaṇḍikās* or *Khaṇḍas* of the ancient Sūtra.

larger interpolations. To the latter belong, in the second chapter, vv. 1-11 and vv. 88-100. The first passage gives a philosophical account of the origin of actions (1-5), such as is not found in any older law-book; further, a verse (v. 6) stating the sources of the sacred law, which is unnecessary on account of v. 12, and suspicious on account of the double description of the third source of the law, by the synonymous terms *śīla* and *ākāra*¹. The contents of the remaining verses, the praise of the *Manu-smṛiti* (v. 7), the advice how the different authorities are to be studied (v. 8), the declaration of the reward for obedience to the revealed texts (v. 9), the definition of the terms *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*, and the declaration of their authoritativeness, are likewise superfluous, and clearly later enlargements. The second passage (vv. 88-100), which enumerates the organs of sensation and action and teaches the necessity of controlling them, interrupts the continuity of the text very needlessly, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the matter treated of. Among the smaller interpolations in this chapter, vv. 13, 16, 27, 28, 142, 143, 213-215, 221, and 239 must certainly be reckoned. It also seems probable that the passage on the importance of the syllable *Om*, of the *Vyâhr̥tis*, and of the *Sāvitrī* (vv. 76-87), as well as that on the humility and meekness required of a *Brāhmaṇa* (vv. 160-163), and that on the worship due to parents and a teacher (vv. 225-237), have been enlarged, though in each case something of the kind may have occurred in the *Dharma-sūtra*. In the third chapter, there is one longer passage (vv. 192-201) which, beyond all doubt, has been added by a later hand. For the classification of the *Manes*, which it contains, is in this form foreign to Vedic literature. More doubtful are the discussions on the duty of conjugal intercourse (vv. 46-50), on the honour due to women (vv. 55-60), on the excellence of the order of householders (vv. 79-80), and on the results of inviting sinners and men of bad conduct to *Srāddhas* (vv. 169-182). Possibly the ancient *Sūtra* contained hints on some of these subjects, but it is most improbable that it

¹ See note to the translation.

should have entered into all the details which our text gives. The passage on the householders has probably been placed wrongly. Most of its verses ought to stand in the discussion on the relative importance of the orders at the end of chapter VI. In the fourth chapter the first section on the means by which a Brâhmana may subsist (vv. 1-24) is exceedingly suspicious. The Dharma-sûtras, e.g. *Vasishtha* XII, 2-4, no doubt sometimes prefix brief hints on the manner in which a Snâtaka may support himself, to the rules regarding his behaviour. But they do not mention the curious classification of the means of subsistence, *Rîta*, *Amrita*, *Mrita*, *Pramrita*, and *Svavritti* (vv. 5, 6), which, though common in the Purânas and other later works, is unknown in Vedic literature. As, moreover, *Vasishtha*'s rules, which enumerate the persons by whom a Snâtaka may be supported, occur further on (IV, 33-34), it is not improbable that the whole section consisting of the first twenty-four verses is a later addition. With still greater certainty the same may be said of vv. 85-91, which describe the heinousness of the offence committed by him who accepts gifts from a royal usurper and other wicked persons, and enumerate the twenty-one hells which will be the offender's portion. For it is not doubtful that, even if the Sûtrakâras were acquainted with a classification of the regions of punishment, their enumeration ought not to stand here, but, as in the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, at the beginning of the section on crimes and penances. Other probable interpolations are vv. 172-174 on the results of sin, vv. 180-185 on the reasons why quarrels with near relatives should be avoided, vv. 238-243 on the reasons why spiritual merit should be accumulated. Finally, the section on gifts and the acceptance of gifts (vv. 186-197) seems to be strongly mixed with modern elements. The next following two chapters present fewer suspicious passages. Nevertheless, the preamble to the section on forbidden food, V, 1-4, the verses 19-21, which prescribe the penances for eating mushrooms, onions, leeks, and so forth, must be certainly rejected. For the former belong to the artificial framework which has been placed round the old Sûtra, and the latter ought to stand in chapter XI. From the quotation in

Vasishṭha IV, 5-8, it is further evident that the rules on the permissibility of meat have been much altered and enlarged in accordance with the growing repugnance against the slaughter of animals. The last section of the same chapter, on the duties of women, has probably had the same fate. The example of the Vāsisṭha Dharmasāstra shows that some of the old Sūtrakāras treated the duties of women in two separate sections¹. But it also proves that they did not, as our Manu-smṛiti does, go twice over the same matter. It is evident that either here or in the beginning of the ninth chapter the same verses have been needlessly repeated by the author of the remodelled version. In the sixth chapter there is only one passage, vv. 61-82, which goes beyond the range of the Dharma-sūtras. None of the latter enters into such details regarding the meditations to which an ascetic must give himself up in order to attain salvation. The subject naturally tempted the remodeller of the Smṛiti to expand the shorter notes of the original. Very different is the case of the next three chapters, VII-IX, which treat of the duties of a king, and of civil and criminal law. These sections probably bear only a faint resemblance to the corresponding portions of the original work. Among the 226 verses of the seventh chapter there are only fifty-four to which passages of the Dharma-sūtras and the Vishṇu-smṛiti correspond. If one pays attention to the rules regarding the king's duties, given in the Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha, as well as to the references to the opinions of the Mānavas and of Manu, made in the Kāmandakiya Nitisāra², it would seem probable that the contents of this section of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra cannot have differed very much from those of the third chapter of Vishṇu, and that about two-thirds of the seventh Adhyāya of our Manu-smṛiti have been added when it was recast. With respect to the eighth chapter and the first 224 verses of the ninth, which give the rules regarding the eighteen titles of the law, the remodeller seems to have been equally active. We must ascribe to

¹ See Vas. V and XVII, 55-80.

² See above, p. xxxvi.

him the systematic arrangement of the legal rules, which is not found in any of the ancient Dharma-sûtras, and is even neglected in the Vishnu-smṛiti. He is most probably also responsible for more than one-half of the verses of these chapters. In the eighth Adhyâya only three-sevenths of the rules of our Manu can be traced in the Dharma-sûtras or in the Vishnu-smṛiti, which latter, as far as these topics are concerned, may be considered a faithful representative of the Kâthaka Dharma-sûtra¹. Two of Manu's titles, concerns among partners² and the resumption of gifts, are not mentioned in the older works; and the rules under a third, rescission of purchase and sale, have no resemblance to those of Vishnu. In the ninth chapter the chief topics, treated under the head, duties of husband and wife, are discussed or at least touched on in the Sûtras. But the latter place them differently, and give them much more concisely. The notes to the translation show that only one-fourth of Manu's verses corresponds to utterances of the ancient teachers. The section on inheritance has probably suffered much less, since upwards of eighty verses out of one hundred and seventeen agree with the teaching of the Sûtras, and since among those, the contents of which are not represented in the older works, only eleven, vv. 108-110, 128-129, 133, 138, 147, 184, 215, and 217, are really suspicious or clearly interpolated. Most of these latter contain clumsy repetitions of matters discussed in other places, and v. 217 gives a supplementary rule which but ill agrees with the spirit pervading the remainder of the section. Some of the other, apparently unsuspicious, verses may, of course, possibly be interpolations. But their contents are in harmony with the spirit of the Dharma-sûtras, and with the eliminations, proposed above, Manu's theory of inheritance and partition is self-consistent. The views, expressed under the eighteenth title, on gambling and betting, agree with those of Gautama and Baudhâyana, who both strongly disapprove of these prac-

¹ To this conclusion points the absence of systematic arrangement in Vishnu III-V.

² Manu's rules on this subject have probably been borrowed from a Śrauta-sûtra, where the distribution of the sacrificial fees is usually explained.

tices. The former enumerates the gambler among the men who defile the company at a *Srâddha*, and the latter names gambling among the crimes which render men impure. Though *Âpastamba* and *Vishnu* are less puritanical, and permit gambling under royal, i.e. police-supervision, or provide only punishments for cheating (*Vishnu* V, 134-135), the teaching of our *Smṛiti* is, nevertheless, probably ancient. But the section has been enlarged by the addition of miscellaneous rules and by the allusion to the evil results of gambling 'in former ages,' i.e. to those exemplified by the fate of *Yudhishthira* and *Nala*. The last 106 verses of the ninth chapter which, according to the table of contents in the first chapter, teach the removal of (men noxious like) thorns (*kantakoddharana*), correspond to a part of the *prakîrnaka* or miscellaneous rules of *Yâgñavalkya* and *Nârada*. This section seems to have grown out of those legal rules in the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* which did not fit into the system of the eighteen titles. But, as very few verses only correspond to rules of the *Dharma-sûtras*, its ancient portion is probably small. The greater part of its contents is made up of repetitions and additions inserted by the author of the remodelled version.

The rules on times of distress, given in chapter X, differ considerably from those of the *Dharma-sûtras*, as they include also the theory of the descent of the mixed castes. The older works treat this subject either in connexion with the law of marriage or with the rules of inheritance. Considering the great inequality which the *Sûtras* show in the arrangement of the various topics, it is, however, not impossible that the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* placed the section on the mixed castes just before the *âpaddharmas*, and that the author of the metrical version combined both in one chapter and gave them a common title. But it is not in the least doubtful that the treatment of the subject in the former work must have been very different from that which it receives in vv. 1-74. The *Dharma-sûtras* enumerate either one or two sets of mixed castes, briefly indicating their origin, and, sometimes, their modes of life. They also add a few verses or rules regarding the changes to be

attained in successive generations, as well as regarding the manner in which men of low descent may be detected. Our *Manu-smṛiti*, on the other hand, is much more minute in its details, and introduces a good many new names of which the *Sûtras* know nothing. These additions have probably expanded the section to three times its original extent. The immediately following rules, vv. 75-100, on the occupations of the castes and their manner of subsisting in times of distress, agree, in the main, with the *Sûtras*, and seem to have been changed very little. But the supplementary notes on the same subject, vv. 101-131, are probably additions made on the revision of the work. The few ancient rules which they contain are partly repetitions of matters already discussed (e. g. vv. 113-114) and partly misplaced (e. g. vv. 111, 115-117, 119)¹.

The eleventh chapter is again, like chapters II-VI, in all probability a faithful representative of the corresponding portion of the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*. We find here again that the great majority of the rules corresponds to those of the *Dharma-sûtras* and of the *Vishnu-smṛiti*. The agreement with the latter is particularly close, and appears especially in the classification of crimes, the enumeration of the diseases caused by offences committed in a former life, and in many details referring to penances. Curious and against the practice of the older works is the combination of the rules on gifts and the performance of sacrifices, vv. 1-43, with the section on penances. The excuses which the commentators offer for this anomaly² are, I fear, insufficient to explain it. It seems more probable that here, as in the preceding chapter, two separate sections of the original work have been welded together into one *Adhyâya*. In favour of this view it may be pointed out that in *Gautama's Dharma-sûtra*, XVIII, 28-32, a number of rules, corresponding to *Manu* XI, 11-23, stand just before the *Prâya-skittakānda*. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, which will be

¹ A characteristic sign of the great changes which chapters VII-X have undergone consists in the allusions to legends famous in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata*; see also below, p. lxxix.

² See note on *Manu* XI, 1.

discussed below, shows exactly the same combination as our *Smṛiti*.

The twelfth chapter, finally, is certainly almost entirely due to the author of the metrical version. Its contents are partly foreign to the Dharma-sūtras and partly repetitions. The classification of actions and existences as *sāttvika*, *rāgasa*, and *tāmasa*, i. e. as modified by the three qualities of Goodness, Activity, and Darkness, finds no place in the older law-books. It is based on the doctrines which are taught in the *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga*, and *Vedānta* systems, and some traces of which are found in the *Maitrāyaṇabrāhmaṇopaniṣad*¹. Equally or similarly minute details are, however, to be met with only in the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata*, and some of the metrical *Smṛitis*, which blend philosophical ideas with the sacred law. The next following discussion on the *karmavipāka*, the results of sinful acts in future births, vv. 51-81, is altogether wrongly placed. It evidently ought to stand in the beginning of the section on penances, where *Vishṇu* and *Yāgyavalkya* have a number of corresponding *Sūtras* and verses. As it is found in the *Manu-smṛiti* in a different position, it is most probably an addition made on the revision of the work. The section on the means of attaining supreme bliss, vv. 82-104, returns to the questions which have already been discussed in the fourth and sixth chapters, and adds nothing that is new. The long peroration at the end, vv. 116-126, cannot have formed part of the Dharma-sūtra, as it again refers to the myth concerning the origin of the *Sāstra*, narrated in the spurious first chapter. But the small piece on the manner of deciding doubtful legal questions, vv. 105-115, belonged probably to the original work. To this conclusion point its close agreement with the rules of the Dharma-sūtras, and the circumstance that *Gautama* also places the corresponding *Sūtras* just at the end of his work.

If thus it is extremely probable that the contents of more than half the verses in our *Manu-smṛiti* cannot have been derived from the ancient *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, we

¹ *Maitr. Up.* III, 3, 5, 6; compare *Manu* XII, xii, 32-33.

have now to face the question whence this large amount of additional matter has been taken. A clue to the solution of this problem is furnished by the peculiar relation of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the *Mahābhārata*, which undoubtedly is one of the most ancient metrical works of Indian literature, and the great storehouse of the earliest forms of post-Vedic mythology and doctrine. The connexion existing between these two works, and its importance for the history of the Institutes of Manu, has been recognised by most Sanskritists who have directed their attention to the investigation of the origin of the secondary *Smṛitis*. Many years ago Professor Weber¹ pointed out that the *Mahābhārata* contains not only a number of quotations from Manu, some of which are found either with or without variations in the existing *Smṛiti*, while others are not traceable, but also a considerable number of verses, not attributed to Manu, which, nevertheless, are included in the *Dharmasāstra*. He inferred from these facts that the existing *Manu-smṛiti* cannot have been extant in its present shape even at the period to which the later portions of the *Mahābhārata* belong, and that the author or authors of the latter work must have known and used an older redaction of Manu's law-book. Another conclusion, based on the agreement of numerous *Slokas*, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth *Parvans* of the great epic with verses of the *Manu-smṛiti*, has been drawn by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik², who is convinced that the editor of the latter has drawn, to a large extent, on the former work. Of late Professor Hopkins³ has made a careful analysis of the quotations from Manu found in the *Mahābhārata*. According to him, their number is thirty-three, among which seventeen are traceable, five being verbal quotations, the rest agreeing in doctrine only. His explanation for the untraceable quotations is not that they have been taken from an older recension of the *Manu-smṛiti*, but that a floating mass of

¹ History of Indian Literature, p. 279; compare also Professor Stenzler in the *Indische Studien*, vol. i, p. 245.

² The *Mayūkha* and *Yāgyavalkya*, introd. to *Yāgy.* p. xlvii.

³ Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, pp. xix-xx, and now *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, p. 257 seqq.

unwritten sayings of Manu existed, some of which were incorporated with the Dharma-sûtra of the Mānavas in its revision, while others were not. He also notices the fact that our Manu-smṛiti contains many verses which occur also in the Mahābhārata without being attributed to Manu, as well as some which are ascribed to other authorities.

These somewhat divergent results of my predecessors show very clearly that the Mahābhārata may be expected to render some assistance for the solution of our problem. But they indicate also that the utilisation of the facts which it offers requires some caution.

In resuming the enquiry into the relation of the two works and its bearing on the history of our Manu text, the first point to be ascertained is, whether the Mahābhārata really mentions a law-book of Manu, and whether this work is identical either with the ancient Dharma-sûtra or with the existing Smṛiti, or if it differed from both. According to what has been said above¹ regarding the ancient belief ascribing the settlement of social and religious institutions to the Father of mankind, and the real meaning of the phrase 'thus Manu has spoken,' it is evident that Professor Hopkins has correctly distinguished between sayings of Manu on religious and legal matters, and law-books attributed to him, and that he is right in refusing to recognise in every mention of Manu's name a reference to a Smṛiti of his. Hence the number of passages useful for comparison is very much restricted. Those only which explicitly mention a Sāstra of Manu are really indisputable evidence. The estimation of the value of the remainder must depend on collateral circumstances. Quotations of the former kind are not numerous in the Mahābhārata. Nevertheless, some do occur in the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans, and they clearly prove that the authors of these books knew a Mānava Dharmaśāstra not identical but closely connected with our Smṛiti. Thus we read, Mah. XII, 56, 23-25, where the power of Brāhmaṇas is being described, 'High-minded Manu likewise, O king of kings, sang two Slokas in his Laws (sveshu dharmeshu), those, O descendant of Kuru,

¹ See p. lx.

thou shouldst keep in thy heart (23). Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brāhmaṇas, iron from stone, the all-penetrating power of these (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced (24). When iron strikes stone, when fire meets water, when a Kshatriya shows hostility to a Brāhmaṇa, then these (three assailants) perish.' Again, Mah. XIII, 46, 30-36, in a discussion on the prerogatives of a Brāhmaṇa's Brāhmaṇī wife who, we are told, is alone entitled to attend her husband and to assist him in the performance of his religious duties, the conclusion runs as follows: 'And in those Institutes which Manu proclaimed (manunābhihitam sâstram), O great king, descended from Kuru, this same eternal law is found (35). Now if (a man) out of love acts differently, O Yudhishtîra, he is declared to be (as despicable as) a Kāṇḍāla (sprung from the) Brāhmaṇa (caste 36).' Nothing can be clearer than these two passages. The second speaks plainly of a Sâstra proclaimed by Manu, and the first of his Dharmāṅga, a word in the plural, very commonly used to denote a book on the sacred law. Moreover, the second is clearly a paraphrase of Manu IX, 87, and reproduces its second line to the letter. Of the two verses quoted in the first, one agrees with Manu IX, 321, but the other one is not traceable. While these two quotations would seem to indicate a very close connexion between the Mânava Sâstra of the Mahābhārata and our Smṛiti, a third from the Râgadharma of Manu Prâketasa—i. e. from the section on the duties of kings belonging to the Mânava¹—reveals a greater dis-

¹ Though I will not deny that some show of argument might be made for the supposition that the Râgadharma of Manu Prâketasa were a separate work, different from the Sâstra referred to in the preceding quotations, because the epithet Prâketasa is here added to Manu's name, and because at Mah. XII, 38, 2, we find Manu Prâketasa named as the author of a Râgasâstra in company with Brîhaspati and Usanas, to whom separate Nîtiśâstras were attributed, I yet hold this to be improbable. For the legends regarding the descent of the lawgiver Manu vary in the Mahābhārata. He is in other passages sometimes called Svâyambhuva, and sometimes (e. g. XII, 349, 51) Vaivasvata. Further, a separate Nîtiśâstra of Manu is not quoted elsewhere. On the other hand, the section on the duties of kings bears in every law-book the separate title Râgadharmaṅga, and the commentators of our Manu-smṛiti call its seventh chapter expressly by this name.

crepancy. We read, Mah. XII, 57, 43-45, 'And the following two verses are pronounced¹ by Manu Prâkretasa in the Law of kings, listen to them attentively, O lord of kings! (43.) A man should abandon, like a leaky ship in the ocean, the following six persons,—a teacher who does not instruct, a priest unable to recite the Veda, a king who affords no protection, a quarrelsome wife, a herdsman who loves to stay in the village, and a barber who seeks the forest.' Neither of these verses is found in our Manu, though the latter inveighs against kings who do not protect their subjects (VII, 143-144).

If we turn to the passages in which Manu—not his Sâstra—is named as an authority, I know only of one that may be confidently considered to contain a reference to a law-book. In the *Sakuntalopâkhyâna*, Mah. I, 73, 8-13, king Dushyanta tries to persuade the reluctant object of his affections to consent to a Gândharva union by a discussion of the law of marriage. He first briefly mentions the number of the marriage-rites (v. 8^a) and their names (vv. 8^b-9^a) in the same order as Manu, and then goes on, 'Learn that among these (rites), as Manu Svâyambhuva has formerly declared, the first four are lawful and recommended for a Brâhmaṇa; know, O blameless one, that six, according to their order, are lawful for a Kshatriya (9^b-10). But the Râkshasa rite also is ordained for men of the royal caste, and the Âsura rite is prescribed for Vaisyas and Sûdras. But among the (last) five, three are declared lawful and two unlawful (v. 11). The Paisâka and Âsura (rites) must never be used. According to this rule (marriages) must be concluded, this is the path of duty (v. 12). Do not question the legality of the Gândharva and Râkshasa (rites) for Kshatriyas. Without a doubt they may be used, be it separate or mixed' (v. 13).

The close verbal agreement of this passage with Manu III, 20-26, on the one hand, and its serious discrepancy with respect to a portion of the doctrine, make it, I think, very probable that it is a paraphrase or adaptation of a part

¹ The original has *udâhṛtau*, which is ambiguous and may also mean 'quoted.'

of a Mānava Dharmasāstra which closely resembled, but was not quite identical with, the existing text. Verse 8^b-9^a agrees literally with Manu III, 21; and vv. 11^b-13 come close to Manu III, 25-26. But vv. 9^b-11^a, though they have a certain affinity to Manu III, 23-24, show, nevertheless, a considerable difference in doctrine. For Manu declares (v. 23) the first six rites to be lawful for a Brāhmaṇa, the four following ones for a Kshatriya, and the same four, with the exception of the Rākshasa rite, for Sūdras and Vaisyas, while v. 24 says that the first four rites are recommended, and that the Rākshasa rite alone is permissible to Kshatriyas, and the Âsura to the two lowest classes. According to the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Manu approved of the first four rites in the case of Brāhmaṇas, and of the first six in case of Kshatriyas. To the latter he allowed also the seventh, the Rākshasa rite, and confined Vaisyas and Sūdras to the purchase of their brides, the Âsura rite. The most probable explanation of this contradiction seems to me the assumption that the text of Manu, known to the author of the Upākhyāna, slightly differed from that which we find at present.

Another passage is more doubtful. Mah. XIII, 61, 34-35, various opinions are enumerated with respect to the question how large a share of the guilt incurred by ill-protected and ill-governed subjects falls on the king¹. The decision is that, according to the teaching of Manu, the negligent ruler is loaded with a fourth share. This doctrine, which is found also in other passages of the Mahābhārata, contradicts that taught in our Manu-smṛiti as well as in the older Dharma-sūtras, where a sixth part of the sins committed by subjects is said to fall on their lord. The circumstance that several opinions are contrasted may be used as an argument for the opinion that here, too, an individual law-book of Manu's is referred to. If that were so, the passage would reveal another remarkable discrepancy between the older and the present texts. But to my mind

¹ ऋतुर्थे तस्य पापस्य राजा विन्दति भारत ॥ ३३ ॥ अथाहुः सर्वमेवैति भूयोर्धेमिति निश्चयः । ऋतुर्थे मत्तमस्माकं मनोः शुत्नानुशासनम् ॥ ३५ ॥

it seems, just because the teaching of our Manu agrees with the Dharma-sûtras, more probable that the author of the Mahâbhârata makes here, as in other cases, a random appeal to Manu's name merely in order to give weight to his peculiar opinion.

There are two other longer pieces in the Mahâbhârata which are ascribed to Manu. In one case it is perfectly evident that there exists no connexion with our *Smṛiti*. The philosophical conversation between Manu and *Bṛihaspati*, which fills chapters 200–206 of Mah. XII, has neither any distinctive doctrines nor any verses in common with the Mânava Dharmasâstra. On the contrary, it shows a leaning towards the Vaishnava creed.

With respect to the second passage, Mah. XII, 36, 3–50, a doubt is at least possible. It contains an 'ancient legend' (*purâṇa itihâsa*), narrating how Manu revealed in the beginning to the sages the law regarding food, and some miscellaneous rules concerning worthy recipients, gifts, Veda-study, and penances. Manu's speech consists of forty-five verses, among which two agree fully and five partly with Slokas of our *Smṛiti*¹. But one of the fully agreeing verses (v. 46) occurs also in two Dharma-sûtras, and belongs, therefore, to the traditional lore of the Vedic schools. Though the remainder is not traceable in the older works, the faintness of the resemblance makes it, I think, more probable that the Mahâbhârata accidentally attributes to Manu verses now read in his *Smṛiti*, than that its author extracted them and the whole piece from a Mânava Sâstra.

But whatever may be the correct interpretation of the mention of Manu in these passages, it remains indisputable that the author or authors of the first, twelfth, and thirteenth Parvans of the Mahâbhârata knew a Mânava Dharmasâstra which was closely connected, but not identical with the existing text. The latter must, therefore, as Professor Weber has pointed out, be considered later than

¹ Mah. XII, 36, 27 = Manu IV, 218; first pâda of ver. 28^a = first pâda of Manu IV, 220; ver. 28^b = Manu IV, 217^a; first pâda of ver. 29^a = first pâda of Manu IV, 210^b; ver. 46 = Manu II, 157; ver. 47^a = Manu II, 158^a.

these 'latest portions of the epic.' The latter conclusion is, it seems to me, confirmed by some indications in the *Smṛiti* which point to an acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata*. The warning regarding the consequences of gambling, *Manu* IX, 227, certainly presupposes a knowledge of the legend of the Kurus and *Pāṇḍavas*. When it is stated there that 'in a former Kalpa the vice of gambling has been seen to cause great enmity,' this assertion can only point in the first instance to the match played between *Yudhishthira* and *Duryodhana*, which was the immediate cause of the great war. It may also contain, as some commentators think, an allusion to the fate of king *Nala*, but that can only be a secondary meaning, because war was not the result of his gambling. More significant than this passage is the fact that in chapters VII-X of the *Manu-smṛiti* a number of legends are quoted in illustration or in support of rules which, as the commentators repeatedly assert¹, are taken from the *Mahābhārata*, and that in one case just those which are mentioned in one verse of *Manu* (IX, 314) are found close together in the same chapter of the *Mahābhārata*.

This relative position of the two works might induce us to assume with *Rao Saheb V.N. Mandlik* that the *Mahābhārata* had a direct influence on the final redaction of the *Manu-smṛiti*, and that the author of the latter appropriated from the former the very large number of identical verses which in the *Mahābhārata* are not ascribed to *Manu*.

Tempting as the hypothesis of the dependence of the *Smṛiti* on the epic is, because it would account for the adoption of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in the latter, a careful examination of the corresponding passages leads to a very different result. On going over the third, twelfth, and thirteenth *Parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* I have succeeded in identifying upwards of 260 verses or portions of verses, not attributed to *Manu*, with *Slokas* of the *Manu-smṛiti*. This number, which corresponds to about one-tenth of the bulk of the latter work, would no doubt be considerably swelled by a comparison of the remaining portions of the epic, and

¹ See notes to VII, 41; VIII, 110; IX, 23, 129, 314-315, &c.

it may be that even in the Parvans examined some identical pieces have escaped my notice. The number of the verses which has to be compared is so enormous that mistakes are easily possible; but the identifications made are amply sufficient for the purpose of illustrating the relation between the two works. The corresponding passages vary considerably in extent, from a single pāda or a single line to sections of twenty to forty verses. Where larger sections agree, it is rare that more than half-a-dozen verses stand in the same order in both works, and it happens not rarely that a series of identical Slokas is interrupted by the expansion of one verse into two, or by a contraction of two into one. Further, the purpose which an identical line or verse is made to serve sometimes differs, and sometimes a various reading alters its sense entirely. The various readings are exceedingly numerous, and the better one is sometimes found in the Mahābhārata and sometimes in Manu. If we enter on a more detailed analysis of the corresponding passages, there are three cases in which one or two consecutive chapters of the Mahābhārata contain from twenty to forty verses which occur in our Manu. Mah. XII, 232-233 include the greater portion of Bhrigu's account of the creation and some of the verses, said to have been enunciated by Manu himself on the same subject, i. e. Manu I, 18^b, 20, 28-29, 64-78, 81-86.

Further, Mah. XIII, 48, 14-44 gives a portion of Manu's definitions of and rules regarding the mixed castes, and contains the verses X, 27-32, 33^a, 34-37, 38^a, 39-40, 50, 52^b, 58-60, and 62, mostly with considerable variations, and Slokas resembling Manu X, 42-43 are found Mah. XIII, 33, 21-22, and 35, 17-18.

Finally, Mah. XII, 165, which treats of gifts, sacrifices, and penances much in the same manner as the eleventh chapter of Manu, exhibits, mostly in the beginning, the following verses, partly in somewhat different versions, XI, 2^b, 3^b, 4^a, 7, 11-17, 20, 22^b, 23^a, 27^a, 29-31, 34-40, 91^b, 105, 150, 177^b, 181, 207. The general sense of some other Slokas corresponds without a real agreement in words, and the same chapter of the Mah. contains also vv. 31^a and 32^a,

three-quarters of Manu II, 238, and v. 68^a the first half of Manu III, 172. Equivalents of Manu XI, 44, 74, 76^a, 77, 84 are found Mah. XII, 34, 2; 35, 4-6; 263, 45^b-46^a. Among other somewhat longer corresponding passages the following are the most noteworthy. Portions of the discussion on the reverence due to parents and teachers, Manu II, 229-234, occur Mah. XII, 108, 5-12. The rules regarding the disposal of the fee at an Ārsha wedding and the respect to be shown to females are found Mah. XIII, 45, 20; 46, 1-7, and some verses, Manu III, 134-135, 140-142, 158-159, 172, 180-181, 184-185, from the section on Srāddhas, Mah. XIII, 90, as well as fragments of III, 267-274 in the beginning of Mah. XIII, 88. The warning against quarrels with relatives, Manu IV, 179-185, is repeated Mah. XII, 244, 14^b-21^a. A number of the rules applicable to the ascetic, Manu VI, 42-48, 57^b, 58^a, reappears in the beginning of Mah. XII, 246 and 279, while Manu VI, 49 is read Mah. XII, 331, 30. The sketch of the state administration, Manu VII, 115-122, is given mostly in the same words, Mah. XII, 87, 3-11^a, and the same chapter contains also closely agreeing precepts regarding taxation together with the verses Manu VII, 127 and 139^a. The remainder of the corresponding passages ranges between triplets and single feet of Slokas, and is scattered over all the twelve chapters of Manu. The portions of the Mahābhārata where we chiefly meet with them, are III, 94, 180; XII, 15, 244-245, 265; XIII, 44-46, 90, 104-105, 115, 152¹.

In order to complete this sketch of the relation in which the two works stand towards each other, it will be advisable to give one of the three longest corresponding passages in full, and to carefully note both the points of contact and of difference. The piece most suitable for such a comparison is that from the first book of Manu. For the latter doubtlessly belongs to the additions made by the editor of the metrical version, and its account of the creation presents numerous problems which have sorely puzzled the com-

¹ It is impossible to give here more than these general indications. A more complete list of the verses of the Manu-smṛiti occurring in the Mah. will be found in the Appendix.

mentators. The solution of some of these difficulties is furnished by the corresponding passage of the Mahābhārata. This passage occurs in an account of the creation, communicated by Vyāsa-Kṛishṇa-Dvaipāyana to his son Suka, which Bhīshma narrates to Yudhishtīra.

MAHĀBHĀRATA XII, 232.

MANU I.

11. Vyāsa said: In the commencement exists the Brahman without beginning or end, unborn, luminous, free from decay, immutable, eternal, unfathomable by reasoning, not to be fully known.

12. Fifteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye are) one kâsh/hâ¹, but thirty kâsh/hâs one should reckon as one kalâ; moreover, thirty kalâs and that which may amount to the tenth part of a kalâ shall be one muhūrta;

13. Thirty muhūrtas shall make a day and a night—that number has been fixed by the sages; a month is declared (to consist of) thirty nights and days, and a year of twelve months.

14. But those acquainted with calculations call two progresses of the sun, the southern and the northern one, a year².

15. The sun divides the days and nights of the world of men³, the night (being intended)

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye are one kâsh/hâ¹), thirty kâsh/hâs one kalâ, thirty kalâs one muhūrta, and as many (muhūrtas) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended)

¹ Regarding the difference between the two computations, see Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, 47 (ed. Hall).

² The verse marked as 14 in the Bombay edition consists of a single line only.

³ The reading of the Mahābhārata, mānushalaaukike for mānushadaivike, seems the better one.

for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

16. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but their division (is as follows): the bright (fortnight)¹ is their day for active exertion, the dark (fortnight) their night for sleep.

17. A year is a day and a night of the gods; the division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

18. Counting the sum of years (consisting) of those human days and nights which have been mentioned above, I will declare (the duration of) a day and night of Brahman.

19. I will declare severally and in due order the totals of the years in the *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kali* ages².

20. They declare that the *Kṛta* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

21. In the (other) three ages,

for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; the division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world) according to their order.

69. They declare that the *Kṛta* age (consists of) four thousand years of the gods; the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the (other) three ages,

¹ The reading of the *Mahābhārata* is obviously faulty, as it is well known that the dark fortnight is, according to the Hindus, the day of the manes. The fault has probably arisen by an accidental transposition of the words *suklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ*. The second var. lect. of the Mah. *tayoḥ punaḥ* for *tu pakshayoḥ* is less intelligible than Manu's, because a substantive is required to which *suklaḥ* and *kṛṣṇaḥ* can be referred.

² It is a particularly significant fact that in spite of the great difference between the two works, both show the intercalation of a fresh exordium.

with the preceding twilights and in the twilights following them, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one-fourth (in each)¹.

22. These support the eternal, everlasting worlds; this is known as the eternal Brahman to those who know Brahman.

23. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain which is opposed to that (spirit of justice) accrue by unrighteousness².

24. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains, Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and unrighteousness increases through theft, falsehood, and fraud.

25. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* (age); but in the *Tretâ* age (and the following ones) their life is lessened by one quarter in each³;

26. And the doctrines of the Veda decrease, as we

with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

81. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains, Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one-fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* (age), but in the *Tretâ* and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the Veda, the de-

¹ The reading of Manu, *sasamdhyaṃreshu ka* for *samdhāṃreshu tataḥ*, seems preferable, but his *ekāpāyena* is inferior to the *ekapādēna* of the *Mahābhārata*.

² *Nīlakantha* explains *āgama* in this verse and the next by 'doctrine.' I translate it by 'gain,' in accordance with the rendering adopted for Manu, but willingly acknowledge that the other rendering is possible in both works, and that the meaning may be 'nor does any unrighteous doctrine, opposed to that (Dharma), prevail' (*Mah.*), 'nor is any unrighteous doctrine spread among men' (*Manu*).

³ The reading *kṛite tretāyuge tveshām* instead of Manu's *kṛite tretādishu hyeshām* is more archaic.

hear, in each successive age, as well as the lives (of men), their blessings (*ârishah*), and the rewards which the Veda yields¹.

27. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the *Dvâpara*, and (again) another (set) in the *Kali* age, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

28. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue is the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge is most excellent, in the *Dvâpara* they declare sacrifices (to be best), in the *Kali* liberality alone.

29. The wise know such (a period of) twelve thousand (divine) years (to be understood by) the term an age (of the gods); that (period) being multiplied by one thousand is called a day of Brahman.

30. (Know his) night to be as long². At the beginning of that (day) the lord who is the Universe finally awakes, after having entered deep meditation

sired results (*ârishah*) of sacrificial rites, and the (supernatural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age¹.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the *Dvâpara*, and again another (set) in the *Kali* age, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge, in the *Dvâpara* (the performance of) sacrifices, in the *Kali* liberality alone.

71-72. These twelve thousand (years), which thus have been mentioned above as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length².

¹ The Sanskrit text of the two Slokas agrees somewhat better than the translation. It looks as if neither of them was the original version, which probably declared that the age of men, their blessings, and the rewards of deeds, such as they are promised in the Veda, diminish in each successive age. Another version, which almost exactly agrees with Manu's, occurs Mah. III, 200, 115.

² Both the Mah. and Manu have the accusative case *râtrim*, which does not agree with the preceding verb *gṛheyam* (Manu) *uṣyate* (Mah.). It would seem that both give adaptations of an older verse, where a word like *âhuḥ*, which governed the accusative, occurred. Though the verb was changed, the further alteration of the case was forgotten.

and having slept during the period of destruction.

31. Those (only) who know that Brahman's day ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts a thousand ages, are (really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

32. When imperishable Brahman awakes at the end of his night, he modifies himself and creates the element (called) the Great One (and) from that mind which is discrete.

MAHÂBHÂRATA II, 233.

1. Luminous Brahman is the seed from which single element this whole twofold creation, the immovable and the movable, has been produced.

2. Awaking at the beginning of his day, he creates the world by means of Ignorance—even first the element, (called) the Great One, (next) speedily mind which is discrete;

3. And conquering here resplendent (mind) which goes far, enters many paths, and has the nature of desire and doubt, creates the seven mind-born ones.

4. Mind, impelled by the desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself; thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

73. Those (only) who know that the holy day of Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods), and that his night lasts as long, are (really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

75. Mind, impelled by the desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself; thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

5. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; touch is considered to be its quality.

6. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light which illuminates and is white; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

7. And from light, modifying itself, (comes) water which possesses taste; from water smell and earth; (such) is declared (to be) the creation of (them) all.

8. The qualities of each earlier-named (element) enter each of the later-named ones, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess¹.

9. If some, perceiving a smell in water through a want of care, attribute (that quality to water), one must know that it belongs to earth alone, (and that it is) adventitious in water and wind.

10. Those Âtmans of seven kinds², which possess various powers, were severally unable to create beings without fully uniting themselves.

11. These great Âtmans, uniting and mutually combining

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light which illuminates and dispels darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour.

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, declared to possess the quality of taste; from water earth, which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

¹ The position of this verse in the Mahâbhârata makes the conjecture, put forward in the note to the translation, that the correct position of Manu I, 20 is after verse 78, exceedingly probable.

² According to Nîlakantha, the seven Âtmans, called above, ver. 3, the seven mind-born ones, are Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, and the five subtile elements.

with each other, entered the body; hence one speaks of Purusha [i. e. him who resides (usha) in a fortress (pur)].

12. In consequence of that entering (*śrayana*), the body (*śarīra*) becomes endowed with a (perceptible) form, and consists of sixteen¹ (constituent parts).

That the great elements² enter together with the *karman* (merit and demerit).

13. Taking with him all the elements, that first creator of created beings (enters it) in order to perform austerities; him they call the lord of created beings.

14. He, indeed, creates the creatures, both the immovable and the movable; then that *Brahmā* creates gods, sages, manes, and men,

15. The worlds, rivers, oceans, the quarters of the compass, mountains, trees, men, Kinnaras, Rakshas, birds, tame and wild beasts, and snakes, the imperishable and the perishable, both the immovable and the movable.

16. Whatever course of action they adopted in a former creation, even that

18^b. That the great elements enter together with their functions (*karman*)³.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of

¹ The sixteen constituent parts are, according to *Nilakanta*, the five gross elements and the eleven organs.

² *Nilakanta* takes *mahānti bhūtāni*, 'the great elements,' in the sense of 'the subtle elements, and the great ones, the mahattattvas' (*bhūtāni sūkṣhmāni mahānti mahattattvāni*).

³ This line is a good example, showing how the same words of the ancient school-tradition were made to serve different purposes.

alone they adopt in each succeeding creation.

17. They turn to noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, according to the disposition with which they were (first) created; hence that (particular course of action) pleases each.

beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

The remainder of Vyâsa's narrative, which continues through the following twenty-six verses, may be omitted, as, further on, it presents few points of contact with our *Smṛiti*. It must, however, be noticed that, according to verses 25-26, 'the Lord assigned to his creatures their names and conditions, in accordance with the words of the Veda.' This idea agrees with Manu I, 21, but the wording of the two passages differs very considerably.

The lesson which the facts, revealed by the above discussion, teach, is a double one. First, they clearly show that the editor of our metrical *Manu-smṛiti* has not drawn on the *Mahābhārata*, but that the authors of both works have utilised the same materials. Secondly, they make it highly probable that the materials, on which both works are based, were not systematic treatises on law and philosophy, but the floating proverbial wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools which already existed in metrical form. The first point is so evident that it seems to me unnecessary to waste any more words on it. With respect to the second conclusion, I would point out that it is made unavoidable by the peculiar character of the differences found in closely connected *Slokas*, by the occurrence of identical lines and *pādas* in verses whereof the general sense differs, and by the faint, shadowy resemblance in words and ideas, observable in other pieces. I may add, further, that the supposition that each special school possessed such a body of metrical maxims is perfectly well founded.

As has been repeatedly stated, the text-books of the ancient Vedic schools, the Sûtras and the Upanishads, contain already a not inconsiderable proportion of Anushûbh verses which sometimes recur in identical or slightly varying forms. Hence it is no more than might be expected that the teachers of the special schools should have continued in the path of their predecessors, and should have gradually augmented the stock of their 'Spruchweisheit,' until it extended to all legal and philosophical topics, and the accumulation of these detached verses made it easy and tempting to convert the old aphoristic handbooks into metrical treatises¹. The answer, which we are thus obliged to give to the question whence the editor of our *Manu-smṛiti* took his additional materials, agrees very closely with Professor Hopkins' hypothesis, who, as mentioned above, considers the law-book to be a conglomerate of the Mānava Dharma-sûtra and of the floating sayings attributed to Manu, the father of mankind. The latter restriction seems to me unadvisable, because among the mass of corresponding pieces found in the Mahābhārata comparatively few are attributed to the Pragâpati, and because a Hindu who was

¹ The probability of the existence of such a body of metrical maxims would become still more apparent, if it were possible to enter here on a comparison of portions of the older Purāṇas with the Mahābhārata and the metrical Smṛitis, as well as on a detailed consideration of the ancient Buddhist literature. Though the difficulty and magnitude of such a task forbid its being attempted in this Introduction, I cannot refrain from inserting a few general hints. The Purāṇas contain a good deal that is identical with or similar to passages of the Mahābhārata and Manu, and it is in many cases impossible to assume that the corresponding verses have been borrowed from the latter works. The Purāṇas, some of which, like the Vāyu, even in their present shape, go back to a very respectable antiquity, are popular sectarian compilations of mythology, philosophy, history, and the sacred law, intended, as they are now used, for the instruction of the unlettered classes, including the upper divisions of the Śūdra varṇa, the so-called Sakṣhūdras. It was only natural that their authors should have appropriated suitable portions of the floating metrical wisdom of the philosophical and legal schools.

The comparison of the ancient Buddhist literature is particularly instructive, because the Buddhists are a special philosophical school, and because their oldest works, though mostly consisting of prose, include a considerable number of Ślokas, among which a certain number, as, for instance, in the Dhammapada, shows affinities to verses of the Mahābhārata and even of Manu. They probably took over a certain stock of ancient metrical maxims, and added a great number of new ones.

thoroughly convinced of the truth of the dogma that Manu first taught the sacred law, would not hesitate to ascribe to that sage all the maxims which seemed to him to bear the stamp of authenticity, even if others attributed them to different authorities.

The answer to the next question, whether the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* was effected at one time or by degrees, and whether *Bhrigu's* recension has to be considered as the immediate offspring or as a remoter descendant of the *Sūtra*, must, I think, be answered, as has been tacitly assumed in the preceding discussion, in the sense of the first alternative. Not long ago it seemed that the contrary opinion was the more probable one. But the closer one examines the facts which at first sight seem to lead up to the inference that *Bhrigu's* *Manu-saṃhitā* forms the last link in a long chain of metrical *Manu-smṛitis*, the more one sees that they possess no, or very little, importance. On the other hand, those arguments which speak in favour of our text being, if not the first, at least one of the first attempts at a conversion of a Vedic school-book into a special law-book, gain by the same process in force and increase in number. The points which have been brought forward in order to prove that the existing text of Manu has suffered many recasts are, first, its numerous contradictory passages; secondly, the explicit statement of the Hindu tradition in the preface to the *Nārada-smṛiti*; thirdly, the quotations from a *Bṛihat Manu* and a *Vṛiddha Manu* met with in the medieval Digests of law; and fourthly, the untraceable or partly traceable quotations from Manu's *Dharmasāstra* found in some of the older Sanskrit works. The existence of these facts is undeniable. But it is not difficult to show that they are partly useless as arguments, and partly, under a better interpretation, lead to quite other conclusions. Thus in weighing the value of the argument drawn from the occurrence of contradictory passages, two circumstances, which mostly have been left out of account, must be kept in mind: first, that it is a common habit of Indian authors to place conflicting opinions, supported by authorities of equal weight, side by side, and to allow an option, or to

mention time-honoured rules, legal customs, and social institutions, and afterwards to disapprove of them; and secondly, that, as our *Smṛiti* is in any case a recast of an earlier *Sūtra*, that fact alone is sufficient to account for contradictions. It has been shown above¹, that some contradictory passages, such as those concerning the respective rank of the mother and the teacher, or regarding the permissibility of certain marriage-rites, express conflicting views, mentioned also in the *Dharma-sūtras*. The *Manu-smṛiti* only reproduces the ancient opinions, but omits, possibly for metrical reasons, to mark them as belonging to different authors or schools. In other cases we may hesitate between two explanations. If we find, for instance, that our text in the third and ninth chapters² violently inveighs against *Āsura* marriages, and in the eighth and ninth³ lays down rules which presuppose the legality of the sale or purchase of a bride, we may assume that the first utterance is due to the editor of the metrical version, and that the second represents the more archaic doctrine of the *Dharma-sūtra*. In favour of this supposition it may be urged that the *Mānava Gr̥hya-sūtra* unhesitatingly admits the acquisition of a bride by purchase⁴. But it is also possible that the *Dharma-sūtra* itself contained both the condemnation of the custom and the rules regulating it. For similar contradictions occur also in other *Sūtras*. Thus *Āpastamba* expressly forbids, in his sections on *Dharma*, the sale and gift of children and the procreation of *Kshetraga* sons⁵. Yet, in his *Srauta-sūtra* I, 9, 7, he gives a rule showing how the *Pindapitriyagñā* is to be performed by the son of two fathers (*dvipitā*). Such a person can only be a *Kshetraga*, a *Dvyāmushyāyana* *Dattaka*, or a *Putrikāputra*. If it is borne in mind that *Baudhāyana*, on whose works *Āpastamba*'s *Sūtras* are based, admits the affiliation which the later member of his *vidyāvamsa* rejects, the obvious explanation of the contradiction is that *Āpastamba*, in spite of his disapproval of other than *Aurasa* sons, did

¹ See p. xxiv.² *Manu* III, 25, 51-54; IX, 98-100.³ *Manu* VIII, 204, 224-225; IX, 97.⁴ See above, p. xxxix.⁵ *Āp. Dh. S.* II, 13, 11; 27, 2.

not venture to change the prescriptions which he found in the older *Srauta-sûtra*. Similarly, the supposition that the author of the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*, though condemning *Âsura* marriages, was unwilling to expunge the rules regulating the sale, is not at all improbable. It seems to be even better than the explanation proposed first. For the prohibition of the *Âsura* rite occurs in the quotation found in the *Sakuntalopâkhyâna*, and the latter, as we shall see presently, in all probability refers to the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra*. Hence I think that at least the remarks made Manu III, 26 did stand in the ancient text. The other repetitions of the same sentiments may have been added on the revision. Another famous instance of a contradiction, Manu IX, 58-70, where the appointment of a widow is first permitted and next forbidden, has probably to be explained in the same manner. If I here differ from Professor Jolly¹ and others, who ascribe the prohibition to the remodeller of the *Dharma-sûtra*, and if I adhere to the view expressed by *Bṛihaspati* and some Indian commentators, my reasons are that, as the conflicting statements of the *Dharma-sûtras* show, the propriety of the *Niyoga* was not generally acknowledged even in ancient times, and that the medieval *Nibandhakâras* frequently follow the strange method of teaching adopted by Manu. They, too, describe various antiquated customs, and afterwards add the remark that the matter taught is forbidden in the *Kali age*. Among the clear cases where a conflict of statements has been caused by additions of the editor, I may mention the rule, Manu IV, 222, prescribing a penance for an unlawful acceptance of food, which differs from that given XI, 153. Here the former must be considered spurious, because it occurs in a chapter which has nothing to do with penances. It is evident that neither the instances just mentioned, nor indeed any other, where our *Smṛiti* exhibits either two ancient conflicting rules or a modern precept contradicting an ancient one, can be used as arguments showing that the *Mânava Dharma-sûtra* underwent more than one revision. Under these circumstances it might appear advisable to rely on those contradictions

¹ Tagore Lectures, pp. 48, 61.

which occur in the decidedly modern portions of our text, in the additions to the ancient Dharma-sûtra, and to maintain that e.g. the differences in the two accounts of the creation¹, Manu I, 7-58 and 62-86, indicate that the first chapter owes its present shape to two different authors. Such a mode of reasoning would, no doubt, be correct if the additions to the Dharma-sûtra were independent, original productions. But as the preceding discussion on the sources of this additional matter has shown that the first chapter is a compilation from older versus memoriales, which certainly contained portions and possibly even the whole of both accounts, it becomes inconclusive. The contradictory verses may either have been strung together, as Medhâtithi seems to suggest², merely because they really are or were considered paraphrases of Vedic passages, or they may have been reconciled with each other by one of those ingenious methods of interpretation of which the Indian schoolmen are such great masters.

As regards the second argument, the assertion of the Nārada-smṛiti³, that Manu composed a Dharmasāstra in 100,000 verses arranged in 1080 chapters, which was successively reduced by Nārada to 12,000, by Mārkaṇḍeya to 8,000, and by Bhrigu's son, Sumati, to 4,000 verses, is so circumstantial that, in spite of its obvious exaggerations, it might be considered to have a substratum of truth, and to be important for the history of Manu's law-book. Abridgments of larger works⁴ are in literature as common as expansions of shorter ones. Yet the only assertion in the above account, which we can test, is certainly not true, that Nārada's version of Manu's laws is more ancient than that by Sumati Bhārgava or Bhrigu. The actual position of the

¹ See also Dr. Johāntgen, *Über das Gesetzbuch des Manu*, p. 15.

² In his discussion on the aim of the first chapter Medhâtithi says (comm. on I, 6): - - - निरतिशयैश्वर्यहेतुधर्माद्विपरीतश्चाधर्मः । तदूपापरिज्ञानार्थमिदं शास्त्रं महाप्रयोजनमध्येतव्यमित्यध्यायतात्यर्थम् । मूलं तत्र मन्त्रार्थवादाः सामान्यतो दृष्टं च । तथा च मन्त्रः । तत्र आसीदित्यादि ॥

³ See above, p. xvii; and Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 57.

⁴ The two versions of Nārada furnish an interesting instance; see Jolly, loc. cit. p. 57.

two works has been inverted. Nārada's Vyavahāramātrikā shows a far more advanced development of the judicial theories than Bhrigu's Samhitā, and contains matter which conclusively proves that it cannot date from an earlier time than the fourth or fifth century of our era¹. As this test fails, Nārada's statement cannot be used for the determination of the order in which the various versions of Manu's laws were composed. It becomes more probable that it has been framed, with a view to enhance the importance of the Nārada-smṛiti, on the model of such purely fictitious stories respecting the origin of the Dharma, as that given in the Mahābhārata XII, 59, 22, and 80 seqq., where we are told that Brahman, assisted by the gods, first produced a Dharmasāstra in 100,000 chapters, which was successively abridged by Samkara in 10,000, by Indra in 5,000, by Bṛhaspati in 3,000, and by Kāvya in 1,000 Adhyāyas. Against the genuineness of Nārada's story we may also adduce the Paurāṇik statement, according to which Manu's laws were remodelled first by Bhrigu, secondly by Nārada, thirdly by Bṛhaspati, and fourthly by Āngiras².

The third argument, drawn from the fact that the medieval Nibandhas and commentaries quote passages from a Bṛhat (great) and Vṛiddha (old) Manu, has still less value. Professor Jolly has of late asserted in his able discussion³ of the quotations from these works that they are later, not earlier, than the existing text of Manu, because some of their rules resemble the advanced teaching of Yāgyavalkya and Nārada, while others contradict our Manu on points where he holds archaic views. Moreover, a passage of Vṛiddha Manu, to which Professor Max Müller has first called attention⁴, possibly indicates an acquaintance with Greek astrology. I can only agree with Professor Jolly's conclusions, and add that a comparison of the quotations from Bṛhat and Vṛiddha Manu with Bhrigu's Samhitā produces the impression that both works—if indeed the titles refer

¹ West and Bühler, Digest, pp. 48–50, third edition; Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 56; Preface to the Translation of Nārada, pp. xv–xvii.

² Mandlik, the Vyavahāramayūkha and Yāgy., p. xlvi; Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 44.

³ Tagore Lectures, pp. 65–66.

⁴ India, what can it teach us? p. 366.

to two and not to one—must have been enlarged versions of the latter¹. As it thus appears that there existed recensions posterior to our *Manu-smṛiti*, the existence of untraceable or partly traceable quotations from *Manu's Dharmaśāstra* in *Asvaghosha's Vāgrasūki*² and from *Manu* in *Varāhamihira's Brīhat-saṃhitā*³ possesses no great significance. With respect to *Varāhamihira's* reference, it must be noted that, according to *Albīrūnī's Indica*, two astrological *Samhitās*, called after *Manu*, existed in the eleventh century A.D., the smaller of which was an abridgment made by a perfectly well-known human author⁴. Hence *Varāhamihira* may have taken his verses on the character of women from the latter. In both quotations the *Slokas*, not found in our *Smṛiti*, have a very modern look. The case is, however, different with the quotations from *Manu*, which, as has been shown above, occur in the *Mahābhārata*. We have been compelled to admit that the existing text of our *Smṛiti* is younger than the epic. If, therefore, the law-book referred to in the latter is not the ancient *Dharma-sūtra*, we must also concede the existence of a secondary recension which preceded *Bhṛigu's Samhitā*. The solution of this question is, owing to the

¹ In order to enable the reader to form his own judgment on this point, I add a list of the quotations which I have noted. Those from *Brīhat Manu* occur, 1. Col. Dig. II, 3, 26; 2. Col. Dig. V, 428 = *Gī. Dāy.* XI, 6, 34; 3. *Datt. Mīm.* II, 8; 4. *May.* IV, 5, 53;—those from *Vṛiddha Manu*, 1. Col. Dig. III, 1, 69; 2. Col. Dig. III, 1, 83 = *May.* XI, 5 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 99; 3. Col. Dig. III, 1, 86 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 89; 4. Col. Dig. III, 1, 90 = *May.* XI, 5 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 100; 5. Col. Dig. III, 1, 93 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 103; 6. Col. Dig. V, 162 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 272 = *Varad.* p. 21 = *Gī. Dāy.* IX, 17 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*); 7. Col. Dig. V, 408 = *Smṛi. K'and.* XI, 1, 15 = *Sar. Vil.* 504 = *Varad.* pp. 33, 40 = *Vīram.* III, 1, 2 = *Gī. Dāy.* XI, 1, 7 and *Viv. K'int.* p. 289 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*); 8. *Mit.* II, 5, 6 = *Viv. K'int.* p. 289 and *Varad.* p. 37 (where attrib. to *Brīhat M.*) = *Sar. Vil.* 591 (where attrib. to *M.*); 9. *Viv. K'int.* pp. 126–7; 10. *Viv. K'int.* p. 180; 11. *Varad.* p. 50; 12. *Varad.* p. 28, where in reality *Manu IX*, 206 seems to be quoted.

² Weber, *Indische Streifen*, vol. i, pp. 190, 192, 198.

³ Kern, *Brīhat-saṃhitā*, chapter 74, vv. 7–15, and Preface, p. 43.

⁴ *Albīrūnī*, *Indica*, chapter xiv; see also Kern, loc. cit. p. 42, where the probability of the existence of a *Mānavī Samhitā* has been shown. *Albīrūnī* says that the title of the two works was *Mānasa* (*Mānavī?*), and that the shorter one had been composed by one *PNK'L*, a native of Southern India. I owe these notes to the kindness of Professor Sachau, the learned editor and translator of *Albīrūnī's* important work.

shortness of the extracts, very difficult. But, considering all things, I feel inclined to assume that the author or authors of the Mahābhārata knew only the Dharma-sūtra. The character of the four verses and a half, quoted verbally, as well as of the paraphrase in the Sakuntalopākhyāna agrees well enough with this assumption, because the Mānava Dharma-sūtra, as we have seen, certainly did contain numerous Slokas. It is further corroborated by the fact that the Mahābhārata does not differ in its arrangement, or rather in its want of an arrangement of the civil and criminal law, from the Dharma-sūtras. Though the epic contains numerous verses on these topics, it nowhere shows an acquaintance with the eighteen titles of the law which are so characteristic of the secondary Smṛitis, the hand-books of the special law schools. On the other side it may be urged that the Mahābhārata says nothing of Dharma-sūtras, and that its general view of the origin of the sacred law coincides with that expressed in the later law-books. It holds that the moral and legal doctrines were revealed for the benefit of the human race, first by Brahman to various mythical Rishis, and by them to mankind. This objection may, however, be met by the not unreasonable assumption that at the time when the Mahābhārata was composed, the real origin of the old Sūtras had been forgotten, while the text had not yet been materially altered. What has been said above regarding the rise of the special law schools, and the facts known regarding the change in the tradition concerning the Sūtras of Gautama and Vasishṭha, make the hypothesis of such a transitional period not at all improbable. Should, nevertheless, the possibility of the existence of a metrical redaction of the Mānava-sūtra, preceding that ascribed to Bhṛigu, be considered as not altogether excluded, it would at least be necessary to concede that it could not have contained the present arrangement of the Vyavahāra portion under titles.

While there is thus no proof for the opinion that the modern portions of the Manu-smṛiti have been gradually added one to the other, or that the present text is one of

the last links in a long chain of metrical recensions, there are several points which tend to show that our *Manu-saṃhitā* is one of the first attempts at remodelling a Dharma-sūtra. The most important argument for its comparatively early date is furnished by the incompleteness and awkwardness of its rules on judicial procedure and on civil law¹. If we compare these rules with those of the Dharma-sūtras and with those of the other metrical *Smṛitis*, they are somewhat more explicit than the former, but very much inferior to the latter. As regards procedure, the *Manu-smṛiti* pays more attention to the moral side of the duties, incumbent on the judge and the other persons concerned, than to the technicalities, which are much more clearly and minutely described in the *Dharmasāstras* of *Yāgyavalkya* and *Nārada*. In this respect it comes close to the Dharma-sūtras, with which it particularly agrees in the absence of all mention of written plaints and of documentary evidence, as well as in the shortness of its remarks on ordeals. Among the ancient law-books the *Vāsishṭha Dharmasāstra* is the only one which has allusions to written documents, and names them, XVI, 10, 14-15, as one of the means of legal proof. In the other Dharma-sūtras there is no indication that their authors were acquainted with the art of writing. I have already pointed out in the Introduction to my translation of *Vasishṭha*² that most probably this omission has to be explained not by the assumption that in the times of Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba writing was unknown or little used in India, but by the consideration that the general character of the Dharma-sūtras, which principally pay attention to the moral side of the law, does not require the introduction of matters belonging more properly to the customs of the country or to the *Arthasāstra*. Whatever may be thought of the prevalence of writing during the earlier times and of the value of my explanation, it may be regarded as perfectly certain that

¹ See on this subject and the following discussion, Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 279-281; Stenzler, *Yāgyavalkya*, pp. vii-x; *Journal of the German Or. Soc.* vol. ix, on the Indian Ordeals; and Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, pp. 45-49.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, p. xxvi.

Bhrigu's Manu-saṃhitā belongs to a period when the art of writing was known and generally practised. For, first, we find two clear references to written documents, 'what has been caused to be written by force' (lekhitā, VIII, 168) and royal edicts (śāsana, IX, 232). Secondly, we have the expression nibandh, 'to record,' in a passage (VIII, 255) where the context leaves no doubt that a written entry is referred to. When it is said there, that in a boundary-dispute the king shall record the boundary, according to the unanimous declaration of the witnesses, together with their names, it is impossible to imagine how he can do so without drawing up a written document, which, of a necessity, must have legal force for the future. This use of the verb nibandh makes it further probable that Medhātithi is not altogether wrong, when he explains (VIII, 76) the compound anibaddha, 'a person not appointed (to be a witness to a transaction),' by 'a person not entered (as a witness in the document),' and refers the rule to cases of loans and other commercial transactions. Thirdly, there is the term karaṇa (VIII, 54 and 154), which, though less explicit, likewise points to the use of written bonds for loans. The former passage declares that 'a debt which is proved by karaṇa' (karaṇena vibhāvitam) must be paid, and the commentators explain karaṇa to mean 'written bonds, witnesses, and so forth.' Hence it has been rendered in the translation by 'good evidence.' Verse 154 prescribes that a debtor 'who, unable to pay a debt (at the fixed time), wishes to make a new contract, may renew (lit. change) the karaṇam (karaṇam parivartayet¹).' Two commentators, Kullūka and Rāghava, take the word here in the sense of 'a written bond,' while the older ones, Govinda, Nārāyaṇa, and probably also Medhātithi, explain it by 'bonds and so forth,' and make it include agreements before witnesses. From these explanations and the use of the word karaṇa in other legal works it would appear that karaṇa may also be cited as a witness for the acquaintance of our author with the art of writing. To the conclusion that writing must have been extensively used in business-

¹ Nandana's reading kāraṇam is clearly erroneous; see below, p. cxxiv.

dealings points, finally, the whole state of civilisation to which Manu's rules are adapted. The highly developed trade by land and by sea¹, on which ad valorem duties were imposed², the existence of official lists of prices which were renewed periodically³, the complicated system of calculations of interest, among which we find compound interest⁴, and the occurrence of mortgages⁵, would be impossible without written documents. These facts appear to me so eloquent that even though all the passages adduced above, which explicitly mention written documents, could be proved to be late interpolations, the general aspect of this question would remain unchanged. If, under these circumstances, Manu's rules on evidence contain nothing definite on the admissibility of documents, and if he agrees in this particular with the Dharma-sûtras and differs strongly from the Dharmasâstras of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada as well as other metrical Smṛitis, this omission gains a great importance for the historical position of the *Samhitâ*. Whether we explain it by an oversight of the editor or by the assumption that he left the determination of the value of written documents to custom or to another Sâstra, it shows that he was acquainted with the Dharma-sûtras alone or with Dharma-sûtras and such metrical Smṛitis as excluded the section on documents. As he certainly was an adherent of a special law school, and bent on making his work as complete as possible, he would not have omitted so important a point if he had known law-books like the Yâgñavalkya-smṛiti.

The omission of the details regarding ordeals is no less significant. Manu VIII, 109-116 describes only the administration of oaths more fully, and mentions the ordeals by fire and water in a cursory manner. Among the Dharma-sûtras there is only the Âpastambiya which (II, 29, 6) recommends the employment of divine proof (daiva) or ordeals in a general way without adding any particulars. The secondary law-books of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada describe five kinds of ordeals, and enter, the second more

¹ VIII, 156-157.² VII, 127-128; VIII, 348.³ VIII, 401-402.⁴ VIII, 139-142, 151-153.⁵ VIII, 165.

fully than the first, on descriptions of the manner in which they must be performed. Even the *Vishnu-smṛiti* agrees with them, and the fragments of the lost metrical *Smṛitis* show that most of the latter, too, contained sections resembling those of *Yāgñavalkya* and *Nārada*. It would be, in my opinion, a mistake to infer from the silence of *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, and *Vasishṭha* that in ancient times ordeals were unknown in India. Traces of such practices, which were formerly prevalent in various forms also among other Indo-European races, are found, as might be expected, even in Vedic works. If the authors of the *Dharma-sūtras* ignore them or just indicate their existence, the correct explanation of this fact, too, is that they considered the subject not important enough for giving details, and left it to custom. The authors of the secondary *Smṛitis*, as a matter of course, were anxious to fill up the blank left by their predecessors. But they probably did nothing more than bring the various local customs into a system which gradually was made more and more complete. Under these circumstances the fact that *Manu's* rules stand midway between those of the *Dharma-sūtras* and of the other metrical law-books is another argument for allotting the first place to his *Samhitā*. In the treatment of the civil and criminal law the inferiority of the *Manu-smṛiti* to the other *Dharmaśāstras* of the same class, even to *Yāgñavalkya's*, which contains a much smaller number of verses on *Vyavahāra*, manifests itself in various ways. In spite of the attempt at a scientific classification of the rules under certain heads, the arrangement of these sections is cumbrous and disorderly. Twice, at the end of the eighth and ninth chapters, we find collections of miscellaneous rules, which, as a comparison of the works of *Yāgñavalkya* and *Nārada* shows, might for the greater part have been easily fitted in to the one or the other of the eighteen titles. Under the single titles the rules are sometimes badly arranged. This is particularly visible in the chapter on inheritance, where, to mention only one most conspicuous instance of this want of care, the verse asserting the right of the mother and grandmother to take the estate of a predeceased son or grandson,

is placed so awkwardly that it is absolutely impossible to guess which place in the sequence of heirs the author meant to allot to them. As stated above, the verse most probably was inserted by the editor of the ancient Dharma-sûtra. If he had cared at all for order and intelligibility, he ought not to have contented himself with the enunciation of the maxim that these persons do inherit, but he ought to have indicated where the preceding close series of heirs has to be broken in order to admit them. Very significant, too, are the constant mingling of moral exhortations with the legal rules and the occasional recommendation of quaint judicial devices which are common in the earlier stages of the development of the law. Though the duty of kings to protect their subjects and to restrain the wicked has been fully explained in the seventh chapter, yet in the sections on theft (VIII, 302-311), on violence (VIII, 343-347), and on adultery (VIII, 386-387), the author expatiates again and again on the necessity of eradicating such offences. In the second case the specific rules, providing for the punishment of sâhasa crimes, are left out, the omission being repaired at the end of the ninth chapter. Both Yâgñavalkya and Nârada think it unnecessary to recur to the moral obligations of the king after pointing them out once. Both refrain also from mentioning the curious expedient which Manu recommends (VIII, 182-184) for the decision of doubtful disputes regarding deposits. Another important point is that Manu's rules on some titles are exceedingly incomplete, and touch one particular case only, from which it is not always easy to deduce the general principle. Thus, in treating of the subtraction or resumption of gifts, Manu (VIII, 212-213) confines his remarks to pious gifts which are not applied in the manner stipulated. Yâgñavalkya (II, 175-177) gives under this head at least some general principles, showing what is required for the validity of gifts; while Nârada¹ offers a fairly full and systematic treatment of the whole law of gifts. A similarly gradual development is visible under other heads, especially concerns among

¹ Professor Jolly's Translation, pp. 59-60.

partners and rescission of sale and purchase, the rules under which latter head Manu gives partly in their proper place and partly among the miscellaneous precepts at the end of the eighth chapter. A third point, finally, which deserves to be noted here, is the fact that legal definitions are almost entirely wanting in the Manu-smṛiti, become more frequent in Yāgñavalkya's work, and are regularly given by Nārada, as well as that many single rules which are common to Manu and Yāgñavalkya, or to Manu, Yāgñavalkya, and Nārada, are framed in the latter works with much greater precision than in the former¹. The inferiority of the Manu-smṛiti in all these points can only be explained by the assumption that it was composed at a time when the systematic treatment of the law had been begun, but had not reached a high state of perfection, while the superiority of the other metrical Smṛitis permits us to infer that they belong to a much later period when the special law schools had made a considerable progress in the elaboration of their theories. This argument is, it seems to me, the strongest which can be brought forward as a firm basis for the universally prevalent belief of all European and Indian Sanskritists in the priority of our Manu to all other known secondary law-books. For wherever we are able to trace larger portions of the history of a special Brāhmanical science, as e.g. in the case of grammar, we find that the later authors, though belonging to different schools and creeds, and though differing in the actual doctrines, invariably avail themselves of the method of their predecessors, developing and refining it more and more. Retrogressive steps, examples of which seem to occur in the handbooks of the Vedic schools², have hitherto not been found³. All

¹ Compare e. g. the rules regarding lawful interest, Manu VIII, 140-142, and Yāgñ. II, 34.

² Compare e. g. the case of the Gautamīya and Baudhāyanīya Dharma-sūtras, where the second and later work is inferior in method to the earlier one.

³ Should it be objected that the Vishnu-smṛiti, though certainly younger than Manu's and Yāgñavalkya's Dharmaśāstras, is deficient in a systematic arrangement of the rules on civil and criminal law, the answer would be that the editor of this work appears to have been a Vaishṇava sectarian, not an adherent of a school which made the law its special object of study.

the other arguments which have been or can be adduced to prove the antiquity of our *Manu-smṛiti* are less conclusive. If it has been said that this work contains some very archaic doctrines¹ which are not found in the other secondary law-books, that is perfectly true. But the inference regarding its age becomes doubtful, because on other subjects *Manu* is ahead of the other *Smṛitis*², and because in general the development of the actual doctrines seems to have been not quite steady and continuous. Still more precarious are the arguments, based on the language of the *Manu-smṛiti*, on its not mentioning the Greek astrology or Greek coinage and similar points. As we have to deal with a recast of a very ancient book, and as its editor has utilised a good many ancient verses in compiling his recension, it is only to be expected that a number of archaic forms and phrases should be found. But it is evident that they prove nothing with respect to the period when the compilation was made, because it is impossible to decide in each case to which of its component parts the archaism belongs. As regards the remaining argumenta a silentio, they are equally inconclusive. Even if we grant, for argument's sake, the correctness of the assertion that our *Manu* contains no allusion to the Greek order of the planets, to the zodiac, to judicial astrology, and to Greek or Scythian *dīnāras*, *drammas*, and *nānakas*, while all the other secondary law-books mention one or the other of these foreign importations, the omission may be purely accidental. These and similar points can be used for no other purpose than to show that there is nothing in *Manu's* text that compels us to place it in or after the period between 300–500 A.D., during which Greek influence made itself strongly felt in India. They possess

¹ One of the clearest instances of this kind is *Manu's* doctrine with regard to the succession of females to the estate of males, where the exclusion of the wife agrees with the teaching of the *Dharma-sūtras* (Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 48). The assertion of Professor Hopkins (*Castes according to the M. Dh.* p. 108 seqq.), that the prerogatives of *Brāhmaṇas* are greater according to *Yāgñ.* than according to *Manu*, seems to me erroneous, and chiefly based on an inadmissible interpretation of some passages of *Manu*. In my opinion the mutual relations of the castes, as described in the two law-books, cannot be used to prove a priority of the one to the other.

² E. g. in the doctrine concerning the *Niyoga*.

a certain importance only as auxiliaries to the chief argument derived from the imperfect development of the method or formal treatment of the law. But considering all that has been said in the preceding discussion, it is, I think, not too much to say that there is no obstacle against, and some reason for, our accepting as true the assertion, which is made in the *Manu-smṛiti* itself and supported by the tradition preserved in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, that *Bhrigu*'s¹ *Samhitā* is the first and most ancient recast of a *Dharmasāstra* attributed to *Manu*, which latter, owing to the facts pointed out in the first part of this Introduction, must be identified with the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*. Though this recast must be considered the work of one hand, the possibility that single verses may have been added later or altered, is of course not excluded. A perfectly intact preservation of an Indian work which has been much studied, is a priori improbable, and the divergence of the commentators with respect to certain verses shows that some of those contained in our text were suspected by the one or the other of them. But the number of *Slokas* with regard to which real doubts can be entertained is comparatively small, and hardly amounts to more than a dozen².

The above discussion has also to a certain extent defined the relative position of our *Manu-smṛiti* in *Brāhmanical* literature, and has thus opened the way for the consideration of the last remaining problem, the question when the conversion of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra* into a metrical law-book

¹ A clear and definite explanation of the question why the Hindu tradition ascribes the promulgation of *Manu*'s laws to *Bhrigu* has hitherto not been traced. *Bhrigu*'s only connexion with *Manu* is that mentioned in the text, according to which he is one of the mind-born sons or creatures of the father of mankind. This version of the legend of his origin is, however, by no means common. In the *Mahābhārata* XII, 182-192, we find 'a condensed *Dharmasāstra*,' which is said to have been revealed by *Bhrigu* to *Bharadvāja*. It includes an account of the creation, but makes no mention of *Manu*. As *Bhrigu* appears also elsewhere as the author of a *Dharmasāstra*, it is just possible that the legend may be based on *Bhrigu*'s fame as a legislator and as the offspring of *Manu*.

² Many more verses are left out partly in *Medhātithi*'s *Bhāṣya* and partly in *Nandana*'s commentary. But see below, pp. cxxvi and cxxv, where it has been shown that omissions in the accessible MSS. of these two works alone do not mean much.

may have taken place. The terminus a quo which has been gained for the composition of Bhrigu's *Samhitâ* is the age of the Mahâbhârata, and the terminus ad quem the dates of the metrical *Smritis* of Yâgñavalkya and Nârada. Though we are at present not in a position to assert anything positive regarding the period when the Mahâbhârata and especially its twelfth and thirteenth Parvans were written, and though the date of Yâgñavalkya's Dharmaśâstra is very doubtful, yet some facts known regarding the Nârada-smṛiti are not without importance for framing our answer to the difficult question now proposed. Both Professor Jolly and myself¹ have lately discussed the significance of the mention of golden dinâras or denarii in the longer and more authentic version of Nârada and of the circumstance that Asahâya, a predecessor of Manu's earliest commentator, Medhâtithi, explained it and have arrived at a very similar conclusion, viz. that the Nârada-smṛiti dates either shortly before or shortly after the middle of the first thousand years of our era. If that is so, Bhrigu's *Samhitâ* must, in consideration of the arguments just stated, be placed not only earlier, but considerably earlier, and the assertion that it must have existed at least in the second century of our era is not unwarranted. This latter inference is also made inevitable by the discovery that we have to admit the former existence of very ancient commentaries, and of at least one ancient Vârttika or Kârikâ which referred to the text of Manu, known to us. With respect to the commentaries, Medhâtithi, the author of the *Manubhâshya*, is a most valuable and clear witness. This author, who probably wrote in the ninth century A.D.², very frequently quotes opinions and various readings, expressed or men-

¹ Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 56; West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 48. To the arguments adduced there I would add that Bâna, the friend of Śrīharsha-Harshavardhana (606-7-648 A.D.), makes a pretty clear allusion to the Nârada's Dharmaśâstra in the *Kâdambarī*, p. 91, l. 13 (Peterson's edition), where he calls a royal palace nâradyam ivâvarṇyamânarâgadharmam, 'similar to the Nâradya (Dharmaśâstra), because there the duties of kings were taught (by the conduct of the ruler) just as they are taught (in the law-book).'

² For the details, see below, pp. cxxi-cxxiii.

tioned by his predecessors, and shows by the number of the conflicting explanations which he sometimes adduces for a passage of the text, that in his time a very large number of commentaries on the *Manu-smṛiti* existed. Among the persons thus quoted, he designates some by the terms *Pūrva* and *Kīramtana*. *Pūrva*, which means both 'former' and 'ancient,' is an ambiguous word. It can be applied to all persons who wrote before the author, though it frequently is used in speaking of those who lived centuries ago. *Kīramtana*, 'long previous or ancient,' is much stronger, and, according to the usage of Indian authors, denotes a predecessor belonging to a remote antiquity. As *Medhātithi*, writing in the ninth century, knew of commentaries to which he was compelled to assign a remote antiquity, it is only a moderate estimate if we assume that the earliest among them were in his time from three to four hundred years old. But if in the sixth or even in the fifth century A.D. glosses on our text existed, its composition must go back to much earlier times. For the widely divergent and frequently very questionable explanations of the more difficult passages, which *Medhātithi* adduces from his predecessors, indicate that even the earliest among them were separated by a considerable interval from the compiler of the *Manu-saṃhitā*, an interval so great that the real meaning of the text had been forgotten.

The merit of the discovery that one of the lost metrical *Dharmasāstras*, the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, was a *Vārttika* on our text of *Manu*, belongs to Professor Jolly, whose careful investigation of the fragments of the lost law-books, contained in the modern Digests, has contributed very materially to the elucidation of a difficult chapter in the history of Indian legal literature. He shows¹ that *Bṛihaspati* not only allots to *Manu's Smṛiti* the first place among all law-books, but that he explains, amplifies, and occasionally corrects its rules on various portions of the *Vyavahāra*. The particulars from *Manu* which *Bṛihaspati* mentions are such as to leave no doubt that the text which he knew in

¹ Tagore Lectures, pp. 60-62; see also above, p. xvi.

no way differed from that known to us. He explains, as Professor Jolly points out, the curious terms, used Manu VIII, 49, for the various modes by which a creditor may recover a debt, as well as the expression *asvâmin*, which occurs in the title of law, called *Asvâmivikraya*. He further mentions that Manu IX, 57-68 first teaches and afterwards forbids the practice of *Niyoga*, and gives, as it seems to me¹, the correct explanation of this contradiction. He also notes that Manu IX, 221-228 forbids gambling, which other writers on law permit under due supervision, and he corrects Manu's rules regarding the indivisibility of clothes and other objects enumerated IX, 219. An apparent contradiction in *Brîhaspati*'s rules with respect to subsidiary sons² proves that he knew and accepted Manu's teaching on this subject. He declares that the substitutes for a legitimate son of the body are forbidden in the *Kaliyuga*, and yet admits the rights of a *Putrikâ* or appointed daughter, who mostly is reckoned among the substitutes. This difficulty is easily solved, if it is borne in mind that Manu, differing from the other ancient law-books, does not reckon the *Putrikâ* among the subsidiary sons. He separates her, IX, 127-140, from the *Gauṇa Putras*, IX, 158-181, and strongly insists on her rights, while he restricts those of the others very much. The list of instances where *Brîhaspati* alludes to, annotates, or amplifies rules of Manu might, I think, be enlarged still further, and it seems to me that a comparison of those verses of his, which *Colebrooke's Digest* contains, with Manu gives one the impression that *Brîhaspati*'s work is throughout a revised and enlarged edition of the *Bhrigu-saṃhitâ*, or, to use the Indian expression, a *Manuvârttika* or *Manukârikâ*. Professor Jolly, finally, has pointed out that this evidence concerning the relation between Manu and *Brîhaspati* agrees with and gives some weight to the tradition preserved in the *Skanda-purâna*, according to which *Brîhaspati* composed the third of the four versions of Manu's *Dharmaśāstra*. The age of the *Brîhaspati-smṛiti*

¹ See also above, p. xciv.

² Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 158.

is circumscribed by its definition of the value of golden *dinâras*, and by the quotations from it which occur already in the oldest commentaries and *Nibandhas* from the ninth century A.D. downwards. Since the latter period it has been considered as a work of divine origin, revealed by the teacher of the gods. Hence Professor Jolly's supposition, that it must have existed some two or three hundred years earlier, places it not too early, but, in my opinion, rather too late. But even if the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* dates only about 600 A.D., its statements regarding the high authority of Manu's teaching show that our version of the latter must have preceded it by many centuries.

The three points just discussed are, in my opinion, the only ones that are really useful for fixing the lower date of our *Manu-smṛiti*. All the other facts known to me which bear on the question are made valueless by flaws of one kind or the other. Thus if we find that another metrical *Dharmasâstra*, the *Kâtyâyana-smṛiti*, which probably belongs to the same period as the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, repeatedly quotes doctrines of Manu or *Bhrigu* found in our text, it is nevertheless not permissible to assume confidently with Kullûka on *Manu* VIII, 350¹, that its author knew and explained our text. For, as Professor Jolly has shown², there are other cases in which the teaching attributed by *Kâtyâyana* to *Bhrigu* or Manu differs from the opinion advanced in our *Smṛiti*. It is, of course, possible that the author, who assumes the name of *Kâtyâyana*, may have made a slip, or may have known several *Manu-smṛitis* or *Bhrigu-smṛitis*, and have referred in different places to different works. But, making every allowance for such possibilities, it cannot be said that his references furnish a really conclusive argument. Again, it has been pointed out³ that the author of the *Bhaviṣya-purâna* has largely drawn on the first three chapters of our *Manu*, whom he also names, and nobody who carefully compares the two

¹ कात्यायनश्च भृगुशब्दोल्लेखेन ननु कं श्लोकं व्यक्तं व्याख्यातवान् ॥

² Tagore Lectures, p. 62, ll. 22 and 24, *Bṛihaspati* has been printed twice by mistake for *Kâtyâyana*.

³ Professor Aufrecht's Catal. Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 30.

texts can have any doubt who the borrower is, as the *Purāṇa* regularly substitutes easy readings for difficult ones, and adds numerous explanatory verses. Besides, *Nārāyaṇa*, as well as Kullūka¹, quotes verses of the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* from a section on penances not found in the accessible MSS., which likewise are clearly intended to explain the text of our *Samhitā*. All this is however useless, as for the present it is impossible to determine the date of the *Purāṇa* even approximatively. Professor H. H. Wilson², who has a very mean opinion of the book, declares that it cannot lay claim to a high antiquity, and seems to consider it a production of the ninth or tenth century A.D. Professor Aufrecht's discovery³ that the *Matsya-purāṇa*, which mentions a *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* in 14,500 verses, contains actually several sections which have been borrowed from the portions of the latter work preserved in the MSS., makes Professor Wilson's estimate improbable. For the *Matsya-purāṇa* was considered a canonical work about the year 1000 A. D., and used by Albîrûnî for his work on India⁴. Though it, therefore, becomes probable that the *Bhaviṣhya-purāṇa* is much older than Professor Wilson was inclined to assume, the data thus gained are much too vague for inferences regarding the age of our *Manu-smṛiti*.

Equally unsatisfactory are the results which an examination of the quotations from the *Manu-smṛiti*, found in various Sanskrit works, yields us. Perfectly indisputable quotations are not very common, and they occur mostly in works of comparatively recent date, e. g. in the *Yasastilaka* of the *Digambara-Gaina* poet Somadeva, 959 A. D.⁵, in *Śaṅkarācārya's Sâṁkhya-bhâṣya*, 804 A. D.⁶, and in *Kṣhî-*

¹ See e. g. his remarks on *Manu* XI, 101, and *Nārāyaṇa's* on XI, 131.

² *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, vol. i, pp. lxii-lxiv, and Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 396.

³ *Catalogue*, p. 43.

⁴ I owe the knowledge of this fact also to the kindness of Professor Sachau.

⁵ See Professor Peterson's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, pp. 42-43.

⁶ Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 36. With respect to the date of *Śaṅkarācārya's* work, I follow the Hindu tradition, which places the birth of the author in 788 A. D. According to the statement of the late *Yāgyavalkya Sâstrî*, with whom I discussed the passages which he adduces in the *Āryavidyāsudhâkara*, p. 226, the sampra-

rasvâmin's Amarakoshodghâṭana¹. Other cases, where we find verses from the Manu-saṁhitâ quoted in ancient works, are made inconclusive by the vagueness of the reference or by the circumstance that the same passages occur also in other works. Thus we find Manu VIII, 416, with a slight verbal difference at the end of the first line², in the Sabara-bhâṣhya on Mîm. Sû. VI, 1, 12. Though the exact date of the latter work is uncertain, we know that it preceded Kumârilabhata's Tantravârttika, and its style, which closely resembles that of Patañjali's Mahâbhâṣhya, makes it probable that its author lived not much later than the beginning of our era. Hence its testimony would be of the greatest interest, provided it were perfectly clear. Unfortunately the Bhâṣhya introduces the verse merely by the words *evam ka smarati*, 'and thus he records or states in the Smṛiti,' without specifying the author. As the doctrine of the verse which declares a wife, a son, and a slave to be incapable of holding and acquiring property is found, though expressed differently, also in the Nârada-smṛiti, Vivâdapada V, 39, it may be that Sabara took the passage from some other work than the Manu-smṛiti. Again, though Patañjali in the Vyākaraṇamahâbhâṣhya on Pāṇini VI, 1, 84 adduces Manu II, 120 without any variant³, it would be extremely hazardous to conclude that he quotes from our text of Manu. For the Mahâbhârata (XIII, 104, 64^b–65^a) has exactly the same words.

dâya, referred to in his work, is that of Śrîṅgeri, where also documentary evidence for its correctness is said to exist. Hence I hesitate to accept Mr. Telang's conclusions, who places Saṅkara in the latter half of the sixth century, Mudrâ-râkshasa, Appendix, and Ind. Ant. vol. xiii, p. 95 seqq.

¹ Aufrecht, Journal of the Germ. Or. Soc. vol. xxviii, p. 107. The date of this author, who used to be identified with the teacher of Gayâpîḍa of Kaśmîr (779–813 A. D.), seems, according to the latest researches, more recent.

² See the edition in the Bibl. Ind. vol. i, p. 611: भावी दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्वे एव ते । यत्ने समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ At the end of the first line Manu has त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः ॥

³ See vol. iii, p. 58 of Professor Kielhorn's edition. I may add that the same work on Pāṇini II, 3, 35 (vol. i, p. 457, Kielhorn) quotes another verse, the first line of which agrees with Manu IV, 151^a, while the second entirely differs. In this case, too, the Mahâbhârata XIII, 104, 82 has a version closely resembling that of Manu.

More important are some allusions to the laws of Manu found in several works of considerable antiquity, and in inscriptions. Taken by themselves they would, indeed, not prove much. But considered in conjunction with the results of the three chief arguments, they certainly furnish a confirmation of the latter. The clearest case, perhaps, occurs in the *Kirâtârguṇīya* of Bhâravi, a poet, whose fame on the evidence of the Aihole inscription was well established in 634 A. D., and who, therefore, cannot possibly have lived later than in the beginning of the sixth century, but may be considerably older. He makes (Kir. I, 9) Yudhishtira's spy say, 'He (Duryodhana), conquering the six (internal) foes, desiring to enter on the path, taught by Manu, that is difficult to tread, and casting off (all) sloth, since by day and by night he adheres to the (prescribed) division (of the royal duties), shows increased manly energy in accordance with the Nîti.' At first sight it might seem as if this passage contained nothing more than an expression of the ancient belief according to which Manu settled the duties of mankind, and among them also those of kings. But if we keep in mind the inferences made unavoidable by Medhâtithi's statements regarding the ancient commentaries and by the character of the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, it becomes more probable that Bhâravi alludes to the seventh chapter of Bhṛigu's version of the *Manu-smṛiti*, which declares *vinaya*, humility or self-conquest, i. e. the conquest of the six internal foes, to be one of the chief qualities requisite for a king, and which carefully and minutely describes the employment of each watch of the day and the night. Other much less explicit allusions occur in the land-grants. It will suffice to adduce those found in the commencement of the Valabhi inscriptions of Dhruvasena I, Guhasena, and Dharasena II, to which I have called attention some time ago¹. The oldest of them is dated *Samvat* 207, i. e. not later than 526 A. D.² There it is said in the description

¹ See West and Bühler, *Digest*, p. 46, and for the inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vols. iv, p. 104; v, 28; vi, 11; vii, 67, 69, 71; viii, 302. For other passages, see Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xi, pp. 243-246.

² This is on the supposition that the era of the Valabhi plates began in 319 A. D., the latest date ever assigned to it.

of Dronasimha, the first Mahârâga of Valabhî and the immediate predecessor of Dhruvasena I, that 'like Dharmarâga (Yudhishthira) he observed as his law the rules and ordinances taught by Manu and other (sages).' Strictly interpreted, the passage says nothing more than that in Dronasimha's times various law-books existed, one and the chief of which was attributed. But, considering what we know from other sources, it is not improbable that it refers to our *Samhitâ*, which is acknowledged by *Bṛihaspati* as the paramount authority. This is all I am able to bring forward in order to fix the lower limit of the *Manu-smṛiti*. But the facts stated are, I think, sufficient to permit the inference that the work, such as we know it, existed in the second century A. D.

For an answer to the question whether our *Manu-smṛiti* can go back to a higher antiquity, and how much older it may be, we have at present very scant data. Its posteriority to the twelfth and thirteenth Parvans of the *Mahâbhârata* teaches us, as already stated, nothing definite. But there is a passage in its tenth chapter, vv. 43-44, which has been frequently supposed to convey, and probably does contain, a hint regarding its lower limit. There the *Kâmbogas*, *Yavanas*, *Sakas*, and *Pahlavas* are enumerated among the races which, originally of *Kshatriya* descent, were degraded to the condition of *Sûdras* in consequence of their neglect of the *Brâhmanas*¹. As the *Yavanas* are named together with the *Kâmbogas* or *Kâbulis* exactly in the same manner as in the edicts of *Asoka*², it is highly probable that Greek subjects of *Alexander's* successors, and especially the *Bactrian Greeks*, are meant. This point, as well as the mention of the *Sakas*³ or *Scythians*, would

¹ The verse contains also the name of the *Kînas*, which formerly has been taken to be valuable as a chronological landmark. More modern researches have proved this view to be untenable; see A. von Gutschmid, *Journal of the German Or. Soc.* vol. xxxiv, pp. 202-208; Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 131; *Rig-veda*, vol. iv, p. li.

² See e. g. the fifth rock-edict, where the *Yona-Kamboga-Gamdhâra* or *Gamdhâra* are mentioned as *Asoka's* neighbours, the most distant being placed first.

³ The earliest mention of the *Sakas* probably occurs in a *Vârttika* of *Kâtyâyana* on *Pân.* VI, 1, 94, where *sakandhu* is explained by *saka* + *andhu*. According to the traditional explanation the compound means 'the well of the *Saka* king.'

indicate that the Slokas could in no case have been written before the third century B. C. This limit would be still further and very considerably contracted if the mention of the Pahlavas were quite above suspicion, and if the deductions of my learned friend, Professor Nöldeke¹, regarding the age of this word were perfectly certain. Pahlava and its Iranian prototype Pahlav are, according to the concurrent testimony of the most distinguished Orientalists, corruptions of Parthava, the indigenous name of the Parthians². Relying on the fact that the change of the Iranian *th* to *h* is first traceable in the name Meherdates, mentioned by Tacitus, and in the word Miïro, i. e. Mihira, on the coins of Kanishka or Kanerki³, Professor Nöldeke concludes that the form Pahlav cannot have originated among the Iranians earlier than in the first century A. D., and that it cannot have been introduced into India before the second century of our era. If this inference were unassailable, the remoter limit of the *Manu-smṛiti* would fall together with its lower one. But, with all due deference to the weight of Professor Nöldeke's name, I must confess that it appears to me very hazardous. For, first, the foundations of his theory are very narrow: secondly, one of his own facts is not quite in harmony with his assertions. However late we may place Kanishka, he cannot be later than the last quarter of the first century A. D. Kanishka was not a Parthian, and his coins probably were struck in the North of India. Hence it would appear that Iranian word-forms with the softening of *th* to *h* were known in India towards the end of the first century. Moreover, the word Pahlava occurs in the Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman⁴, which was incised shortly before the year 72 of the era of the Western Kshatrapas. This era, as has been long ago conjectured, and is now incontestably proved by Mr. Fleet's important discoveries, is

¹ Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 187-8, note 201^a.

² Olshausen, *Parthava und Pahlav, Mâda und Mâh* (*Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1877), and Nöldeke, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vol. xxxi, p. 557.

³ Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Gr.* p. 197.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* vol. vii, p. 261. Rudradâman's lieutenant at Girnâr was the Pahlava Kulaipa (Khorab?), son of Suvirâkha.

the so-called Vikramasamvat or, more correctly, the Samvat of the Málaveras, the lords of Málava, which began in 57 B. C. Rudradāman's inscription consequently dates from the year 21–22 A. D., and it is thus certain that the word Pahlava was used in India at the beginning of the first century A. D. These circumstances make it impossible to accept Professor Nöldeke's inferences from the occurrence of the softened Iranian forms. But the mere mention of the Pahlavas would show that Manu's verse cannot have been composed before the beginning of the first century B. C. The Parthian dynasty of the Arsacides was founded in the middle of the third century B. C., and its sixth ruler, Mithradates I, according to some classical authors, invaded India about the middle of the second century¹. Coins of an Arsaces Theos and of an Arsaces Dikaïos, who uses also the Prakrit language and the North-Indian alphabet, have been found in the Panjâb, and belong to the same or a little later times². As the Brâhmanas are ever ready to give foreign nations, with which they come into contact, a place in their ethnological system, it is quite possible that about the beginning of the first century B. C. an Indian origin might have been invented for the Pahlavas. But even this reduction of the remoter limit of the Manu-smṛiti is, in my opinion, not quite safe. For though the evidence for the genuineness of Manu X, 43–44 is as complete as possible, and though the varia lectio for Pahlava, which Govinda offers, probably deserves no credit³, there is yet a circumstance which raises a suspicion against the latter reading. Parallel passages, closely resembling Manu's two verses, are found in the Mahābhārata XIII, 33, 21–23^a and XIII, 35, 17–18, where the names of the degraded Kshatriya races are likewise enumerated, and the cause of their degradation is stated

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, II², 334.

² Sallet, Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Gr. pp. 51, 156–157.

³ The commentators and MSS. all give the two verses. If some MSS. of Medhātithi read Pahnava for Pahlava, that is a clerical mistake caused by the similarity of the subscribed Devanāgarī la and na. Govinda's var. lect. Pallava is improbable, because the other races mentioned in the second line of verse 44 all belong to the North of India, while the Pallavas are, as far as we know, confined to the South.

in exactly the same or similar words. Both passages name the Yavanas, and one also the Sakas. But neither mentions the Pahlavas. Hence it becomes doubtful if the original version of these Slokas really did contain the latter name. It is further not impossible that its insertion is not due to the first remodeller of the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*, but has crept in later **accidentally, in the** place of some other name. The Indian *Pandits* are **not strong** in ethnology and history, and habitually careless with respect to the names of peoples and countries, which they frequently alter, or substitute in their works one for the other. I have, therefore, not the courage to reduce the terminus a quo by more than a hundred years on the strength of this single word, which occurs in a verse that evidently has had originally a different form. I think it safer to rely more on the mention of the Yavanas, Kāmbogas, and Sakas, and to fix the remoter limit of the work about the beginning of the second century A. D., or somewhat earlier.

This estimate of the age of the *Bṛigu Samhitā*, according to which it certainly existed in the second century A. D., and seems to have been composed between that date and the second century B. C., agrees very closely with the views of Professor Cowell¹ and Mr. Talboys Wheeler². It differs considerably from that lately expressed by Professor Max Müller, who considers our *Manu* to be later than the fourth century³, apparently because a passage quoted from *Vṛiddha Manu*, which he takes to be a predecessor of our *Samhitā*, mentions the twelve signs of the zodiac. I do not think that it has been proved that every work which enumerates the *rāsis* must be later than the period when Ptolemy's astronomy and astrology were introduced into India. But irrespective of this objection, Professor Max Müller's opinion seems to me untenable, because, according to Professor Jolly's and my own researches⁴, the *Vṛiddha* or *Bṛihat Manu*, quoted in the digests and commentaries, is not earlier, but later than *Bṛigu's Samhitā*. Whatever may be thought

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 249 (edition of 1874).

² *History of India*, vol. ii, p. 422.

³ *India, what can it teach us?* p. 366.

⁴ See above, p. xcvi.

of the details of my inferences and conclusions, I believe that the rudimentary state of the legal theories in our *Samhitâ*, as compared with *Yâgñavalkya* and *Nârada* (fourth or fifth century A. D.), the fact that the *Bṛhaspati-smṛiti* of the sixth or seventh century A. D. was a *Vārttika* on our text, and the assertion of *Medhâtithi*, that he knew in the ninth century commentaries belonging to a remote antiquity, force us to place it considerably before the term mentioned by Professor Max Müller.

III.

It now remains to give an account of the materials on which my translation is based, and of the manner in which they have been used. Among Sanskrit works the commentaries of *Medhâtithi*, *Govindarâga*, *Sarvagñā-Nârâyana*, *Kullûkabhaṭṭa*, *Râghavânanda*, and *Nandanâkârya*, as well as an anonymous *Tippaṇa*, contained in a Kasmîr MS. of the *Manu-samhitâ*, are the sources on which I have chiefly relied. Among the earlier translations, Sir William Jones' famous versio princeps and Professor J. Jolly's annotated German translation¹ of chapter VIII and chapter IX, 1-102 have been carefully used. Occasionally Mr. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' well-known edition of the text, the English translation of chapters I-III, 33 by *Târâkand Kakravartî* (*Kuckerbutty*)², and the *Mârâtî* translation of *Ganârdan Vâsudev Gurgar*³ have been consulted. Sir G. C. Haughton's edition and various Indian reprints of the text have been left aside, because they mostly repeat *Kullûka*'s readings or give *variae lectiones* for which no sufficient authority is shown.

Among the Sanskrit commentaries on the *Manu-smṛiti* the oldest extant is the voluminous *Manubhâshya* of *Bhaṭṭa*

¹ Published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. iii.

² I have used the copy of the India Office Library, 19-27, 17. The name of the author is given by Professor Goldstücker, *On the Deficiencies, &c.*, p. 5, note.

³ Published with the text of *Manu*, at the *Nirmayasâgar Press*, Bombay, 1877.

Medhâtithi, the son of Bhaṭṭa Virasvāmin. As its title, *bhāshya*, indicates, it is not a gloss which paraphrases every word of the text. Its aim is to show the general sense of Manu's dicta, to elucidate all really difficult passages, and to settle all doubtful points by a full discussion of the various possible interpretations, and of the opinions advanced by others. In carrying out this plan Medhâtithi displays a great amount of learning and not inconsiderable ability. He carefully uses a number of more ancient commentaries on Manu, and shows a full acquaintance with the *Sāstras* requisite for the successful explanation of his text, with Vedic literature, grammar, *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Dharma-sūtras*¹ and other *Smṛitis*, *Vedānta*, and the *Mahābhārata*. At the same time he avoids the common fault of Sanskrit commentators,—an undue copiousness in quotations which bear only remotely on the subject under consideration. Moreover, he frequently enhances the value of his explanations by illustrating Manu's rules by instances taken from every-day life, a point which most Hindu writers on law and on kindred subjects entirely neglect. Finally, he frequently takes up a much more independent position towards his author than the other commentators dare to assume. Thus he does not shrink from declaring that many verses are *arthavādas*, without legal force, and that many single words have been inserted merely *vṛttapûraṇārtham*, 'in order to make up the verse.' His chief weakness, on the other hand, which is not unfrequently observable, and which has drawn on him Kullûka's stricture² that he brings forward 'both valuable and valueless' remarks, consists in a disinclination to decide between conflicting interpretations and in his sometimes placing side

¹ Medhâtithi quotes the *Dharma-sūtras* in general, and Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha, as well as some other lost works, in particular. Among the lost *Dharma-sūtras* which he used, is a *Kātyāyanīya-sūtra*, quoted on Manu VIII, 215, which seems to have treated the civil law in detail, and probably is the original of the metrical *Kātyāyana-smṛiti*, from which the digests give so numerous extracts.

² See the concluding verses of Kullûka's commentary. Sir W. Jones' statement that Medhâtithi's work is reckoned 'prolix and unequal' (Preface to the Translation, p. xvii, St. Grady) is probably based on this remark of Kullûka.

by side, as equally admissible, widely divergent opinions. This vacillation is perhaps justified in a restricted number of passages, where the text is really ambiguous or very obscure. But more commonly it seems to be due solely to an excessive veneration for the views of his predecessors¹, whose commentaries, in part at least, possessed a high antiquity and a great reputation, or whom he had personal reasons to respect. On several occasions he mentions certain explanations as those of the Pûrvas or *Kīramtanās*, i. e. of the ancient commentators. Thus he remarks on Manu IV, 223, 'But the exposition given above is the view of the Ancients; hence it has also been given by us².' In another case, when explaining Manu IX, 141 and 147, he notes that his interpretation is that of upādhyāya, i. e. of his own teacher from whom he learnt the *Manu-saṃhitā*. Disagreeable as this want of decision may be to those who look to a commentary for a concise and authoritative explanation of its text, yet it is not without advantages. His copiousness in quoting the opinions of his predecessors makes his work extremely important for the student of the history of the *Manu-smṛiti* and of the Hindu law. The *Bhāṣya* clearly proves that Manu's text had been made for centuries an object of deep research, and that many of its verses had given rise to widely different interpretations. It shows, further, that a good many various readings existed. Finally, a comparison of the later still extant commentaries leaves no doubt that these in general are based on the *Manubhāṣya*, and that even their divergent opinions and readings are frequently derived from the earlier work. Under these circumstances the question of

¹ Though the opinions of 'others' are mentioned very frequently, and though sometimes those of three or four predecessors are contrasted, *Medhātithi* gives only once the name of an earlier commentator, Manu IX, 253, अथ यावती काचित्कालश्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कावर (?) [v. l. कार (?)] विष्णुस्वामी । यदत्र तत्त्वं तद्वर्तिनमथस्तात् ॥ The name seems to be *Vishṇusvāmin*. But it is uncertain what the corrupt word, preceding it, may hide.

² यनु प्राग्व्याख्यातं तत्पूर्वेषां दर्शनमित्यस्माभिरपि वर्णितम् ॥ Compare also the remark on Manu V, 128, तत्र चिरंतनेष्व्याख्यातम् ॥

Medhâtithi's date acquires great importance. It is a matter of regret that in this, as in so many other cases, we do not possess any trustworthy historical information, but have to depend on such circumstantial evidence as can be collected from Medhâtithi's own quotations and from the quotations made by other authors from the Bhâshya. If we begin with the latter, the lower limit for the composition of Medhâtithi's work is fixed by Vigñânesvara's reference to his explanation of Manu IX, 118¹. Vigñânesvara wrote his commentary on Yâgyñavalkya in the reign of the Kâlukya king, Vikramâditya VI, who ruled at Kalyâna from Sakasamvat 997-1048, or 1073-1126-7 A.D.² The manner in which Vigñânesvara's reference is made, shows that in his times the Bhâshya possessed an established reputation. Hence it may be inferred that it was then not of recent date. To the same conclusion points also a passage in Kullûka's commentary on Manu VIII, 184³, where, in a remark on the arrangement of verses 181-184, Medhâtithi's name is placed before that of Bhogarâga. As in enumerating their predecessors the commentators usually adhere to the natural order, and place the oldest name first, it is very probable that Kullûka means to indicate that Medhâtithi preceded Bhogarâga. If, as again is most likely, the latter is identical with the royal polyhistor who reigned at Dhârâ during the first half of the eleventh century A. D., it follows that Medhâtithi cannot have written later than in the tenth century. With respect to the remoter limit for the composition of the Bhâshya, I have formerly stated⁴ that Medhâtithi quotes Kumârila and Saṅkarâçârya, the great authorities on Mīmāṃsâ and Vedânta. The former is mentioned by name in the remarks on Manu I, 3, and by his usual title Bhattachapâdâh,

¹ Colebrooke, Mit. I, 7, 13.

² See Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc. vol. ix, pp. 134-138, and West and Bühler, Digest of Hindu Law, pp. 15-17, third edition.

³ यो निषेपमित्रादिह्योक्तचतुष्टयस्य चेदृश एव पाठकस्यो मेधातिथिभोजरादि-
भिर्निश्चितः ॥ See also Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 8.

⁴ West and Bühler, Digest, p. v, first edition.

'the venerable Bhaṭṭa,' in the commentary on Manu II, 18¹. As regards Saṅkarācārya, I find that Medhātithi's acquaintance with his writings is by no means as certain as I formerly thought. For in the passage where my own copy, a transcript of a *Puna* MS., makes Medhātithi quote the *Sârirakabhâshya*, the older and better MSS. of the India Office read *Sâriraka*, which probably implies a reference to the *Sâriraka-sûtras*². Under these circumstances it is no longer possible to assert that the *Bhâshya* is later than the works of the great Vedântist, who wrote in the beginning of the ninth century A. D. We have now only the quotations from Kumârila to fall back upon, whose date is much less certain. We know that Kumârila preceded Saṅkarācārya³, but the length of time which lies between them has hitherto not been exactly ascertained. Mr. Colebrooke, Dr. Burnell, and Professor Max Müller believe, for various reasons, that he lived in the seventh century or not later than 700 A. D.⁴ Though, as far as his quotations go, Medhātithi might have written earlier than the ninth century A. D., I still feel inclined to adhere to my former opinion. For a closer examination of the *Bhâshya* has revealed some other points which speak in favour of my view. Medhātithi repeatedly quotes the metrical law-books of Yâgñavalkya, Nârada, and Parâsara, as well as the version of the *Kâtaka* Dharma-sûtra, known as the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, and considers all as canonical. None of these works has, however, a claim to a high antiquity; and the *Vishnu-smṛiti*, in particular, which mentions the Greek name of a weekday, cannot be older than the fifth or sixth century A. D.

¹ I, 5, इति कुमारिलपक्षः ॥ II, 18, उक्तं च भट्टपादेः । विरुद्धा च विगीता च दृष्टाया दृष्टकारणे [जाः] । स्मृतिनै शुतिमूला ह्यस्या [स्याद्या] चैवा [वा] संभवश्रुतिः ॥

² Manu XII, 19, ननु च धर्माधर्मयोरिच्छां प्रति नियन्त्रित्वे [त्वं] हेमचर्यं हीयते । तथा दर्शितं शारीरके [v. l. of my MS. शारीरकभाष्ये] यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्येष्टरत्नमयैति । अतो महापरमात्मानौ पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते ॥

³ See Professor Cowell's note to Colebrooke's *Essays*, I, p. 323.

⁴ See Professor Max Müller, *India, what can it teach us?* p. 308, note.

If Medhâtithi, nevertheless, considers it to be an inspired work, revealed by the god Vishṇu, it is only reasonable to assume that a very considerable interval lies between the date of its composition and his own times. This is so much more probable, as the Vishṇu-smṛiti was probably written in Kasmîr, which, as will be shown presently, was also Medhâtithi's home. A more definite result with respect to Medhâtithi's date is, I fear, at present not obtainable. His references to other works, such as a Vākyapradîpa by one—rimisra¹, an Abhidhânakosha², Piṅgala's treatise on metrics³, a work of the ancient writer on Sâmkhya, Vindhyavâsin, and so forth, are, in the present state of our knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature, not particularly useful. The Bhâshya furnishes, however, two interesting details regarding Medhâtithi's personal history. First, we hear that he wrote a metrical treatise on the sacred law, called Smṛitiviveka. Secondly, it appears that the valley of Kasmîr, which has produced so many Indian men of letters, was his native country. The Smṛitiviveka is mentioned repeatedly in the Bhâshya as a comprehensive work in which difficult legal questions were fully discussed⁴. As regards the other point, there is no direct statement in the Bhâshya which mentions Medhâtithi's birthplace. But the author refers so frequently to Kasmîr, its laws, its Vedic Sâkhâ, and even to its language, that the inference that it was his native country becomes unavoidable. Thus in explaining the word svarâshṭre, 'in his own kingdom' (Manu VII, 32), and the term ganapada, 'country or province' (Manu VIII, 41), he introduces the

¹ Manu XII, 118, प्रमाणांतरमप्येकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव ग्राहिणः प्रत्यक्षस्य-
रिमिश्रेः कृत एव क्लेशः। उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे। न तदस्ति च तस्मात्स्वीत्यादि ॥
Professor Kielhorn informs me that the verse does not occur in Hari's Vākyapa-
dîya, which sometimes is called Vākyapradîpa.

² Manu IX, 185-6; the words quoted are, दायादं धनमिच्छते ॥

³ Manu IX, 42, यथोक्तं पिङ्गलेन। अत्रासिद्धिं [इ] गाथेति ॥ Piṅgala
VIII, 1; see Weber, Indische Studien, VIII, 147.

⁴ See e.g. comm. on II, 6, निपुणतश्चैव तन्निर्णीतमस्माभिः स्मृतिविषेके। and
ibidem, तदेतन्नेतदतोस्माभिरुक्तम्। विस्तरस्तु स्मृतिविषेके द्रष्टव्यः ॥

name of Kasmîr as an illustration¹. Again, in giving examples of royal monopolies in the remarks on Manu VIII, 399, he states correctly that the sale of saffron is a prerogative of the king of Kasmîr. Further, he repeatedly refers to the Kâthaka Sâkhâ of the Black Yagur-veda, which for a long time has been confined to Kasmîr alone; and, when trying to prove in the notes on Manu I, 58, that the Mânava Dharmasâstra may be called Manu's, though it was first taught by Hiranyagarbha, he adduces as an analogous instance the Kâthaka, which, though studied and taught by many others, is named after Kâtha. Such an illustration would hardly occur to anybody but a student of the Kâthaka Sâkhâ. Still more decisive, finally, is his remark in the commentary on Manu IV, 59, where he says that the rainbow is called in Kasmîr *vinakhâyâ*².

As regards the history of the text of Medhâtithi's commentary, Mr. Colebrooke states in the preface to the Digest, p. xv (Madras edition), that 'the Bhâshya' having been partly lost, has been completed by other hands at the court of Madanapâla, a prince of Dîgh. This assertion probably rests on the authority of a stanza in the Sârdûla-vikrîḍita measure, found in a number of copies at the end of a good many chapters, which says that 'the Bhâshya being mutilated, prince Madanapâla, the son of Sahâraṇa, brought a MS. from another country and made a *gîrnod-dhâra*, or restoration of the ruin, by causing copies to be taken from that'³. Considering the wording of the verse,

¹ VII, 22, *पितृपितामहादिक्कमागतो देशो व्यपदेशहेतुः । काश्मीरकस्य कश्मीराः पंचालानां पंचालाः ॥* VIII, 41, *कुरुकाशिकाश्मीरादिदेशनियमावधिर्जनपदः ॥*

² *इन्द्रायुषं शरधनुर्विनच्छायेति या कश्मीरेषु कथ्यते ॥* I must note that Professor Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 6, offers a different opinion, and takes Medhâtithi to be a southerner. His reasons—the termination *svâmin* in the name of Medhâtithi's father's name, *Vīrasvâmin*, and the attention paid by the ancient southern authors to the Bhâshya—do not seem to me sufficiently strong. For, as the Kasmirian name *Kshîrasvâmin* and scores of *Svâmins* in the northern inscriptions show, the title was, at least, formerly not confined to the south. Further, the intercourse between Kasmîr and southern India in the time of Bilhana and of Harshadeva accounts for the introduction of a Kasmirian work to the notice of the southern *Pandits*.

³ Professor Jolly states, Tagore Lectures, p. 7, that he has found the verse,

I can only agree with Professor Jolly (loc. cit.) that Madanapāla did not cause portions of the Bhāṣhya to be recomposed, but merely completed the defective MS. of his library from a copy purchased in some other part of India. The place where this *gṛnoddhāra* was made, was Kāshī/hā, near Delhi. For as the verse says that Madana was the son of Sahāraṇa, it is not doubtful that this person is identical with Madana or Madanapāla, the patron of Visvesvarabhaṭṭa, who wrote the Subodhinī on the Mitāksharā and the Prayoga- or Madanapārigāta. Visvesvara gives, in the introduction to the latter work, a portion of his patron's genealogy¹, and states that Madana belonged to the family of the chiefs of Kāshī/hā, and was the second son of one Sādhāraṇa. It is easy to see that in the verse quoted above the Prakritic form Sahāraṇa has been used instead of Sādhāraṇa for metrical reasons. This Madana has been identified by Mr. Colebrooke with the homonymous author of the Madanavinoda, which is dated in Vikramasamvat 1431 or 1375 A.D., and Mr. Sarvādhikāri² confirms this identification, by telling us that the Madanavinoda contains the same pedigree of Madana as the Pārigāta. Hence 'the restoration' of the Bhāṣhya must have occurred about five hundred years ago.

more or less correctly given, in seven old MSS. from various parts of India. In my opinion it should be read as follows: मान्या कापि मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या मेधातिथेः सा लुप्तेव विधिवशात्क्वचिदपि प्राप्यानयत्युस्तकम्। खोणीन्द्रो मदनः सहारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतं जीर्णोद्धारमचीकरोत्त इतस्तत्पुस्तकेर्लक्षिते ॥ I differ from Professor Jolly at the end of the second pāda, where he reads with a Benares MS. प्राप्यं न यत्युस्तकम्, and at the end of the third pāda, where he changes the reading of the MSS. आहृते or आहृतो to आहृतेः.

¹ Aufrecht, Cat. Sansk. MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 274.

² Tagore Lectures of 1880, p. 389. Mr. Sarvādhikāri wishes to read the date brahma (1) gāgāt (3) yuga (4) indu (1), (Māgha sudi 6, Monday,) as 1231. He thinks that yuga may also denote the figure 2, and that the reading Vikramasamvat 1231 is necessary, because the Pārigāta is quoted by Kāṇḍavara, who wrote in the thirteenth century. He is, however, mistaken, as the astronomical calculation shows that Māgha sudi 6 of Vikramasamvat 1431 did fall on a Monday (Jan. 8, 1375), while the same day in V. S. 1231 was a Thursday. The Pārigāta quoted by Kāṇḍavara must, therefore, be some other work on law. The title is a not uncommon one.

It would, however, seem that it either was not thorough, or that its effects were not lasting. For all the copies of Medhâtithi's commentary which I have seen or used are throughout more or less corrupt, and in some parts, especially in chapters VIII and IX, as well as at the end of chapter XII, in a desperate condition. The latter portion is in great confusion, some pieces being missing, and others being given twice over. In chapters VIII and IX many verses are left out, though it is evident from cross-references, or from remarks made by Kullûka, that they must have been explained by Medhâtithi. In the parts of the commentary still extant, the corruptions are often very bad, and the sense frequently doubtful or only to be made out conjecturally. Under these circumstances I believe that it would be unwise to attach too much weight to the omission of verses with respect to which the Bhâshya stands alone. Before we can attempt to come to a decision regarding the exact state of the Manu-smṛiti in Medhâtithi's times, we require, I think, better MSS. of his work. The officers in charge of the search for Sanskrit MSS. in India could render a very great service to the history of the Indian law, if they would direct their efforts to the acquisition of really good MSS. of the Bhâshya, and if thus a competent scholar were enabled to publish a trustworthy edition. The MSS. used for the notes to my translation are, my own apograph of chapters I-VI and X-XII, made in 1864 from a Puna MS., and the copies of the India Office Library, Nos. 934-935, 1407-1409, 1414, 1551-1552. All of them go back to one codex archetypus, derived from Madana's restored copy, and the best is that contained in the Indian Office Library, Nos. 1551-1552, which is dated Samvat 1648, mârgasīrsha sudi 3, somavāsare, or Monday, November 18, 1591 A.D.¹

Next, after the Manubhâshya, but probably at a considerable interval, follows the Manuśikā of Govindarâga,

¹ For this and some other calculations of dates I have to thank Dr. Schram, Privat-Docent of astronomical chronology in the University of Vienna.

the son of *Bhaṭṭa Mādhava*. The exact date of this author is likewise not ascertainable. He is extremely reticent about himself and his predecessors, and quotes, with the exception of *Smṛitis*, not a single work on law except his own *Smṛiti-maṅgarī* or *Smṛiti-maṅgarīpāṅgikā*, a compilation of rules on penances¹, derived from various *Dharmaśāstras*. The remoter limit of his age can, however, be deduced from Kullūka's remarks on *Manu VIII*, 184, whence it appears that *Govindarāga* was later than *Bhoga* of *Dhârâ* (first half of the eleventh century). The lower limit is fixed by the mention of his name in *Gimûtavāhana's* *Dâyabhāga*² and in *Sûlapāni's* work on penances³. I can only agree with Professor Jolly, who thinks that he lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century⁴. The termination of *Govindarāga's* name has induced several scholars (see Jolly, loc. cit.) to assume that he was a prince, and it has been proposed to identify him with a *Govindakāṇḍa* of *Benares* or with a homonymous king of *Kānōg*. But the son of a *Bhaṭṭa* can only be a *Brāhmaṇa*, and it must not be forgotten that *Govindarāga* is the equivalent of *Govindrāo*, a name very common among the *Marāṭhā Brāhmaṇas*.

The *Manuśikā* is a very concise, but by no means obscure⁵

¹ Commentary on *Manu III*, 247 and 248; see also Kullūka on *Manu IV*, 212. A copy of this work, written at *Vasurāvi* in *Samvat* 1467, *ārvina badi* -- *sanau*, during the reign of *Mahārāna Udayasimha*, is preserved in the India Office Library, No. 1736. Colebrooke thought that the date had to be referred to the *Vikrama* era, and the editors of the series of facsimiles issued by the Palaeographical Society, No. III, have followed him. But it is not doubtful that the prince mentioned in the colophon is *Mahārāna Udayasimha* of *Mevād*, who ascended the throne in 1541 A. D. Hence the date of the MS. refers to the *Saka* era, and corresponds to 1545 A. D. The *Smṛiti-maṅgarī* contains no quotations from other law-books than *Smṛitis*. The name of *Govindarāga's* father, *Bhaṭṭa Mādhava*, occurs frequently in the colophons of the several sections.

² Colebrooke, *Dây*. XI, 2, 31, where *Govinda's* name is also placed after *Bhogarāga's*.

³ Aufrecht, Cat. Sansk. MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 283^a.

⁴ Jolly, *Tagore Lectures*, p. 9.

⁵ 'Obscure' is the epithet applied to it by Sir W. Jones, Pref. to the trans. of *Manu*, p. xvii. (St. Grady). This estimate is probably derived from Kullūka's utterance in the concluding verses of his commentary, स्तोके वस्तु निगूढं मत्स्यवचनाज्ञो विन्दराजो जगौ. It is only what might be expected from a plagiarist who bitterly hated the man whose work he wished to supersede.

verbal paraphrase of Manu's text. In the main it is an abstract of Medhâtithi's Bhâshya from which Govinda has appropriated whatever seemed to him most valuable. He has discarded the greater number of his predecessor's optional explanations, as well as his lengthy controversial disquisitions on difficult points of law, while he has greatly condensed others. He has added explanations of those words on which Medhâtithi does not comment, and he sometimes also puts forward opinions, not traceable in the earlier work, which may be either his own or derived from sources inaccessible to us. But in such cases he is occasionally unlucky, and arrives at results which his successor Kullûka ridicules, not without reason. Thus in his remarks on Manu III, 50, where the text says that a man who restricts conjugal intercourse to a minimum, is equal in chastity to a student 'in whichever order he may live,' Govinda takes the last words in too literal a sense and enunciates the, for a Hindu, monstrous doctrine that Manu intends to permit ascetics, whose children have all died, to return to conjugal life and to repair the loss which they have suffered. Some other strange errors have been pointed out by Professor Jolly in his Tagore Lectures, p. 9, note 1. These occasional eccentricities do not, however, seriously diminish the usefulness of the *Manuśikā*. It remains not only the earliest, but the best complete explanation of Manu's text. It frequently assists the student to find his way through the tangled forest of the Bhâshya, and it contains many valuable interpretations of words left unexplained by Medhâtithi. The MS. used for the notes is the unique copy, acquired by myself for the Government of Bombay (Deccan College Library, Coll. of 1879-1880, No. 239). It is in a very fair condition, and contains the whole text and the commentary, excepting that on IX, 71-336. It was written at Stambhatirtha or Cambay, probably about 250-300 years ago.

The chronological position of the next commentary on our list, Sarvagña-Nârâyana's Manvarthavivṛiti or Manvarthanibandha, is fixed, as Professor Jolly has first pointed out, by a passage in the introduction to Râghavânanda's

commentary¹. The latter author says there that 'he has taken cognisance of (the opinions) approved by Kullôka and Nârâyana, and of those entertained in their hearts by Govinda and Medhâtithi.' As it is evident that in the second group the later author has been placed first, the assumption that the same order has been observed with respect to the first pair, and that Râghavânanda, applying the principle of *uttarottaragariyastva*, i. e. naming the more important persons later, intends the whole series to be read backwards², is not unreasonable. In its favour speaks also the fact that Nârâyana quotes Govindarâga on Manu VIII, 123. In order to fix the date when Nârâyana wrote, we have to rely chiefly on some quotations. His opinions on law are first quoted by Kamalâkara, who wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century³. But a Nâmanidhâna by Nârâyana Sarvagña is mentioned by Râyamukûta in his commentary on the Amarakosha, which was composed in 1431 A.D.⁴ The only MS. of the Manvarthavivṛiti⁵ hitherto found (Deccan College Collection of 1879-1880, No. 238) bears at the end of Adhyâya VIII, the date Sam. 1544 kaitra badi 9 ravau, which corresponds to Sunday, March 27, 1497 A.D. Hence it follows that Nârâyana cannot have written later than in the last half of the fourteenth century. Possibly he may be somewhat older.

The Manvarthavivṛiti is not a running commentary which explains every word of the text. It confines itself to the elucidation of selected difficult passages and words. It was written with the avowed intention of undoing the work of the author's predecessors. At the end of chapters

¹ Jolly, Tagore Lectures, p. 11; the passage has been printed in Dr. Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126.

² This manner of enumerating a series of persons or of arguments is also found occasionally in older Sanskrit works; see e.g. Vasishṭha XIII, 58.

³ Aufrecht, Catalogue Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 279.

⁴ See Professor Aufrecht's Analysis in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxviii, p. 114.

⁵ This MS., which has been used for the notes to the translation, is a very fair copy, containing the commentary alone. Fols. 1-8 have been half eaten by rats. Fols. 192-3 have been lost.

I, VI, and VIII we find a verse, apparently belonging to Nârâyana, which says, 'This commentary of the Manu-smṛiti, composed by the illustrious Nârâyana Sarvagña, thrusts far away the exposition given in contemptible compilations ¹.' Again, at the end of chapter IV we read, 'Direct your attention to the good words of Nârâyana Sarvagña, which propound the real meaning of Manu and repel the exposition given in contemptible compilations ².' As might be expected from these utterances, Nârâyana shows a great anxiety to find explanations differing from those of Medhâtithi and Govinda. Sometimes he attains this aim by returning to views which Medhâtithi mentions and rejects; but more frequently his explanations have been either taken from commentaries inaccessible to us, or represent opinions formed by him independently. All his peculiar interpretations deserve careful attention. In many cases they are decidedly preferable to those of the other commentators, and have therefore been not rarely followed in the translation. Nârâyana seems to have been not only deeply versed in the sacred law, but to have possessed also a knowledge of various other Sâstras. As we learn from his commentary on Manu V, 56, 80, 104, XI, 72, he also wrote two other works on Dharma, a Kâmadhenudîpikâ and a Suddhidîpikâ. His Kosha has been mentioned above. Commentaries of his on parts of the Mahâbhârata, e. g. on the Udyogaparvan, on the Svargârohanaparvan ³, and on the Sanatsugâtîya, are still extant ⁴.

¹ श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञकृता वृत्तिः मनुस्मृतेः । कुनिबन्धकृतव्याख्यानमियं दूरे निरस्यति ॥ Thus at the end of chapter I; in the other two passages the MS. has the faulty form निरस्यते.

² व्याहृतमनुतात्पर्यप्रतिहतकुनिबन्धदर्शितव्याख्याम् । नारायणस्य सूक्तिं सर्वज्ञस्यानुसंधत्त ॥ Three other boastful verses occur at the end, 1. of chapter III, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञवृत्तिसंदर्शितानयाः । मनुस्मृतिगिराचार्ये [१] मधिगच्छत सूरयः ॥ 2. of chapter V, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञनिर्मितां वीक्ष्य भारतीम् । धर्मस्य निर्णयं ब्रूत पदवाक्यसुनिश्चितम् ॥ 3. of chapter IX, श्रीनारायणसर्वज्ञोक्तं मन्वरेणिवन्धनम् । वीक्ष्य धर्मे त्वरा ब्रूत वे[दि]त्य सर्वे कृते [ता] कृतम् ॥

³ Weber, Berlin Catalogue, Nos. 304, 399; Aufrecht. Catalogue, Bodl. Libr. p. 2.

⁴ Telang, Sacred Books of the East, vol. viii, p. 148.

The fourth work on our list, the well-known Manvarthamuktâvali of Kullûkabhaṭṭa, the son of Divâkarabhaṭṭa, was considered until lately the most trustworthy guide for the exposition of Manu. In the introductory verses to his commentary Kullûka informs us that he was a Gauda or Bengali by birth, his father residing in Nandana in Varendrî¹, and that he wrote his work at Benares with the assistance of other *Pandîts*. As regards his times, we only know that Nârâyana Sarvagña and another commentator, Dharañidhara², stood between him and Govindarâga, and that Raghunandana, who wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the earliest author who quotes him³. He, therefore, lived probably in the fifteenth century.

The Manvarthamuktâvali is, as Professor Jolly has been the first to recognise⁴, little more than an improved edition of Govindarâga's *Manuśikâ*. In spite of the asperity with which Kullûka repeatedly inveighs against his predecessor, he has not disdained to copy very large portions of the *Manuśikâ*, sometimes verbatim and sometimes in very insufficient extracts, where the omissions make the meaning obscure. Moreover, even where the wording of the two commentaries differs, the influence of Govinda is distinctly visible. Under these circumstances the value of the *Muktâvali* is, since the recovery of the *Manuśikâ*, not very great, though it is undeniable that in certain cases Kullûka's independent remarks or criticisms of the earlier works are useful. Its great fame in India and its frequent occurrence in the libraries of native lawyers in all parts of the Peninsula may be explained by the fact that it was written and approved at Benares, which town has, since remote times, been a most important literary centre and the chief source from which the *Pandîts* draw their supplies of books. For the notes I

¹ In the colophon of chapter XII, the place is called Vârendranandana. The district of Varendra lies between Dinâjpur and the Ganges, Cunningham, Arch. Reports, XV, Plate 1, and p. 40.

² See concluding verses at the end of chapter XII.

³ Aufrecht, loc. cit. p. 292.

⁴ Die Juristischen Abschnitte aus dem Gesetzbuche des Manu, p. 3, des Separatabdrucks; Tagore Lectures, p. 10.

have used no MSS. of the Muktāvali; but two editions, Gībānand's reprint of the earlier Calcutta edition¹ and the Bombay lithographed edition of Sakasamvat 1780. The latter is by far the better one, but leaves, like all other editions which I have seen, much to desire from a critical point of view. There are a good many passages in which the text does not agree with the commentary.

On the Manvarthamuktāvali rests the Manvarthakāndrikā, written by Rāghavānanda Sarasvatī, an ascetic of Saṅkarākārya's school², and a pupil of one Viśvesvarabhagavatpāda. Though the author asserts, as stated above, that he used four older commentaries, he mostly adheres to Kullūka's opinions. It is only rarely that he prefers Nārāyaṇa's interpretations or recurs to views of Govindarāga and Medhātithi, which Kullūka refuted or left unnoticed. His exposition of the philosophical portions of the text is, however, mostly independent, and he interprets them throughout in such a manner as to agree with the Vedānta doctrines of his school. The Kāndrikā is not a running commentary which paraphrases every word of Manu, but gives mostly, besides a short summary of the general meaning, merely remarks on difficult words and passages. It is probably a modern work, dating from the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century³. I have not met with any quotations from it in other law-books. The oldest known MS. is that brought by Anquetil from Gugarāt and deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Devanāgarī 49, fonds d'Anquetil, No. 16). Its date, Samvat 1706 varshe kārttika badi 10 somadine, corresponds, according to Dr. Schram's

¹ The reason why I used this very incorrect text, was that Professor Jolly kindly lent me his copy in which he has entered the various readings of Medh., Gov., Nār., Rāgh., of the Kāsmīr copy and other MSS.

² According to H. H. Wilson, Works, I, pp. 202-3 (ed. Rost), the ascetics, bearing the title Sarasvatī, follow the sampradāya of Saṅkarākārya. See also Aufrecht, Catalogue Sansk. MSS. Bodl. Libr. p. 227.

³ Mr. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' attempt (Lois de Manou, p. xvi) to identify Rāghavānanda with Raghunandana, the bhāṣyakārya of the sixteenth century, is an unlucky guess. It seems to me that the author of the Kāndrikā is identical with the ascetic Rāghavānanda, pupil of Advayānanda, pupil of Viśvesvara, who is mentioned as an author on Sāṃkhya and Vedānta philosophy by Dr. F. E. Hall, Catalogue, pp. 6, 91, &c.

calculation, to Monday, November 29, 1649. Another old MS. of about the same date is mentioned by Dr. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126. For the notes I have used the Paris MS., which was kindly lent to me by the French Government, as far as Manu IX, 187. It contains both the commentary and the text, the former being, however, left out on I, 45-78. For the remaining portion I have consulted a very old, but much damaged copy of the Deccan College Collection of 1882-1883, acquired by Professor Bhândarkar for the Government of Bombay.

The name of the sixth commentary is, according to the MS., the loan of which I owe to the courtesy of Divân Bahâdur Raghunâthrâo of Madras, Manuvyâkhyâna, but according to Dr. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126, Nandinî. Its author calls himself Nandana (Nandanâkârya according to Dr. Burnell), the son of Lakshmana, a member of the Bhâradvâga gotra, and the dear friend of the illustrious Vîramalla¹. In all probability he was a native of Southern India. For his work is, as far as I am aware, known in Southern India alone; its MSS. are met with only in the Madras Presidency, and Professor Jolly (loc. cit., p. 12) has found that many of his peculiar readings agree with those found in Southern MSS. of the Manu-smṛiti. As his name is not quoted in any commentary on Manu or in any work on law, known to me, it would seem that he is either of very modern date or that his opinions were not held in any great esteem. Mr. Raghunâthrâo's MS. is dated Sakasamvat 1724, Mâgha sudi pratipad, or 1803 A.D. The Manuvyâkhyâna is a very short commentary, which mostly repeats and explains only a few words or phrases of the text. It dismisses many verses which stand in need of elucidation with the curt remark *spashṭaḥ*, 'clear,' and

¹ The colophon of chapter XII runs as follows: इति श्रीभारद्वाजगोषेय
श्रीलक्ष्मणभजेन श्रीवीरभट्टप्रियसत्तेन श्रीनन्दनेन विरचिते मनुव्याख्याने
भृगुप्रोक्तायां संहितायां द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥ Vîramalla was probably a prince or
chief, and the mention of his name will eventually aid to ascertain Nandana's
time. A third variety of the latter's name occurs in the Madras edition of Cole-
brooke's Digest, p. xv, note 6, where the editor speaks of a commentary on Manu,
Nandaragkrit (?) by Nandarâga.

passes by others without any note. Though no names are ever quoted, most of the explanations have been taken on purely eclectic principles from the earlier commentaries, among which the first four of our list must certainly be reckoned. The favourite among them is the *Manvartha-vivṛiti*. The notes to the translation show a considerable number of cases where 'Nār. and Nand.' form a separate group, and on important points advocate opinions opposed to those of *Medhātithi*, *Govinda*, and *Kullūka*. But there are also other passages, concerning which *Nandana* agrees either with *Medhātithi* alone, or with 'others,' quoted by *Medhātithi*, with *Kullūka* or even with *Govinda*. Finally, he offers in a certain number of cases expositions not traceable elsewhere, some of which, especially those on the philosophical pieces, deserve attention. The text which *Nandana* follows, differs not inconsiderably from the *vulgata*. It shows, besides very numerous, more or less important *variae lectiones*, some omissions, additions, and transpositions of entire verses. Many of *Nandana*'s various readings are derived from *Medhātithi*, *Nārāyaṇa*, and other older commentators, who either themselves follow them or at least mention their existence. As regards those which *Nandana* alone offers, the majority seem to be either corruptelae or conjectures, and sometimes very unlucky ones¹. The transpositions, which partly occur in passages regarding the order of which the other commentators agree, appear to have sometimes at least no better authority than guesses made by *Nandana*. Thus if he places *Manu* I, 27 after verse 19, and X, 14 after verse 6, and adds in each case that, 'if some read the verses further on, that must be due to an error of the copyists,' I can only see in this remark a

¹ To the first class belongs स्ववासिनी: for सुवासिनी: M. III, 114, the senseless कारणम् for करणम् M. VIII, 154 (not given in the notes), अभ्यङ्गम् for अत्यन्तम् IX, 202, and so forth; to the second, दारकर्मण्यमैषुनी for दारकर्मणि मैषुने M. III, 5, परीक्षकान् for परीक्षितान् M. VII, 54, अलक्षितः for अलंघनः M. VIII, 162, नास्मिकायाः for दाढिकायाः M. VIII, 283 (not given in the notes), यमयोश्चैकगर्भेषु for यमयोश्चैव गर्भेषु M. IX, 126, अननयाम् (loc. sing. of अननारी) for अननर्याम् M. X, 28, and so forth.

confession of his having done violence to the traditional text. The verses which Nandana adds are, I think, all interpolations, some of which perhaps go back to early times, as they occur also in the Southern MSS. and in the Kasmîr copy. With respect to the omissions, Nandana sometimes follows one or several of the other commentators. In other cases he agrees with the Southern MSS. alone, and again in others he stands quite by himself. One of the omissions of the last class, Manu V, 61, is, as has been pointed out in the notes, purely due to an accidental lacuna in the MS. which Nandana used. With respect to numerous other cases it must be noted that the two copies of the Manuvyākhyāna which European scholars have examined, Mr. Raghunāthrao's and Dr. Burnell's (chapters VIII-IX, now in the India Office Library), differ very considerably. Thus in chapter VIII, Dr. Burnell's copy omits, according to Professor Jolly's collation¹, verses 8, 11, 14, 74, 81, 103, 227-228, 231, 332, while Mr. Raghunāthrao's MS. has them all excepting verses 8, 228, and 231, and gives even notes on 11, 14, 81, 103, 227. These differences between the two copies seem to extend also to readings in Manu's text and to explanations. But it is not rarely difficult to give a definite opinion on these points, because Mr. Raghunāthrao's MS. sometimes gives only the Pratikas of the verses, and is often so corrupt that the sense can be made out only by means of conjectural emendations.

Under these circumstances it will not be advisable to attach too much weight to *variae lectiones*, derived from the Manuvyākhyāna, which are not supported by the authority of other commentaries.

The anonymous *Tippāna*, or collection of detached explanatory remarks, in the Kasmîr birch bark MS.² is of very small importance. It looks as if it owed its origin to the marginal notes of some learned *Pandit*, which, later, were copied with the text and placed after the verses to

¹ Compare also Professor Hopkins, Notes on the Nandini, Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, October, 1883, p. xviii, where, however, only verses 8, 11, 74, 81, and 332 are enumerated as missing.

² Deccan College Collection of 1876-1877, No. 355.

which they refer. Professor Jolly¹ has pointed out that in one case it characteristically agrees with Govindarâga; and other instances, e.g. the remarks on Manu I, 52, may be added. There are also some cases (see e.g. the explanation of *âimbha*, Manu V, 91) where the Kasmîr commentary agrees with curious explanations given by Nandana. The text also agrees occasionally with peculiar readings adopted by Nandana or by Nârâyana and Nandana². But I should consider it hazardous to draw from these instances any conclusions regarding the sources of the *Tippana*. The Kasmîr MS., which has been very carefully written and corrected, is mutilated at the end, about one-third of each of the last dozen leaves being torn off. The loss falls on Manu XI, 218–XII, 126.

The above remarks on the materials which I had at my disposal show that, in spite of their undeniable importance, they were insufficient for a radical change in the treatment of Manu's text. As the recension, given by Kullûka, was the only one accessible in its entirety and in tolerably trustworthy copies, I could not do anything else than take that for the basis of my translation. Practical reasons, too, especially the consideration that the Indian public has been accustomed to Kullûka's text, and that the numerous references in the translations of Hindu law-books point to the Manu of Kullûka, made the adoption of this principle highly desirable. I have, therefore, retained every verse which Kullûka explains, though the weight of the authorities might be against its genuineness, and I have refrained from receiving into the text any verse which he omits. In cases of the former kind the names of the dissenting commentators have been given in the notes, where also translations of the best accredited and more important additional verses, given by other commentators, will be found³. I have, moreover,

¹ Tagore Lectures, p. 11.

² See e.g. notes on Manu I, 2; III, 59, 73, 195.

³ I may add that I have paid no attention to those verses which the medieval Nibandhas on law quote as Manu's, but which are not traceable in the recension approved of by the commentators. These verses are in my opinion all spurious. In most cases we have simply to deal with misquotations caused by the careless-

adhered to Kullûka's order of the verses, except in some cases where he is evidently in the wrong, and the transposition causes no great inconvenience. On the other hand, I have tried to remove the numerous palpable blunders in the readings of the editions, which are mostly due, not to Kullûka himself, but to the editors of his text. The notes show what has been changed, and on whose authority it has been done. I have, finally, added a selection of the more important various readings given in the other commentaries.

With respect to the translation, my proceeding has been somewhat different. Though I should have liked to follow in the text Kullûka's commentary alone, and to give the renderings of the other commentators in the notes, I found that to be impracticable. The bulk of my volume would have become enormous, and in very many passages I should have been compelled to declare the rendering placed in the text to be utterly erroneous. In order to escape these difficulties I have generally, except in very doubtful passages, translated in accordance with that exposition which seemed to me most reasonable, and have placed some of the other particularly noteworthy explanations in the notes. In a certain number of verses where the real meaning of the text is very doubtful, I have not gone beyond a literal rendering of Manu's words, which, like the original, may be interpreted in different ways. In such cases the notes exhibit all the various interpretations found in the commentaries. In a very small number of verses the explanations of the commentators have been set aside altogether for reasons duly stated in the notes. The length of my notes varies very much, according to the interest or difficulty of the subject treated in the text. Thus the summary of the opinions of the commentators on the practically important titles of the Hindu law, Manu IX, 1-219, is as complete as the state of the MSS. allowed me to make it. Almost all the explanations of the difficult philosophical portions of chapters I and XII have likewise

ness of the Nibandhakâras, who are as little to be depended upon for accuracy as Indian writers on other scientific subjects or as the European medieval writers on classical philology. They quoted mostly, if not invariably, from memory.

been given. But the extracts from the commentaries on the easier sections referring to the duties of students, householders, Snâtakas, and so forth, have been made very short, as for the right understanding of the greater part of their verses little more is wanted than the parallel passages of the other ancient Smṛitis. Among the latter, those translated in vols. ii, vii, and xiv of this series have been quoted everywhere. If Nârada has been excluded, the reason is that the new translation, which Professor Jolly will soon publish according to recently discovered materials, would have made the references useless. The quotations from Manu, which occur in the translated Nibandhas on Hindu law, have been collected, for the convenience of practical lawyers, in the Appendix. As regards the relation of my version to those of earlier translators, it will be evident to everybody how much I am indebted to Sir William Jones' great work, which, in spite of the progress made by Sanskrit philology during the last hundred years, still possesses a very high value. I have also to acknowledge my obligation to the German translation of chapter VIII and of vv. 1-102 of chapter IX by Professor Jolly, which is based on the materials used by myself. If no reference has been made to the translation lately published by Drs. Burnell and Hopkins, the reason is that the printing of mine was complete some time before its appearance.

In conclusion, I must express my thanks to several colleagues, especially to Professors Jolly and Kielhorn, for assistance rendered in various ways, as well as to Dr. R. Rost, Chief Librarian at the India Office; to K. M. Chatfield, Esq., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; to the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France; and to Divân Bahâdur Raghunâth Râo of Mylapur, Madras, for liberal loans of MSS.

LAWS OF MANU.

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CHAPTER I.

1. THE great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows :

2. 'Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (*varṇa*) and of the intermediate ones.

3. 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport, (i. e.) the rites, and the knowledge of the soul, (taught) in this whole ordinance of the Self-existent (*Svayambhū*), which is unknowable and unfathomable.'

I. 1. Kull. thinks that *pratipūgya*, 'having worshipped,' may also mean 'after mutual salutations,' and he connects, against the opinion of the other commentators, 'duly' with 'spoke.' Gov., Nār., Rāgh., and K., as well as various MSS. (Loiseleur I, p. 313; Bikaner Cat. p. 419), begin the *Samhitā* with the following verse, omitted by Medh., Kull., and Nand.: 'Having adored the self-existent Brahman, possessing immeasurable power, I will declare the various eternal laws which Manu promulgated.'

2. After this verse Nand. inserts four lines, the first and last of which are also found in K.: (a) 'The origin of the whole multitude of created beings, of those born from the womb, of those born from eggs, of those produced from exudations and from germinating seeds, and their destruction;' (b) 'The settled rule of all customs and rites deign to describe at large, according to their times and fitness.'

3. 'The ordinance of the Self-existent,' i. e. 'the Veda' (Kull., Nār., and Rāgh.), or 'the Veda or the prescriptive rules (*vidhi*)

4. He, whose power is measureless, being thus asked by the high-minded great sages, duly honoured them, and answered, 'Listen !'

5. This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

contained in it' (Medh.), or 'the institutes' (Gov.). *Añintya*, 'unknowable,' i.e. 'the extent of which is unknowable' (Kull. and Râgh.), or 'unknowable on account of its depth' (Gov.), or 'the meaning of which cannot be known by reasoning' (Nâr.), or 'not perceptible by the senses' (Medh.), or 'difficult to understand' (Nand.). *Aprameya*, 'unfathomable,' i.e. 'not to be understood without the help of the *Mîmāṃsā* and other methods of reasoning' (Kull.), or 'unfathomable on account of its extent' (Gov., Nand.), or 'unfathomable on account of its extent, or not directly knowable but to be inferred as the foundation of the *Smṛiti*' (Medh.), or 'difficult to understand' (Râgh.). Kull. and Râgh. explain *kārya-tattvārtha* by 'the purport, i.e. the rites, and the nature of the soul;' Medh., Gov., and Nand. by 'the true purport, i.e. the rites.' Nand. takes *sarvasya*, 'whole,' as depending on 'ordinance,' and in the sense of 'prescribed for all created beings.'

In the commentary on verse 11 Medh. gives still another explanation of this verse, according to which it has to be translated as follows: 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the nature and the object of the products employed in the creation of this universe, which is unthinkable on account of its greatness, and unknowable.' This version belongs to 'other' commentators, who explain Manu's whole account of the creation purely on *Sāṃkhya* principles.

5. The account of the creation given in verses 5-13 bears, as Dr. Muir remarks (Sanskrit Texts, IV, p. 26), some resemblance to that contained in some passages of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, especially XI, 1, 6, 1 seqq., and is probably founded on some Vedic work, 'with an intermixture of more modern doctrines.' In explanation of the wording of verse 5, Medh. and Kull. point to passages like Rv. X, 129, 3, and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* II, 8, 9, 4. *Sāyana*, too, quotes the verse in his commentary on the latter passage.

The commentators Medh. and Gov. explain the fact that Manu, being asked to expound the law, gives an account of the creation,

6. Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhū, himself) indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness.

by the supposition that it is intended to show what a great scope the work has, and how necessary its study is, as the production of the various created beings depends on merit and demerit. Kull., on the other hand, tries to prove that the account of the creation, which belongs to the knowledge of the supreme soul, is part of the sacred law, and hence properly finds its place here. All the commentators, with the exception of Rāgh., explain *tamaḥ*, 'darkness,' by *mūlaprakṛtiḥ*, 'the root-evolvent' of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, and *tamobhūtam*, 'in the shape of darkness,' by 'absorbed in the root-evolvent.' Rāgh., who throughout explains Manu's sayings in the sense of the Vedānta school, takes it for an equivalent of *avidyā*, 'ignorance.' The explanation of the four adjectives, which express in different terms the impossibility of knowing the *mūlaprakṛti*, differs very much in the six commentaries. The most reasonable appears to be Kullūka's view, who assumes that the four words refer to the impossibility of attaining a knowledge of the *prakṛti* by the three means mentioned below, XII, 105, and 'by reasoning' (*tarka*). He paraphrases *apragñāta*, 'unperceived,' by 'imperceptible by the senses;' *alakṣhaṇa*, 'destitute of marks,' by 'uninferrible;' *avigñeya*, 'unknowable,' by 'undefinable by words or authoritative statement.'

6. The above translation follows Gov., Nār., and Kull. The other three commentators take *mahābhūtādivṛttauḡāḥ* as a relative compound. On this supposition the translation would run as follows: 'Then the divine Self-existent, (himself) undiscernible, (but) making this (universe) discernible, appeared,—he whose (creative) power works in the great elements and the rest, and who dispels the darkness.'

'Then,' i. e. at the end of the period of destruction. *Avyaktaḥ*, '(himself) undiscernible,' i. e. 'not to be known except by Yogins' (Medh.), or 'not perceptible by the external senses' (Gov., Kull., Nār.), or 'not to be known except through the texts of the Upanishads' (Rāgh.), or 'difficult to know' (Nand.). Medh. would prefer to read *avyaktam*, 'this indiscernible (universe).' 'The great elements and the rest,' i. e. 'the other principles, the great one and so forth'

7. He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will).

(Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Nand.), or 'egoism' (Râgh.). 'Appeared,' i.e. 'assumed a body of his own free will, not in consequence of his karman, his acts in a former existence' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'became discernible' (vyakta), (Nâr.), or 'became ready to create' (kâryonmukha), (Râgh.). Gov. explains *vṛitauḡâḥ*, 'with irresistible power,' by 'who obtained power' (*prâptam balam yena*). Kull. explains *tamonudaḥ*, 'dispelling the darkness (i. e. of destruction),' by 'giving an impulse to the root-evolvent,' and Râgh. takes it in a similar way.

The commentators whose opinion Medh. adduces under verse 11, explained this verse also as a description of the self-evolution which the *prakṛiti* performs according to the *Sâmkhyas*. They took *svayambhûḥ*, 'the self-existent,' in the sense of 'which modifies itself of its own accord;' *bhagavân*, 'divine,' in the sense of 'which is powerful enough to perform its business' (*svavyâpâra īśvaraḥ*). The other words presented, of course, no great difficulties.

7. 'By the two pronouns *yo 'sau*, "he who," he indicates the supreme soul, known in the whole world, in the Vedas, *Purâṇas*, *Itihâsas*, and so forth' (Kull. in accordance with Medh.). The latter proposes, besides the explanation of *atîndriyagrâhyaḥ*, 'who can be perceived by the internal organ (or the mind alone),' which Gov., Kull., and Nand. adopt, another one, 'who, being beyond the cognisance of the senses, can be perceived by Yoga-knowledge alone.' Nâr. and Râgh., too, differ from the interpretation given above. 'Subtile,' i.e. 'who is beyond all distinctions, such as small and great' (Medh.), or 'who is unperceivable by the external senses' (Kull.), or 'who is perceivable by subtile understanding only' (Gov.), or 'who is without limbs or parts' (Râgh.). Nand. points to the common epithet of the supreme soul, 'smaller than small' (*Kâṭh. Up. II, 20; Bhagavadgîtâ VIII, 9*). *Avyaktaḥ*, 'indiscernible,' is taken by Kull. to mean 'destitute of limbs or parts.' *Sarvabhûta-mayaḥ*, 'who contains all created beings,' means, according to Medh., either 'that he conceives the idea of creating all beings,' or 'that, in accordance with the Advaita Vedânta, all beings are illusory modifications of him.' The latter view seems to be the one adopted by all the other commentators. 'Shone forth,' i.e. either 'assumed

8. He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them.

9. That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun ; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.

10. The waters are called *nârâh*, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara ; as they were his first residence (ayana), he thence is named *Nârâyana*.

a visible body' or 'was self-luminous' (Medh.), 'assumed a body' (Gov.), 'appeared in the form of the evolutes, the great one, and so forth' (Kull.), 'became discernible' (Nand.).

8. Besides the passages quoted under verse 5, compare also the Paurâṇik story of the mundane egg, Wilson, *Vishṇu-purâṇa* I, pp. 39-40 (ed. Hall). 'He' is according to Medh. and Râgh. 'Hiraṇyagarbha,' according to the other commentators, 'the supreme soul.' Medh. refers to Rig-veda X, 121, 1. According to Medh. (verse 11) those who understood the whole passage to refer to the unintelligent prakṛti, explained abhidhyâya, 'with a thought,' to mean 'independently of all external action, just as a man performs an act merely by a thought.' They also asserted that the waters were produced as the first element only, but not before the great one and the other principles. Kull., on the other hand, sees in the expressions, used in this verse, the proof that Manu was an adherent of the non-dualistic Vedânta.

9. Medh., Kull., and Râghava take the epithet 'golden' figuratively, and consider it to be intended to convey the idea of purity or, as Râgh. also proposes, of brilliancy. Instead of 'he himself was born as Brahman (masc.),' the translation may also be 'Brahmâ himself was born.' Medh. gives both explanations. The other commentators adopt that given in the text. The being produced is, according to all except Râgh., Hiraṇyagarbha. Râgh., as a strict Vedântin, thinks that it is Virâḥ. All the commentators point out that pitâmaha, 'the progenitor,' lit. the grandfather, is a common name of Brahman (masc.).

10. This punning explanation of Brahman's name *Nârâyana* occurs in most of the Purâṇas, see Wilson, *Vishṇu-purâṇa* I, p. 56 (ed. Hall). Both Medh. and Gov. seem to have read âpo *nârâh*,

11. From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, was produced that male (Purusha), who is famed in this world (under the appellation of) Brahman.

12. The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves;

13. And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.

14. From himself (âtmanaḥ) he also drew forth the mind, which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism, which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and is) lordly;

15. Moreover, the great one, the soul, and all

‘the waters are called narâḥ.’ Nara is another name of the supreme soul.

11. All our commentators except Râgh., whose explanation is wide off the mark, understand by the ‘(First) cause’ the supreme soul. Sadasadâtma, ‘who is both real and unreal,’ means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. ‘who is existent or real, because he can be known through the Veda and Vedânta, but non-existent or unreal, as it were, because he cannot be perceived by the senses.’ Nand.’s explanation, ‘who is both the real, the efficient cause and the unreal the products, matter and the rest,’ seems, however, preferable. He says, *sad iti kâraṇam asad iti prakṛtyâdi kâryam*. Regarding the ancient Vedic term Purusha, ‘the male’ or ‘spirit,’ see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, V, pp. 367–377.

12. Kull. explains the term ‘a year’ by ‘a year of Brahman.’ But Medh. and Gov., who say that a human year is meant, are in accordance with *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* XI, 1, 6, 2.

13. The number ‘eight’ is obtained by adding to the four cardinal points, ‘the intermediate ones,’ north-east, south-east, &c.

14–15. The commentators offer two entirely different explanations of these two difficult verses. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. they describe the production of the Tattvas, the

(products) affected by the three qualities, and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation.

principles of the Sâmkhya system, the first three of which, Mahat, Ahankâra, and Manas, have been placed in an inverted order. Though Manu clearly states (verse 14) that the creator drew the Manas (which they take to mean the internal organ) from the âtman (i. e. according to Medh. and Gov. 'from the Pradhâna,' which is his own shape [tatpradhânâd âtmanaḥ svasvarûpât, Medh.], or according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'from the Paramâtmân,' the supreme soul, or according to another explanation of Râgh. 'from himself' [svasmât | gîvasyâ bhogârtham vâ]), that he drew the Ahankâra, egoism, from the Manas, and that he afterwards created the mahântam âtmânâman, 'the great one, the soul;' (i. e. according to Medh. the Mahat which is called the soul because like the soul it is found in all bodies, or according to Kull. the Mahat which is called the soul because it is produced from the soul or is useful to the soul), yet they think that it must be understood that the Mahat was produced first, from it the Ahankâra, and from the latter the Manas. The next term sarvâṇi trigunâṇi, 'all the products modified by the three qualities,' they refer to all products or evolutes named and to be named hereafter. They are thus obliged to disregard the ka, 'and,' at the end of verse 15 a, and Râgh. states distinctly that ka indicates there a stress to be laid on the preceding word (kakâro 'vadhâraṇârthaḥ'). Finally, Gov., Kull., and Râgh. are of opinion that the third ka, 'and,' at the end of verse 15 b indicates that the organs of action and the subtle elements have to be added in accordance with the doctrine of the Sâmkhya, while Medh. holds that the subtle elements alone have to be understood.

Nand. and, to judge from the fragments of his commentary, Nâr. also give a far different explanation. According to them the first created Manas is another name for the principle usually called Mahat. In proof of this assertion Nand. adduces a passage from a Purâṇa, which Medh. quotes on verse 74, where Manas is given as a synonym of Mahat (see also Cowell, Sarvadarsana-saṃgraha, p. 222, note 1). They farther take mahântam âtmânâman, 'the great one, the soul,' to denote the Manas or internal organ ([mahântam] ka mano nâma tattvam âtmânâman âtmano gîvasyâ-vakṣedakatvâd vyapadesaḥ, Râgh.). By the expression sarvâṇi trigunâṇi Nand. seems to understand the subtle elements (tanmâtra),

16. But, joining minute particles even of those six, which possess measureless power, with particles of himself, he created all beings.

and he too believes that the particle *ka* at the end of verse 15 *b* shows that the organs of action have to be understood. The object of the two verses is, according to Nand., not to give an account of the actual order of creation, but to show that the material cause of all created beings consists of portions of the creator's body, of the Mahat, Ahaṁkāra, the Manas, the Tanmātras, and the organs of sensation and action which belong to him; (anena slokadva-yenaitad uktam bhavati | ātmīyānām mahadahāṁkāramanastan-mātragñānakarmendriyānām amsāḥ sarvabhūtopādānam iti ||) It would seem that Nand. and Nār.'s view, as regards the explanation of Manas (verse 14), is correct, but it may be doubted whether, with respect to the terms in verse 15, mahān ātmā and sarvāṇi trigunāni, they have been equally lucky. The explanation of the first four commentators seems altogether inadmissible. In conclusion, it may be stated that Nand. gives also the most acceptable explanation of the epithet of the Manas, sadasadātmakam, which, he says, means 'partaking of the nature of an evolvent and of an evolute' (prakṛtīvikṛtyātmakam), and of īśvaram, 'lordly,' 'which causes all actions to be done' (sarva-karmapravartakam).

16. The translation follows Nand., Rāgh., and Vigñānabhikṣhu (Sāṁkhyasāra, p. 19, ed. Hall), who agree that the verse derives the subtle or rudimentary bodies of individual beings from the subtle body of the creator, and the individual souls from his soul. They explain ātmamātrāsu by aparikkṣinnasyaikaśyātmana upādhiḥ avayavatpratīyamāneṣu ātmasu (Rāgh.), svagīvāmeṣu (Nand.), and svāmsakētanēṣu (Vigñ.). But they differ with respect to the meaning of 'the particles of those six.' 'Those six' are, according to Rāgh. and Vigñ., 'the six senses,' i.e. the five organs of sensation and the mind (which by implication indicate the whole subtle body, Vigñ.); according to Nand., the six classes of tattvas, which he believes to be mentioned in the preceding two verses, viz. (1) the great one, (2) egoism, (3) mind, (4) the subtle or rudimentary elements, (5, 6) the organs of sensation and action.

Medh., Gov., and Kull., on the other hand, take the verse as follows: 'Joining minute particles of those six (i.e. of egoism and of the five subtle elements) which possess immeasurable power to particles of the same (i.e. of evolutes from the same six [Gov., Kull.], i.e. of the gross elements produced from the Tanmātras and the organs

17. Because those six (kinds of) minute particles, which form the (creator's) frame, enter (â-sri) these (creatures), therefore the wise call his frame sarîra, (the body.)

produced from egoism [Medh.]), he framed all beings.' It would seem that Nand.'s explanation comes nearest to the truth, though, as stated above, his manner of showing that six principles or classes of principles are mentioned in the preceding verses is not altogether satisfactory. But, at all events, he has seen that the expression 'those six' must refer to the enumeration in the preceding two verses.

17. The translation again follows Nand., with whom Nâr. seems to have agreed. He says, 'Because six (kinds of) particles of his frame, i.e. the six before-mentioned portions of the body of Brahman, the Mahat, and the rest, enter, i.e. pervade these—all the creatures mentioned in the preceding verse are referred to—on account of that entering (srayanât), they call the body of that, i.e. of Brahman, sarîra. The meaning is as follows: The body of Hiranyagarbha is called sarîra, because it enters (srayati) all beings by means of its portions, being (their) material cause; but it is not destroyed (siryate) like a common body.' Nand. thinks, therefore, that the punning explanation of the word sarîra from *śad' âsri*, or *sri*, is given in order to show that the other etymology, which derives it from *śrî*, 'to destroy,' is not applicable to the body of Brahman.

Medh., Gov., and Kull. take the verse very differently. They agree in supposing that the body is called sarîra, because the six elements mentioned enter into or produce the gross elements and the organs. Medh. reads *tânîmani* for *tasyemâni*, and according to his interpretation the translation would be, 'Because the six (kinds of) minute particles producing the body enter into (being their cause) or produce these (i.e. because egoism, the before-mentioned organs and the subtle elements enter the gross elements which will be mentioned hereafter), therefore the wise call the body, which is the visible shape of that (Pradhâna), sarîra.' Kull., who reads *tasya*, differs from this version only therein that he refers *tasya* to Brahman. Râgh. finally gives, in accordance with his explanation of 'those six,' the following version, 'Because the six (kinds of) fine particles constituting the subtle frame of that (Hiranyagarbha, i.e. the mind and the rest) enter these (gross bodies as their place of enjoyment), therefore the wise call the visible frame of that (i.e. of the individual soul) the sarîra.' He agrees, therefore, with Medh., Gov., and Kull. so far that he, too, refers the verse to the gross bodies.

18. That the great elements enter, together with their functions and the mind, through its minute parts the framer of all beings, the imperishable one.

18. The commentators give five different versions of this verse : (1) Medh., 'That (i.e. the Pradhâna is) the producer of all beings and imperishable, because these, (viz.) the gross elements with their functions (and before them) the mind with its minute particles (i.e. the subtle elements, intelligence, egoism, and the organs), enter it.' (2) Gov. and Kull., 'From that (i.e. the Brahman, which has the form of the subtle elements and of egoism) are produced the gross elements, together with their functions and the mind, which is the producer of all beings through its minute (i.e. imperceptible) portions (i.e. its products, good and bad thoughts, pleasure and pain, and so forth, the world being produced by the good and evil actions originating in the mind) and imperishable.' (3) Râgh., 'That (i.e. the gross body) the gross elements enter (as producers [or produce]) and the mind, which is the producer of all beings and imperishable, together with the actions (i.e. merit and so forth) and with the (organs which are chiefly) limbs.' (4) Nand., '(As) that (body of Hiranyagarbha), though through its small portions it produces all beings, yet is imperishable, (even thus) the great beings (egoism, mind, the trigunâs, the organs of sensation and action) and the mind (i.e. the principle, called the great one), with the actions (i.e. the individual souls) enter it.' (5) Nâr.'s explanation is mutilated, but seems to have been as follows, 'That (i.e. the subtle body) the gross elements (which produce the gross body) enter, together with the karman (i.e. merit and demerit) and the mind, (which is) the producer of all beings and imperishable, together with (its functions, knowledge, desire, hatred, &c., which are, as it were, its) minute portions.'

It seems to me that not one of the above explanations can be accepted in its entirety. I agree with Nâr. in thinking that the word 'that' refers to the subtle body and that the verse describes the origin of the gross body as the result of the union of the great, i.e. the gross elements and of the manas with the subtle body. If the mahânti bhûtâni are the gross elements, it will, however, be necessary to understand by karmabhiḥ, 'their functions,' which, as Medh. and Kull. mention, are 'the function of supporting for the earth, of ripening or cooking for fire and so forth.' By manas I understand here the internal organ which forms the con-

19. But from minute body(-framing) particles of these seven very powerful Purushas springs this (world), the perishable from the imperishable.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

necting link between the gross senses or the gross body and the individual soul, and thus may be said to frame or fashion all beings. As its nature is atomic, it is necessary to connect *avayavaîḥ sūkshmaîḥ* with *sarvabhūtaḥ* and to take *avayava* either in the manner proposed by Kull., or to assume that the several mind-atoms are referred to, which belong each to a different individual.

19. With respect to the explanation of the expression 'the seven Purushas,' the commentators differ as much as regarding 'the six' in ver. 16. Medh., Gov., and Kull. add 'the great one' or the Mahat to their previous enumeration, 'egoism and the five subtle elements,' while Nâr. and Nand. add the 'portions of the Âtman' (ver. 16) to those elements which they understand to be comprised by 'the six.' That is, probably, the meaning of Râgh. also, who says, *purushânâm manaâdipurushântânâm saptânâm*, 'of the Purushas, i. e. of those seven, the first of which is the mind, and the last of which is the Purusha.' All the commentators agree that the term Purusha, 'male or spirit,' is applied to the principles in a metaphorical sense, but they give various reasons for the fact, 'because they are for the sake of the soul,' *purusha* (Medh.), or 'because they were produced by the Purusha, the Âtman' (Kull.). Nâr. understands 'and' with *avyayât* and says, 'and from the imperishable, i. e. from *Prakṛti*.' 'The perishable' designates, of course, 'the gross bodies.'

20. This verse expresses the doctrine that the first element ether (*âkâra*) possesses one quality, sound, alone; the next, wind two, sound and tangibility; the third, fire or light, three and so forth; see also *Sâmkhyasâra*, p. 18. Nand. places ver. 27 before this verse, and asserts that 'if some read the latter seven verses further on, that is only due to an error of the copyists.' Though vers. 20 and 27 are without any connexion with what precedes and follows, I do not think it advisable to adopt Nand.'s proposal, which I fear is based on nothing but a clever guess, against the authority of all the other commentators. If it were permissible to transpose the

21. But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda.

22. He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtile class of the Sâdhya, and the eternal sacrifice.

23. But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the threefold eternal Veda, called *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman*, for the due performance of the sacrifice.

24. Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground,

25. Austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence.

verses, I would propose to insert here ver. 27 and to place this verse (20) after ver. 78.

22. The commentators differ very much regarding the explanation of this verse. Medh. proposes, 'And the Lord created (for the sake) of men who are intent on performing sacrificial rites (the multitude) of the gods, the subtile class of the Sâdhya and the eternal sacrifice.' 'Others' mentioned by him, Gov. and Kull., insert another 'and' between *karmâtmanâm* and *prâñinâm*, and explain, 'The Lord created the multitude of the gods whose nature is the sacrifice and of those endowed with life.' By the 'gods whose nature is the sacrifice' they understand the inanimate implements, used at sacrifices, but frequently addressed in the Veda as divine beings, while the gods endowed with life are said to be Indra, and so forth. Râgh., with whom Nâr. seems to have agreed, says, 'And the Lord created among beings endowed with life the to us invisible multitude of the gods, who by the results of their actions have obtained their divine station, or who subsist on offerings.' None of these speculations is of much use. But it may be that *karman* means 'sacrificial rites,' and *karmâtmanâm* may be translated by 'whose nature is the sacrifice,' or 'whose divinity depends on the performance of sacrifices.' Regarding the Sâdhya, see Wilson, *Vishnu-purâna* II, p. 22 (ed. Hall).

26. Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the pairs (of opposites), such as pain and pleasure.

27. But with the minute perishable particles of the five (elements) which have been mentioned, this whole (world) is framed in due order.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

30. As at the change of the seasons each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks, even so corporeal beings (resume in new births) their (appointed) course of action.

31. But for the sake of the prosperity of the

26. Other pairs of opposites are desire and anger, passionate attachment and hatred, hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, and so forth (Kull.).

27. 'The minute perishable particles of the five (elements)' are according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. the subtle or rudimentary elements which may be called 'perishable,' because they are changed to gross elements. Râgh. explains the epithet 'perishable' by adding 'because they have been produced.' The commentators offer various explanations in order to account for the insertion of this verse which interrupts the continuity of the text. Medh. thinks that it is a résumé. Gov. and Kull. state that it is meant to remove the doubt, whether Brahman's mental creation was effected without the help of the 'principles,' and Nâr. asserts that it is meant to teach that atoms are not eternal. Nand., as stated above, note on ver. 20, places the verse immediately after ver. 19.

31. Nâr. explains lokavivṛiddhyartham, 'for the sake of the

worlds, he caused the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sūdra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.

32. Dividing his own body, the Lord became half male and half female; with that (female) he produced Virāḡ.

33. But know me, O most holy among the twice-born, to be the creator of this whole (world), whom that male, Virāḡ, himself produced, having performed austerities.

34. Then I, desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and (thereby) called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings,

35. Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prakētas, Vasishṭha, Bhṛīgu, and Nārada.

36. They created seven other Manus possessing great brilliancy, gods and classes of gods and great sages of measureless power,

prosperity of the worlds,' by *varṇair lokarakṣaṇasamvardhanārtham*, 'in order to protect the world by means of the castes and to make it prosperous.' Medh., Gov., and Kull., who interpret the compound by 'in order that (the inhabitants of) the worlds might multiply,' point to the benefits conferred by sacrifices of householders, III, 76. Nand. says with reference to the bearing of the verse, 'Now he speaks of the creation of the deities representing the four castes.' Regarding the origin of the castes, see Rig-veda X, 90, 12.

32-33. 'Produced,' i. e. 'begat' (Medh., Kull.), Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, p. 104, note 2 (ed. Hall).

34-35. Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, p. 100, note 2 (ed. Hall).

36. 'Manus,' i. e. 'creators in the several Manvantaras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). 'Gods,' i. e. 'such gods as had not been created by Brahman' (verse 22, Medh., Kull.); *devanikāyān*, 'classes of gods' (Nand., Nār.), means according to Medh., Kull., and Rāgh. 'the abodes of the gods' (*devasthānāni*). Rāgh. gives also the meaning 'the servants of the gods.'



37. Yakshas (the servants of Kubera, the demons called) Rākshasas and Pisākas, Gandharvas (or musicians of the gods), Apsarases (the dancers of the gods), Asuras, (the snake-deities called) Nāgas and Sarpas, (the bird-deities called) Suparnas and the several classes of the manes,

38. Lightnings, thunderbolts and clouds, imperfect (rohita) and perfect rainbows, falling meteors, supernatural noises, comets, and heavenly lights of many kinds,

39. (Horse-faced) Kinnaras, monkeys, fishes, birds of many kinds, cattle, deer, men, and carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth,

40. Small and large worms and beetles, moths, lice, flies, bugs, all stinging and biting insects and the several kinds of immovable things.

41. Thus was this whole (creation), both the immovable and the movable, produced by those high-minded ones by means of austerities and at my command, (each being) according to (the results of) its actions.

42. But whatever act is stated (to belong) to (each of) those creatures here below, that I will truly declare to you, as well as their order in respect to birth.

43. Cattle, deer, carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth, Rākshasas, Pisākas, and men are born from the womb.

44. From eggs are born birds, snakes, crocodiles,

37. The several classes of manes are enumerated below, III, 194-199.

38. Rohita is said to be an imperfect rainbow which appears to be straight, known according to Gov. by the name *sastrotpāta*.

fishes, tortoises, as well as similar terrestrial and aquatic (animals).

45. From hot moisture spring stinging and biting insects, lice, flies, bugs, and all other (creatures) of that kind which are produced by heat.

46. All plants, propagated by seed or by slips, grow from shoots; annual plants (are those) which, bearing many flowers and fruits, perish after the ripening of their fruit;

47. (Those trees) which bear fruit without flowers are called vanaspati (lords of the forest); but those which bear both flowers and fruit are called *vr̥ksha*.

48. But the various plants with many stalks, growing from one or several roots, the different kinds of grasses, the climbing plants and the creepers spring all from seed or from slips.

49. These (plants) which are surrounded by multi-form Darkness, the result of their acts (in former existences), possess internal consciousness and experience pleasure and pain.

50. The (various) conditions in this always terrible and constantly changing circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to

46. I read, with Medh., Gov., Nand., and Kull, *taravaḥ* instead of the *sthāvarāḥ* of the editions, and translate it, as required by the context, by 'plants.'

47. My translation of *ubhayataḥ*, 'both,' is based on Gov.'s comment '*vr̥kshāḥ punaḥ pushpaphalenobhayaṇāpi yuktā bhavanti*,' with which Nār. and Nand. agree. The latter, however, proposes to read '*ubhayathā*.'

49. 'Multiform Darkness,' see below, XII, 42.

50. *Bhūta*, 'created beings,' means according to Gov. and Kull. *kshetragṇā*, 'embodied souls.' According to Gov. and Nār. *nityam*, 'always,' must be construed with *ghore*, 'terrible.' Nār., however, considers *nitye*, 'in this eternal,' to be a better reading, which Nand. also gives.

begin with (that of) Brahman, and to end with (that of) these (just mentioned immovable creatures).

51. When he whose power is incomprehensible, had thus produced the universe and me, he disappeared in himself, repeatedly suppressing one period by means of the other.

52. When that divine one wakes, then this world stirs; when he slumbers tranquilly, then the universe sinks to sleep.

53. But when he reposes in calm sleep, the corporeal beings whose nature is action, desist from their actions and mind becomes inert.

54. When they are absorbed all at once in that great soul, then he who is the soul of all beings sweetly slumbers, free from all care and occupation.

55. When this (soul) has entered darkness, it remains for a long time united with the organs (of

51. 'Disappeared in himself,' i.e. 'he divested himself of the body which he had assumed at his own will' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'One period by means of the other,' i.e. 'the period of creation by means of the period of destruction' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

52. Instead of the figurative *nimilati*, 'closes the eyes, sinks to sleep,' Gov. and K., read *praliyate*, 'is absorbed.'

53. *Sarīrināḥ*, 'corporeal beings,' means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. 'embodied souls.' *Karmâtmânāḥ*, 'whose nature is action,' i.e. who are endowed with actions (Nand., Nâr.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. 'who in consequence of their actions became incorporate.'

54. According to Gov. and Kull., this verse describes the *mahâ-pralaya*, the great or total destruction at the end of a *kalpa*, while the preceding referred to the *antarâlapralaya*, the intermediate or incomplete destruction. Medh. explains 'he who is the soul of all beings' by the *Sâmkhya* term *Pradhâna*, 'the chief cause or Nature,' while Gov. and Kull. refer this expression as well as *mahâtman* 'to the supreme soul or supreme lord' of the *Vedânta*.

55-56. The commentators offer three different explanations of these two verses. Medh., Gov., and Kull., whom the translation

sensation), but performs not its functions; it then leaves the corporeal frame.

56. When, being clothed with minute particles (only), it enters into vegetable or animal seed, it then assumes, united (with the fine body), a (new) corporeal frame.

57. Thus he, the imperishable one, by (alternately) waking and slumbering, incessantly revivifies and destroys this whole movable and immovable (creation).

given above follows, think that ayam, 'this (soul),' refers to the individual soul, and that the two verses incidentally mention what happens to it on the death of the individual in which it resides. First, they say, it enters darkness, i.e. knowledge (*gñāna*) ceases, and, though for some time the soul's connection with the organs continues, it does not perform its functions of breathing, and so forth. Next it leaves the old body. It then is enveloped by the elementary body, consisting of the *puryash/aka*, the eight constituents, i.e. the rudimentary elements (*bhûta*) and organs (*indriya*), mind (*manas*), intelligence (*buddhi*), memory of past actions (*vâsanâ*), merit or demerit (*karman*), the vital airs (*vâyu*), and *avidyâ*. In this condition it enters the seed of some plant or the embryo of some animal and then assumes a new gross body. Nâr., on the other hand, considers that the first verse gives a description of the fate of the individual soul during a swoon (*mûrkhâ*), and the second alone refers to its migration after death. Under this supposition verse 56 must be translated as follows: 'Being of atomic size (the soul) enters vegetable or animal seed and, united (with the rudimental body), leaves its (former) corporeal frame.' Nand. finally understands by ayam, 'this (soul),' the creator (*bhagavân*), and thinks that the first verse describes his behaviour during the time of destruction, while the second refers to a new creation. He says, 'When he has entered darkness,' i.e. the root-evolvent or nature, 'and has remained there for a long time,' i.e. as long as the period of destruction lasts, 'then, endowed with organs, he assumes a visible shape,' i.e. he appears in the shape of the creation. His note on verse 56, where he reads *samsrîsh/au* for *samsrîsh/ah*, is too short to make it intelligible how he gets over the difficulties opposed to his interpretation.

58. But he having composed these Institutes (of the sacred law), himself taught them, according to the rule, to me alone in the beginning; next I (taught them) to Marîki and the other sages.

59. Bhrigu, here, will fully recite to you these Institutes; for that sage learned the whole in its entirety from me.

60. Then that great sage Bhrigu, being thus addressed by Manu, spoke, pleased in his heart, to all the sages, 'Listen!'

61. Six other high-minded, very powerful Manus, who belong to the race of this Manu, the descendant of the Self-existent (Svayambhû), and who have severally produced created beings,

62. (Are) Svâroḥisha, Auttami, Tâmasa, Raivata, Kâkshusha, possessing great lustre, and the son of Vivasvat.

63. These seven very glorious Manus, the first among whom is Svâyambhuva, produced and protected this whole movable and immovable (creation), each during the period (allotted to him).

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinklings of the eye, are one kâshthâ), thirty kâshthâs one kalâ, thirty kalâs one muhûrta, and as many (muhûrtas) one day and night.

58. 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'with the subsidiary ceremonies enjoined in the Sâstra' (Kull.), or 'with due attention, carefully' (Medh., Gov.).

61. 'Who belong to the race of this Manu Svâyambhuva,' i.e. 'who were born in the same race or family, for they were all immediately created by Brahman and thus belong to one race' (Medh.).

64. As tâvataḥ, 'as many,' stands in the accusative, Medh., Gov., and Kull. understand vidyât 'one should know to be.' But Nâr. is probably right in assuming a vibhaktivatyaya, i.e. that the author used the accusative because the nominative did not suit the metre.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; their division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world, yuga) according to their order.

69. They declare that the *Kṛita* age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years) which thus have been just mentioned as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods.

72. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of

Nand., who merely substitutes 'tāvantaḥ' for 'tavataḥ,' seems to have held the same opinion.

66. Thus the moon regulates time for the manes.

69-71. Wilson, *Vishṇu-purāṇa* I, pp. 49-50 (ed. Hall).

73. According to the commentators the word *punya*, 'holy,' is

Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

74. At the end of that day and night he who was asleep, awakes and, after awaking, creates mind, which is both real and unreal.

75. Mind, impelled by (Brahman's) desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself, thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light, which illuminates and dispels

used in order to indicate that the knowledge of the duration of Brahman's day is 'meritorious.'

74. Two explanations of the second half of the verse are offered by the commentators. It may mean either that Brahman on awaking from his sleep first creates the great principle (mahat), which here, as elsewhere, is called *manas*, 'mind,' or that he appoints (*sṛigati*) his own internal organ or mind (*manas*), which at an intermediate destruction (*avântara* or *antarâlapralaya*) remains in existence, to create the world. Medh. and Kull. give both explanations, and prefer the former. Gov. gives the second alone, while Nâr. and Nand. adhere to the first. The latter takes *manas* as denoting the three principles, the great one, egoism, and mind, and explains *sadasadâtmakam*, 'which is both real and unreal,' as in verse 14, by *prakṛtīvīkṛtīyâtmakam*, 'being both an evolvent and an evolute.'

75. 'Thence,' i.e. 'from mind changed to egoism,' Nâr. (similarly Kull.), or 'from Brahman.'

76. As the *Sâmkhya* doctrine (*Sâmkhyakârikâ*, ver. 25) makes all the rudimentary elements proceed from egoism, Medh. takes the first words of the verse to mean, 'But from egoism which modifies itself, wind springs next after ether.' He, of course, adopts the same trick of interpretation in the following three verses.

darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, possessing the quality of taste, from water earth which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

79. The before-mentioned age of the gods, (or) twelve thousand (of their years), being multiplied by seventy-one, (constitutes what) is here named the period of a Manu (Manvantara).

80. The Manvantaras, the creations and destructions (of the world, are) numberless; sporting, as it were, Brahman repeats this again and again.

81. In the *Kṛita* age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains (*âgama*), Dharma is deprived successively of

78. 'In the beginning,' i.e. 'after a total destruction' (*mahâ-pralaya*), (Kull.); 'after an intermediate destruction' (Gov., *Nâr.*); 'before the creation of the mundane egg' (Nand.).

81. The reason why Dharma, 'justice or law,' is said to be *ṛatushpât* is explained, as Kull. points out, by Manu VIII, 16. Regarding the ulterior signification of the myth which represents Dharma as a four-footed animal, the following opinions are advanced: 1. The four feet represent the four principal priests at the sacrifice (Medh.); 2. or the four chief castes (Medh., Nand.); 3. or the four chief means of gaining merit, austerities, knowledge, sacrifices, and liberality, see below, verse 86 (Medh., Kull., *Nâr.*, K.); 4. or finally the four kinds of speech, mentioned *Rig-veda* I, 164, 45 (Medh.). All the commentators agree in stating that Truth, though comprised in the Dharma, is mentioned specially in order to show its paramount importance. Nand. reads the last words *nâdharma nâgamaḥ kaskin*, &c., and explains, 'Neither any demerit nor any sacred lore, *Sâstra*, approached men, i. e. no Institutes of the law were necessary.'

82. Medh. explains the first half-verse differently, 'In the other three ages, Dharma, the sacred law, (which is derived) from the

one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the *Kṛita* age, but in the *Tretâ* and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the *Veda*, the desired results of sacrificial rites and the (super-natural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the *Kṛita* age, different ones in the *Tretâ* and in the

sacred lore (*âgama*), i.e. the *Veda*, is made to withdraw one foot after the other, one foot in each age, i.e. disappears (gradually) because the power of men to learn and to remember the sacred texts diminishes.' Gov. says, 'But in the *Tretâ* and the other ages, *Dharma*, the sacred law, (derived) from the sacred lore (*âgama*), the *Sâstra*, i.e. the performance of sacrifices and so forth, is made to withdraw, i.e. is diminished successively by one quarter in each age, through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud.' Nand. finally differs still more, 'In the other three ages, i.e. the *Tretâ* and the rest, *Dharma*, (virtue or justice is determined) by means of the sacred lore (*âgama*),' the *Sâstra*, but this *Dharma* is lessened by one quarter in each; 'lessening the *Dharma*' is intended to convey the meaning of 'lessening the determination of the *Dharma*.' The translation follows Kull., Nâr., and Râgh.

83. In order to reconcile this statement regarding the age of men in the *Kṛita* age with various passages of the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*, which attribute to certain heroes and sages lives of many thousand years, the commentators explain our passage as meaning that four hundred years were the natural term of life, which, however, might be lengthened through the performance of austerities. They further assert that in the passage *Kâṭhaka* 34, 5, which names one hundred years as the term of human existence, the numeral is used in the sense of 'many.'

Dvâpara, and (again) another (set) in the Kali, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the *Kṛita* age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the *Tretâ* (divine) knowledge, in the *Dvâpara* (the performance of) sacrifices, in the Kali liberality alone.

87. But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet.

88. To *Brâhmaṇas* he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

89. The *Kshatriya* he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures ;

90. The *Vaisya* to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

91. One occupation only the lord prescribed to the *Sûdra*, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

92. Man is stated to be purer above the navel (than below) ; hence the Self-existent (*Svayambhû*) has declared the purest (part) of him (to be) his mouth.

93. As the *Brâhmaṇa* sprang from (Brahman's)

87. See above, verse 31.

88-91. See below, X, 75-79, 99.

89. I read with Medh., Râgh., and K. *samâdisat*, 'he commanded,' for *samâsatah*, 'briefly.' Nand. reads *akalpayat*.

92. See below, V, 132.

93. *Dharmatah prabhuh*, 'by right the lord,' agrees with Nâr.'s and Nand.'s glosses. Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. say, 'he is with

mouth, as he was the first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation.

94. For the Self-existent (Svayambhū), having performed austerities, produced him first from his own mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the gods and manes and that this universe might be preserved.

95. What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes the offerings to the dead?

96. Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brāhmanas;

97. Of Brāhmanas, those learned (in the Veda); of the learned, those who recognise (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties); of those who possess this knowledge, those who perform them; of the performers, those who know the Brahman.

98. The very birth of a Brāhmaṇa is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to (fulfil) the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman.

respect to the law the lord, i.e. entitled to prescribe their duties to this whole creation.'

94. Tapas taptvā, 'having performed austerities,' is added, as Nand. says, in order to show 'particularly great consideration' (tapas taptvety âdarâtisayaḥ). See above, verses 33, 34, 41.

97. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. explain *kr̥itabuddhayaḥ*, 'who recognise (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties),' by 'who know the meaning of the Veda.' 'Those who know the Brahman,' i.e. 'the sacred lore which leads to final emancipation.'

99. A Brâhmana, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law.

100. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brâhmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brâhmana is, indeed, entitled to it all.

✓ 101. The Brâhmana eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brâhmana.

102. In order to clearly settle his duties and those of the other (castes) according to their order, wise Manu sprung from the Self-existent, composed these Institutes (of the sacred law).

✓ 103. A learned Brâhmana must carefully study them, and he must duly instruct his pupils in them, but nobody else (shall do it).

✓ 104. A Brâhmana who studies these Institutes (and) faithfully fulfils the duties (prescribed therein), is never tainted by sins, arising from thoughts, words, or deeds.

✓ 105. He sanctifies any company (which he may enter), seven ancestors and seven descendants, and he alone deserves (to possess) this whole earth.

106. (To study) this (work) is the best means of securing welfare, it increases understanding, it procures fame and long life, it (leads to) supreme bliss.

100. 'On account of the excellence of his origin,' i.e. because he sprang from Brahman's mouth.

103. The verse is not intended to exclude Kshatriyas and Vairyas from the right of studying the Manusamhitâ, but merely from teaching it.

104. *Samsitavratâh*, 'who faithfully fulfils the duties,' is based on Gov.'s full explanation *etadarthâvabodhena samsitavrato visish/a-yamaniyamañ san*, with which Medh. closely agrees.

107. In this (work) the sacred law has been fully stated as well as the good and bad qualities of (human) actions and the immemorial rule of conduct, (to be followed) by all the four castes (*varṇa*).

✓ 108. The rule of conduct is transcendent law, whether it be taught in the revealed texts or in the sacred tradition; hence a twice-born man who possesses regard for himself, should be always careful to (follow) it.

✓ 109. A *Brāhmaṇa* who departs from the rule of conduct, does not reap the fruit of the Veda, but he who duly follows it, will obtain the full reward.

110. The sages who saw that the sacred law is thus grounded on the rule of conduct, have taken good conduct to be the most excellent root of all austerity.

111. The creation of the universe, the rule of the sacraments, the ordinances of studentship, and the respectful behaviour (towards Gurus), the most excellent rule of bathing (on return from the teacher's house),

107. 'The good and bad qualities of (human) actions,' i.e. according to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Nand. 'the good and the bad results of actions,' or according to Rāgh. and Nār. 'the prescribed actions which are good and the forbidden ones which are bad.'

108. My translation of *ātmavân*, 'who possesses regard for himself,' follows Medh. and Kull. Gov. explains it by 'of excellent disposition,' Nār. by 'endowed with firmness,' and Rāgh. by 'who believes in a life after death.'

109. *Vedaphalam*, 'the fruit of the Veda,' i.e. 'the rewards for the acts prescribed by the Veda' (Medh., Gov., Kull., and Nār.).

110. Vas. VI, 1-8. 'The rule of conduct or good conduct' (*âkâra*), mentioned here and in the preceding verses, comprises the numerous usages prescribed partly in the Veda and partly in the *Dharmaśāstras*, such as anointing oneself with butter on the occasion of particular sacrifices or sipping water on certain occasions.

112. (The law of) marriage and the description of the (various) marriage-rites, the regulations for the great sacrifices and the eternal rule of the funeral sacrifices,

113. The description of the modes of (gaining) subsistence and the duties of a Snâtaka, (the rules regarding) lawful and forbidden food, the purification of men and of things,

114. The laws concerning women, (the law) of hermits, (the manner of gaining) final emancipation and (of) renouncing the world, the whole duty of a king and the manner of deciding lawsuits,

115. The rules for the examination of witnesses, the laws concerning husband and wife, the law of (inheritance and) division, (the law concerning) gambling and the removal of (men noxious like) thorns,

116. (The law concerning) the behaviour of Vaisyas and Sûdras, the origin of the mixed castes, the law for all castes in times of distress and the law of penances,

117. The threefold course of transmigrations, the result of (good or bad) actions, (the manner of attaining) supreme bliss and the examination of the good and bad qualities of actions,

118. The primeval laws of countries, of castes (*gâti*), of families, and the rules concerning heretics and companies (of traders and the like)—(all that) Manu has declared in these Institutes.

119. As Manu, in reply to my questions, formerly promulgated these Institutes, even so learn ye also the (whole work) from me.

CHAPTER II.

1. Learn that sacred law which is followed by men learned (in the Veda) and assented to in their hearts by the virtuous, who are ever exempt from hatred and inordinate affection.

2. To act solely from a desire for rewards is not laudable, yet an exemption from that desire is not (to be found) in this (world): for on (that) desire is grounded the study of the Veda and the performance of the actions, prescribed by the Veda.

3. The desire (for rewards), indeed, has its root in the conception that an act can yield them, and in consequence of (that) conception sacrifices are performed; vows and the laws prescribing restraints are all stated to be kept through the idea that they will bear fruit.

4. Not a single act here (below) appears ever to be done by a man free from desire; for whatever (man) does, it is (the result of) the impulse of desire.

5. He who persists in discharging these (prescribed duties) in the right manner, reaches the deathless

II. 2. Âp. I, 6, 20, 1-4. 'Is not laudable,' because such a disposition leads not to final liberation, but to new births' (Gov., Kull.).

3. Nand. takes the beginning of the verse differently, 'The desire for rewards is the root of the resolve to perform an act' (*saṃkalpa*). 'Vows,' i.e. 'acts to be performed during one's whole lifetime, like those of the *Snâtaka*' (chap. IV), Medh., Gov., Nâr.; 'the vows of a student,' Nand.; 'the laws prescribing restraints,' i.e. 'the prohibitive rules, e.g. those forbidding to injure living beings,' Medh., Gov., Nâr.; 'the rules affecting hermits and *Saṃnyâsins*,' Nand. Kull. refers both terms to the rules in chap. IV.

5. 'In the right manner,' i.e. 'as they are prescribed in the Vedas and without expecting rewards.' 'The deathless state,' i.e. 'final liberation.'

state and even in this (life) obtains (the fulfilment of) all the desires that he may have conceived.

6. The whole Veda is the (first) source of the sacred law, next the tradition and the virtuous conduct of those who know the (Veda further), also the customs of holy men, and (finally) self-satisfaction.

7. Whatever law has been ordained for any (person) by Manu, that has been fully declared in the Veda : for that (sage was) omniscient.

8. But a learned man after fully scrutinising all this with the eye of knowledge, should, in accordance with the authority of the revealed texts, be intent on (the performance of) his duties.

6. Âp. I, 1, 1, 1-3; Gaut. I, 1-4; XXVIII, 48; Vas. I, 4-6; Baudh. I, 1, 1, 1-6; Yâgñ. I, 7.

Sîla, 'virtuous conduct,' i.e. 'the suppression of inordinate affection and hatred,' Medh., Gov.; 'the thirteenfold sîla, behaving as becomes a Brâhmana, devotedness to gods and parents, kindness,' &c., Kull.; 'that towards which many men who know the Veda naturally incline,' Nâr.; 'that which makes one honoured by good men,' Nand. 'Customs,' e.g. such as tying at marriages a thread round the wrist of the bride (Medh., Gov.), wearing a blanket or a garment of bark (Kull.). Though the commentators try to find a difference between sîla and âkâra, it may be that both terms are used here, because in some Dharma-sûtras, e.g. Gaut. I, 2, the former and in some the latter (e.g. Vas. I, 5) is mentioned. The 'self-satisfaction,' i.e. of the virtuous (Medh., Gov., Nand.), is the rule for cases not to be settled by any of the other authorities (Nâr., Nand.), or for cases where an option is permitted (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

7. The last clause is taken differently by Gov., who explains it, 'for that (Veda) is made up, as it were, of all knowledge.' Medh. gives substantially the same explanation.

8. 'All this,' i.e. 'the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull.); 'these Institutes of Manu' (Nâr.); 'these different authorities' (Nand.). 'With the eye of knowledge,' i.e. 'with the help of grammar, of the Mîmâṃsâ, &c.' (Medh., Kull.).

9. For that man who obeys the law prescribed in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition, gains fame in this (world) and after death unsurpassable bliss.

10. But by *Sruti* (revelation) is meant the *Veda*, and by *Smṛiti* (tradition) the Institutes of the sacred law: those two must not be called into question in any matter, since from those two the sacred law shone forth.

11. Every twice-born man, who, relying on the Institutes of dialectics, treats with contempt those two sources (of the law), must be cast out by the virtuous, as an atheist and a scorner of the *Veda*.

12. The *Veda*, the sacred tradition, the customs of virtuous men, and one's own pleasure, they declare to be visibly the fourfold means of defining the sacred law.

13. The knowledge of the sacred law is prescribed for those who are not given to the acquisition of wealth and to the gratification of their desires; to those who seek the knowledge of the sacred law the supreme authority is the revelation (*Sruti*).

14. But when two sacred texts (*Sruti*) are con-

11. 'Relying on the Institutes of dialectics,' i.e. 'relying on the atheistic institutes of reasoning, such as those of the Bauddhas and *Kārvākas*' (Medh.); 'relying on methods of reasoning, directed against the *Veda*' (Kull., Nār.).

12. The first half of this verse agrees literally with *Yāgñ. I, 7*.

13. According to 'another' commentator, quoted by Medh., and according to Gov., Kull., and Nār., the meaning of the first half is, 'the exhortation to learn the sacred law applies to those only who do not pursue worldly objects, because those who obey (or learn, Nār.) the sacred law merely in order to gain worldly advantages, such as wealth, fame, &c., derive no spiritual advantage from it (because they will not really obey it,' Nār.). Medh., on the other hand, thinks that *vidhiyate*, 'is prescribed,' means 'is found with.'

flicting, both are held to be law; for both are pronounced by the wise (to be) valid law.

15. (Thus) the (Agnihotra) sacrifice may be (optionally) performed, at any time after the sun has risen, before he has risen, or when neither sun nor stars are visible; that (is declared) by Vedic texts.

16. Know that he for whom (the performance of) the ceremonies beginning with the rite of impregnation (Garbhâdhâna) and ending with the funeral rite (Antyeshî) is prescribed, while sacred formulas are being recited, is entitled (to study) these Institutes, but no other man whatsoever.

17. That land, created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Driśadvati, the (sages) call Brahmâvarta.

18. The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief) castes (varṇa) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men.

19. The plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pañcâlas, and Sûrasenakas, these (form), indeed, the country of the Brahmarshis (Brâhmanical sages, which ranks) immediately after Brahmâvarta.

15. The Agnihotra, here referred to, consists of two sets of oblations, one of which is offered in the morning and the other in the evening. The expression samayâdhyushite, rendered in accordance with Kull.'s gloss, 'when neither sun nor stars are visible,' is explained by Medh. as 'the time of dawn' (ushasâ kâlâ), or 'as the time when the night disappears,' with which latter interpretation Gov. agrees.

16. The persons meant are the males of the three Âryan varṇas. The sacraments may be performed for women and Sûdras also, but without the recitation of mantras (II, 66; X, 127).

19. This tract comprises the Doab from the neighbourhood of Delhi as far as Mathurâ, the capital of the ancient Sûrasenakas.

20. From a Brāhmaṇa, born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages.

21. That (country) which (lies) between the Himavat and the Vindhya (mountains) to the east of Prayāga and to the west of Vinasana (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears) is called Madhyadesa (the central region).

22. But (the tract) between those two mountains (just mentioned), which (extends) as far as the eastern and the western oceans, the wise call Āryāvarta (the country of the Āryans).

23. That land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the country of the Mlekkhas (barbarians).

24. Let twice-born men seek to dwell in those (above-mentioned countries); but a Sūdra, distressed for subsistence, may reside anywhere.

25. Thus has the origin of the sacred law been succinctly described to you and the origin of this universe; learn (now) the duties of the castes (varṇa).

26. With holy rites, prescribed by the Veda, must the ceremony on conception and other sacraments be performed for twice-born men, which sanctify the body and purify (from sin) in this (life) and after death.

21. The place where the river Sarasvatī disappears lies in the Hissār districts. Prayāga, i.e. Allahābād.

22. Vas. I, 9; Baudh. I, 2, 10.

23. Vas. I, 13-15; Baudh. I, 2, 12-15; Yāgñ. I, 2.

25. Gov. explains dharma, 'the sacred law,' by 'spiritual merit.'

26-35. Gaut. VIII, 14-20; Vi. XXVII, 1-12; Yāgñ. I, 10-13.

26. Medh. mentions another explanation for the first words, 'With holy rites, accompanied by the recitation of Vedic texts,' and Gov. thinks that 'vaidika' is to be taken in both meanings.

27. By burnt oblations during (the mother's) pregnancy, by the *Gâtakarman* (the ceremony after birth), the *Kauda* (tonsure), and the *Mauñgibandhana* (the tying of the sacred girdle of *Muñga* grass) is the taint, derived from both parents, removed from twice-born men.

28. By the study of the Veda, by vows, by burnt oblations, by (the recitation of) sacred texts, by the (acquisition of the) threefold sacred science, by offering (to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes), by (the procreation of) sons, by the great sacrifices, and by (*Srauta*) rites this (human) body is made fit for (union with) Brahman.

29. Before the navel-string is cut, the *Gâtakarman* (birth-rite) must be performed for a male (child); and while sacred formulas are being recited, he must be fed with gold, honey, and butter.

27. 'The burnt oblations during the mother's pregnancy' are the *Pumsavana*, *Sîmantonnayana*, and so forth; see *Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra* I, 13-14.

28. 'By vows,' i.e. 'the vows undertaken by the student when he learns particular portions of the Vedas, such as the *Sâvitrvrata*' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nâr.*); 'voluntary restraints, such as the abstention from honey, meat, &c.' (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*); 'vows such as the *Prâgâpatya* penance' (*Nand.*). 'By burnt oblations,' i.e. 'the daily offerings of fuel' (II, 108). *Traividya*, 'by the acquisition of the threefold sacred science,' i.e. 'by learning the meaning of the three Vedas' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*); 'by undertaking the vow to study the three Vedas during thirty-six years' (III, 1; *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*). *Igyayâ*, 'by offering to the gods, *Rishis*, and manes,' i.e. by performing the so-called *Tarpana* (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'by offering the *Pâkayagñas*' (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* takes *brâhmî*, 'fit for union with Brahman,' to mean 'connected with Brahman,' but gives our version, which all the other commentators adopt, as the opinion of 'others.'

29. *Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra* I, 15, 1; *Mânava Grîhya-sûtra* I, 17, 1; *Pâraskara Grîhya-sûtra* I, 16, 4. Though the text clearly says that the child is to be fed with gold, honey, and butter, it appears from the *Grîhya-sûtras*, as also some of the commentators point out,

30. But let (the father perform or) cause to be performed the Nâmadheya (the rite of naming the child), on the tenth or twelfth (day after birth), or on a lucky lunar day, in a lucky muhûrta, under an auspicious constellation.

31. Let (the first part of) a Brâhmaṇa's name (denote something) auspicious, a Kshatriya's be connected with power, and a Vaisya's with wealth, but a Sûdra's (express something) contemptible.

32. (The second part of) a Brâhmaṇa's (name) shall be (a word) implying happiness, of a Kshatriya's (a word) implying protection, of a Vaisya's (a term) expressive of thriving, and of a Sûdra's (an expression) denoting service.

33. The names of women should be easy to pronounce, not imply anything dreadful, possess a plain meaning, be pleasing and auspicious, end in long vowels, and contain a word of benediction.

that the last two substances only are to be given to the child, after they have been touched with a piece of gold, or a golden ring.

30. Âsv. *Grihya-sûtra* I, 15, 4-10; *Pâraskara* I, 17, 1-6. Nâr. and Nand. are in doubt whether the numerals 'the tenth or twelfth' refer to lunar or solar days, because they stand in the feminine gender and either tithi or râtri may be supplied. Kull. gives an alternative version of the date, 'after the tenth (the last day of impurity, i. e.) on the eleventh or twelfth,' which Medh. also mentions, but rejects. Kull. considers that the third and fourth vâ, 'or,' which stand after muhûrta and nakshatra, have the sense of 'just,' and do not introduce a third alternative.

31-32. K. omits 31b and 32a. Nâr. and Râgh. think that the second part of a Brâhmaṇa's name must contain the word sarman and no other, while the general opinion of the others is that it may be sarman or some synonym, implying 'happiness or refuge.' Medh. expressly rejects the former view, and gives as examples of correct formations, Svâmidatta, Bhavabhûti, Indrasvâmin, Indrâsrama, Indradatta.

33. Medh. irreverently, but pertinently, remarks that there is no

34. In the fourth month the Nishkramana (the first leaving of the house) of the child should be performed, in the sixth month the Annaprâsana (first feeding with rice), and optionally (any other) auspicious ceremony required by (the custom of) the family.

35. According to the teaching of the revealed texts, the Kûdâkarman (tonsure) must be performed, for the sake of spiritual merit, by all twice-born men in the first or third year.

36. In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanâyana) of a Brâhmaṇa, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya.

37. (The initiation) of a Brâhmaṇa who desires proficiency in sacred learning should take place in the fifth (year after conception), (that) of a Kshatriya who wishes to become powerful in the sixth, (and that) of a Vaisya who longs for (success in his) business in the eighth,

38. The (time for the) Sâvitṛi (initiation) of a

difference between 'auspiciousness' (maṅgala) and 'benediction' (âśīrvâda), and that the latter word has been added merely in order to complete the verse.

34. Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra I, 16; Pâraskara I, 17, 5; 19, 1-6. The last clause, which permits the adoption of particular family-customs, refers, according to Medh., Gov., and Kull., to all sacraments.

35. Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra I, 17, 1; Pâraskara II, 1. Nâr. and Nand. explain dharmataḥ, 'for the sake of spiritual merit,' by 'according to the law of the family' (see Âsv. Grîhya-sûtra, loc. cit.).

36-37. Âp. I, 1, 5, 8-21; Gaut. I, 5-14; Vas. II, 3; XI, 49-73; Baudh. I, 3, 7-12; Vi. XXVII, 15-28; Yâgyñ. I, 14.

37. As the commentators point out, the person who has the particular wish is not the boy, but his father.

38-40. Âp. I, 1, 22-2, 10; Gaut. XXI, 11; Vas. XI, 74-79;

Brâhmaṇa does not pass until the completion of the sixteenth year (after conception), of a Kshatriya until the completion of the twenty-second, and of a Vaisya until the completion of the twenty-fourth.

39. After those (periods men of) these three (castes) who have not received the sacrament at the proper time, become Vrâtyas (outcasts), excluded from the Sâvitṛi (initiation) and despised by the Âryans.

40. With such men, if they have not been purified according to the rule, let no Brâhmaṇa ever, even in times of distress, form a connexion either through the Veda or by marriage.

41. Let students, according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of hemp, flax or wool.

42. The girdle of a Brâhmaṇa shall consist of a triple cord of Muñga grass, smooth and soft ; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Mûrvâ fibres ; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

Baudh. I, 16, 16 ; Vi., loc. cit., and LIV, 26 ; Yâgñ. I, 37-38. 'Some' take the preposition â, 'until,' in the sense of 'until the beginning of,' Kull.

40. 'Connexion through the Veda,' i.e. teaching them or studying under them, sacrificing for them, or electing them to be priests, accepting religious gifts from them or giving them. Râgh. omits verse 40.

41. Âp. I, 2, 39-3, 9 ; Gaut. I, 16, 21 ; Vas. XI, 61-67 ; Baudh. I, 3, 14 ; Vi. XXVII, 19-20. Râgh. explains *ruru*, 'a spotted deer,' by 'a tiger.'

42. Âp. I, 2, 33-37 ; Gaut. I, 15 ; Vas. XI, 58-60 ; Baudh. I, 3, 13 ; Vi. XXVII, 18 ; Yâgñ. I, 29. Medh. and Gov. think that the girdle of a Kshatriya is not to consist of three separate strings twisted together, and Kull. apparently holds the same opinion. Râgh. and Nâr. say that every bowstring naturally consists of three strings.

43. If *Muñga* grass (and so forth) be not procurable, (the girdles) may be made of *Kusa*, *Asman-taka*, and *Balbaga* (fibres), with a single threefold knot, or with three or five (knots according to the custom of the family).

44. The sacrificial string of a *Brāhmaṇa* shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a *Kshatriya* of hempen threads, (and) that of a *Vaisya* of woollen threads.

45. A *Brāhmaṇa* shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of *Bilva* or *Palāsa*; a *Kshatriya*, of *Vata* or *Khadira*; (and) a *Vaisya*, of *Pīlu* or *Udumbara*.

46. The staff of a *Brāhmaṇa* shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a *Kshatriya*, to reach his forehead; (and) that of a *Vaisya*, to reach (the tip of his) nose.

47. Let all the staves be straight, without a blemish, handsome to look at, not likely to terrify men, with their bark perfect, unhurt by fire.

48. Having taken a staff according to his choice, having worshipped the sun and walked round the

43. 'With a single threefold knot' seems to mean that each of the strings of the girdle shall first be knotted, and the three knots be afterwards tied together in one. *Nār.* and *Rāgh.*, however, take *trivṛtā*, 'threefold,' separately, and refer it to the string. They thus support Sir W. Jones' translation, 'in triple strings, with one, &c.'

44. *Âp.* II, 4, 22; *Gaut.* I, 36; *Vas.* XII, 14; *Baudh.* I, 5, 5; *Vi.* XXVII, 19.

45-47. *Âp.* I, 2, 38; *Gaut.* I, 22; *Vas.* XI, 52-57; *Baudh.* I, 3, 15; *Vi.* XXVII, 22-24; *Yâgñ.* I, 29.

47. *Anudvegakarâḥ*, 'not likely to terrify anybody' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*), means according to *Nār.* 'not causing displeasure (to the wearer) by faults such as roughness.'

48-57. *Âp.* I, 3, 25-4, 4; *Gaut.* II, 35-41; *Vas.* XI, 68-70; *Baudh.* I, 3, 16-18; *Vi.* XXVII, 25; *Yâgñ.* I, 30; 51-57. *Âp.* II,

fire, turning his right hand towards it, (the student) should beg alms according to the prescribed rule.

49. An initiated Brâhmana should beg, beginning (his request with the word) lady (bhavati); a Kshatriya, placing (the word) lady in the middle, but a Vaisya, placing it at the end (of the formula).

50. Let him first beg food of his mother, or of his sister, or of his own maternal aunt, or of (some other) female who will not disgrace him (by a refusal).

51. Having collected as much food as is required (from several persons), and having announced it without guile to his teacher, let him eat, turning his face towards the east, and having purified himself by sipping water.

52. (His meal will procure) long life, if he eats facing the east; fame, if he turns to the south; prosperity, if he turns to the west; truthfulness, if he faces the east.

53. Let a twice-born man always eat his food with concentrated mind, after performing an ablution; and after he has eaten, let him duly cleanse himself with water and sprinkle the cavities (of his head).

54. Let him always worship his food, and eat it without contempt; when he sees it, let him rejoice,

1, 2-3; 3, 11; Gaut. IX, 59; Vas. III, 69; XII, 18-20; Baudh. II, 5, 18, 21-6, 2; 13, 12; Vi. LVIII, 34-35, 40-44; Yâgñ. I, 27, 31, 112.

52. Medh. and Nâr. propose for *ritam*, 'truthfulness,' an alternative explanation, 'the sacrifice.'

53. The word *nityam*, 'always,' indicates that this rule refers to householders also (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

54. 'Worship,' i.e. 'consider as a deity' (Medh., Gov., Nand.), or 'meditate on its being required to sustain life' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'praise it with the verse,' Rig-veda I, 187, 1 (Nâr.).

show a pleased face, and pray that he may always obtain it.

55. Food, that is always worshipped, gives strength and manly vigour; but eaten irreverently, it destroys them both.

56. Let him not give to any man what he leaves, and beware of eating between (the two meal-times); let him not over-eat himself, nor go anywhere without having purified himself (after his meal).

57. Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to (bliss in) heaven; it prevents (the acquisition of) spiritual merit, and is odious among men; one ought, for these reasons, to avoid it carefully.

58. Let a Brâhmaṇa always sip water out of the part of the hand (tīrtha) sacred to Brahman, or out of that sacred to Ka (Pragâpati), or out of (that) sacred to the gods, never out of that sacred to the manes.

59. They call (the part) at the root of the thumb the tīrtha sacred to Brahman, that at the root of the

55. Ūgam, 'manly vigour' (Gov., Kull.), or 'energy' (Nâr., Nand.), or 'bulk' (Medh.).

56. Medh. reads nâdyâd etat tathântarâ, and gives, besides the explanation adopted in the translation, two alternative interpretations: (1) 'let him not eat after interrupting his meal;' (2) 'let him not eat taking away his left hand from the dish.' Nand. reads nâdyâk kaitat tathântarâ, 'and let him not eat such a (remnant) given to him during (a meal by one of the company).'

58-62. Âp. I, 15, 1-16; Vas. III, 26-34; Baudh. I, 8, 12-23; Vi. LXII, 1-9; Yâgyñ. I, 18-21.

58. Though the text speaks of the Brâhmaṇa only, the rule refers, as the commentators remark, to other Âryans too.

59. Aṅgulimûle, 'at the root of the little finger' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Nand. 'at the root of the fingers.'

(little) finger (the tīrtha) sacred to Ka (Pragâpati), (that) at the tips (of the fingers, the tīrtha) sacred to the gods, and that below (between the index and the thumb, the tīrtha) sacred to the manes.

60. Let him first sip water thrice ; next twice wipe his mouth ; and, lastly, touch with water the cavities (of the head), (the seat of) the soul and the head.

61. He who knows the sacred law and seeks purity shall always perform the rite of sipping with water neither hot nor frothy, with the (prescribed) tīrtha, in a lonely place, and turning to the east or to the north.

62. A Brâhmana is purified by water that reaches his heart, a Kshatriya by water reaching his throat, a Vaisya by water taken into his mouth, (and) a Sûdra by water touched with the extremity (of his lips).

63. A twice-born man is called upavṛtin when his right arm is raised (and the sacrificial string or the dress, passed under it, rests on the left shoulder) ; (when his) left (arm) is raised (and the string, or the dress, passed under it, rests on the right shoulder, he is called) prâkṇâvṛtin ; and nivṛtin when it hangs down (straight) from the neck.

64. His girdle, the skin (which serves as his upper garment), his staff, his sacrificial thread, (and) his water-pot he must throw into water, when they have been damaged, and take others, reciting sacred formulas.

60. '(The seat of) the soul,' i. e. 'the heart' (all except Medh., who adds, or 'the navel').

61. 'Neither hot,' i. e. 'not boiled or heated on the fire' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

63. Baudh. I, 8, 5-10.

64. Baudh. I, 6, 7 ; Vi. XXVII, 29.

65. (The ceremony called) *Kesânta* (clipping the hair) is ordained for a *Brâhmaṇa* in the sixteenth year (from conception); for a *Kshatriya*, in the twenty-second; and for a *Vaisya*, two (years) later than that.

66. This whole series (of ceremonies) must be performed for females (also), in order to sanctify the body, at the proper time and in the proper order, but without (the recitation of) sacred texts.

67. The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent to) the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire.

68. Thus has been described the rule for the initiation of the twice-born, which indicates a (new) birth, and sanctifies; learn (now) to what duties they must afterwards apply themselves.

69. Having performed the (rite of) initiation, the teacher must first instruct the (pupil) in (the rules of) personal purification, of conduct, of the fire-worship, and of the twilight devotions.

65. *Yâgñ.* I, 36. This is the ceremony also called *Godâna*; *Âsv. Gṛihya-sûtra* I, 18; *Pâraskara* II, 1, 3-7.

66-67. *Âsv. Gṛihya-sûtra* I, 16, 16; *Vi. XXVII*, 13-14; *Yâgñ.* I, 13. 'The Vedic sacrament,' i.e. 'the sacrament performed with sacred texts' (*Nand., Râgh.*), or 'having for its object the study of Vedic texts' (*Medh., Nâr.*). Hence women must not be initiated. As the parallel passage of *Âsv.* shows, the sacraments preceding the tonsure alone are to be given to them.

68. 'Which indicates their (real) birth, because an uninitiated man is equal to one unborn' (*Medh., Gov.*).

69-73. *Gaut.* I, 46-56; *Vi. XXX*, 32; *Yâgñ.* I, 15, 27.

70. But (a student) who is about to begin the study (of the Veda), shall receive instruction, after he has sipped water in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), has made the *Brahmâñgali*, (has put on) a clean dress, and has brought his organs under due control.

71. At the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in the) Veda he must always clasp both the feet of his teacher, (and) he must study, joining his hands; that is called the *Brahmâñgali* (joining the palms for the sake of the Veda).

72. With crossed hands he must clasp (the feet) of the teacher, and touch the left (foot) with his left (hand), the right (foot) with his right (hand).

73. But to him who is about to begin studying, the teacher, always unwearied, must say: Ho, recite! He shall leave off (when the teacher says): Let a stoppage take place!

74. Let him always pronounce the syllable Om at the beginning and at the end of (a lesson in) the Veda; (for) unless the syllable Om precede (the lesson) will slip away (from him), and unless it follow it will fade away.

70. *Laghuvâsâh*, '(has put on) a clean dress' (Medh., Kull.), or 'a dress which is not gorgeous' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.), i.e. less valuable than the teacher's (*Râgh*).

71-72. Âp. I, 5, 19-23; Baudh. I, 3, 28; Vi. XXVIII, 14-16.

73. Nâr. and Nand. read *adhyeshyamânas tu gurum*, &c. 'But the pupil, desiring to study, shall say to his teacher, Venerable Sir, recite! &c.' and this agrees with Gaut. I, 46. Nâr. mentions also the reading translated above, which the other commentators give.

74. Âp. I, 13, 6-7; Gaut. I, 57; Vi. XXX, 33. Visîryate, translated according to Kull. by 'will fade away,' means according to Medh. 'will become useless for practical purposes;' according to Gov. and Nâr. 'will not be properly understood during the lesson.' Medh. adds that the two terms contain similes, taken from boiling milk,

75. Seated on (blades of Kusa grass) with their points to the east, purified by Pavitras (blades of Kusa grass), and sanctified by three suppressions of the breath (Prânâyâma), he is worthy (to pronounce) the syllable Om.

76. Pragâpati (the lord of creatures) milked out (as it were) from the three Vedas the sounds A, U, and M, and (the Vyâhr̥itis) Bhûh, Bhuvah, Svah.

77. Moreover from the three Vedas Pragâpati, who dwells in the highest heaven (Parameshthin), milked out (as it were) that R̥ik-verse, sacred to Savitrî (Sâvitri), which begins with the word tad, one foot from each.

78. A Brâhmaṇa, learned in the Veda, who recites during both twilights that syllable and that (verse), preceded by the Vyâhr̥itis, gains the (whole) merit which (the recitation of) the Vedas confers.

79. A twice-born man who (daily) repeats those three one thousand times outside (the village), will be freed after a month even from great guilt, as a snake from its slough.

80. The Brâhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya who neglect (the recitation of) that R̥ik-verse and the

and that one speaks also of the visarṇa, i.e. the spoiling of boiled milk.

75. Gaut. I, 48-50; Yâgñ. I, 23. 'Purified by Pavitras,' i.e. 'having touched the seat of the vital airs with blades of Kusa grass' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.); see Gaut. I, 48. Medh. mentions another explanation of Pavitra, adopted by Nand. also, according to which it means 'purificatory texts.' Regarding the term 'suppression of the breath,' see Vas. XXV, 13; Vi. LV, 9.

76. Vi. LV, 10.

77. Vi. LV, 11. The Sâvitri, i.e. the verse tat savitur vareṇyam, Rig-veda III, 62, 10.

78. Vi. LV, 12; Baudh. II, 11, 6.

79. Vi. LV, 13; Baudh. IV, 1, 29; Vas. XXVI, 4.

80. Vi. LV, 14.

timely (performance of the) rites (prescribed for) them, will be blamed among virtuous men.

81. Know that the three imperishable Mahāvya-hṛtis, preceded by the syllable Om, and (followed) by the three-footed Sāvitrī are the portal of the Veda and the gate leading (to union with) Brahman.

82. He who daily recites that (verse), untired, during three years, will enter (after death) the highest Brahman, move as free as air, and assume an ethereal form.

83. The monosyllable (Om) is the highest Brahman, (three) suppressions of the breath are the best (form of) austerity, but nothing surpasses the Sāvitrī; truthfulness is better than silence.

84. All rites ordained in the Veda, burnt oblations and (other) sacrifices, pass away; but know that the syllable (Om) is imperishable, and (it is) Brahman, (and) the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati).

85. An offering, consisting of muttered prayers, is ten times more efficacious than a sacrifice performed

81. Vi. LV, 15. *Brahmano mukham*, literally, 'the mouth of Brahman,' is probably meant to convey the double sense given in the translation. Both interpretations are given by Medh., Kull., and Râgh., while Gov., Nâr., and Nand. explain it merely by 'the beginning or portal of the Veda;' see also Âp. I, 13, 6.

82. Vi. LV, 16.

83. Vi. LV, 17.

84. Vi. LVI, 18. 'Pass away,' i.e. 'as far as their results are concerned' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'as far as their form and their results are concerned' (Nand.). Sacrifices procure only the perishable bliss of heaven, while the constant recitation of the syllable Om secures union with Brahman. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., Brahman is here a neuter; according to Nâr. and Nand., a masculine. The words 'and (it is) Brahman (and) Pragâpati' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh.) are taken by Kull. as 'since it is Brahman (and) Pragâpati,' by Nand. as 'just like Brahman, the Lord of creatures.'

85. Vi. LVI, 19; Vas. XXVI, 9. The sacred texts meant are, of course, Om, the Vyâhṛtis, and the Gâyatri.

according to the rules (of the Veda); a (prayer) which is inaudible (to others) surpasses it a hundred times, and the mental (recitation of sacred texts) a thousand times.

86. The four Pākayagñas and those sacrifices which are enjoined by the rules (of the Veda) are all together not equal in value to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice consisting of muttered prayers.

87. But, undoubtedly, a Brāhmaṇa reaches the highest goal by muttering prayers only; (whether) he perform other (rites) or neglect them, he who befriends (all creatures) is declared (to be) a (true) Brāhmaṇa.

88. A wise man should strive to restrain his organs which run wild among alluring sensual objects, like a charioteer his horses.

89. Those eleven organs which former sages have named, I will properly (and) precisely enumerate in due order,

90. (Viz.) the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose as the fifth, the anus, the organ of generation, hands and feet, and the (organ of) speech, named as the tenth.

86. Vi. LVI, 20; Vas. XXVI, 10. 'The Pākayagñas,' i.e. 'the so-called great sacrifices to gods, manes, goblins, and men (III, 70) excluding the Brahmayagña' (Medh., Kull., Nār., Nand.). Gov. and Rāgh. understand the term as indicating 'all Smārta and Śrauta rites;' see also Jolly on Vishṇu, loc. cit.

87. Vi. LVI, 21; Vas. XXVI, 11. Maitraḥ, 'one who befriends (all creatures),' i.e. 'does not offer animal sacrifices.' Rāgh. proposes also the interpretation 'he who worships Mitra, the Sun.' Brāhmaṇaḥ, 'a (true) Brāhmaṇa,' i.e. 'one connected with Brahman,' 'one who will be absorbed in Brahman' (Kull.), 'the best of Brāhmaṇas' (brahmish/haḥ, Rāgh.). Medh. and Gov. take the last clause differently, 'it is declared (in the Veda that) a Brāhmaṇa (shall be) a friend (of all creatures).'

91. Five of them, the ear and the rest according to their order, they call organs of sense, and five of them, the anus and the rest, organs of action.

92. Know that the internal organ (*manas*) is the eleventh, which by its quality belongs to both (sets); when that has been subdued, both those sets of five have been conquered.

93. Through the attachment of his organs (to sensual pleasure) a man doubtlessly will incur guilt; but if he keep them under complete control, he will obtain success (in gaining all his aims).

94. Desire is never extinguished by the enjoyment of desired objects; it only grows stronger like a fire (fed) with clarified butter.

95. If one man should obtain all those (sensual enjoyments) and another should renounce them all, the renunciation of all pleasure is far better than the attainment of them.

96. Those (organs) which are strongly attached to sensual pleasures, cannot so effectually be restrained by abstinence (from enjoyments) as by a constant (pursuit of true) knowledge.

97. Neither (the study of) the Vedas, nor libera-

92. 'By its quality,' i.e. by the quality called *samkalpa*, the power of determining or shaping the impressions of the senses.

93. *Dosham*, 'guilt' (*Nâr.*), is taken by *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Kull.* in the sense of *drishṭvâdrishṭam* *dosham*, 'misery and guilt;' by *Râgh.* as *samsârâkhyam*, 'the misery of repeated births.' 'Success (in gaining all his aims),' i.e. 'the rewards of all good works and rites' (*Medh.*), or 'final liberation' (*Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or 'all the aims of men, final liberation and the rest' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*).

96. *Asevayâ*, 'by abstinence from enjoyments' (*Gov.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Medh.* and *Kull.* 'by avoiding places where enjoyments are to be obtained,' i.e. 'by dwelling in the forest' (*Medh.*).

lity, nor sacrifices, nor any (self-imposed) restraint, nor austerities, ever procure the attainment (of rewards) to a man whose heart is contaminated (by sensuality).

98. That man may be considered to have (really) subdued his organs, who on hearing and touching and seeing, on tasting and smelling (anything) neither rejoices nor repines.

99. But when one among all the organs slips away (from control), thereby (man's) wisdom slips away from him, even as the water (flows) through the one (open) foot of a (water-carrier's) skin.

100. If he keeps all the (ten) organs as well as the mind in subjection, he may gain all his aims, without reducing his body by (the practice) of Yoga.

101. Let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering the *Sâvitṛī* until the sun appears, but (let him recite it), seated, in the evening until the constellations can be seen distinctly.

102. He who stands during the morning twilight muttering (the *Sâvitṛī*), removes the guilt contracted during the (previous) night; but he who (recites it),

99. 'Wisdom,' i.e. 'power of control over the senses' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'knowledge of the truth' (Kull.). I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K., and the Bombay edition *pâdât*, instead of *pâtrât*. The explanation of the simile has been given correctly by Haughton in his note on Sir W. Jones' translation.

100. Nâr. and Nand. take *yogatah*, 'by the practice of Yoga,' with the chief clause, and Medh. mentions this construction too.

101. Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 10-11; Vas. VII, 16; Baudh. II, 7, Vi. XXVIII, 2-3; *Yâgyñ.* I, 24-25.

102. Vas. XXVI, 2-3; Baudh. II, 7, 18, 20. Medh. and Gov. point out that only trifling faults can be expiated in this manner, otherwise the chapter on penances would be useless.

seated, in the evening, destroys the sin he committed during the day.

103. But he who does not (worship) standing in the morning, nor sitting in the evening, shall be excluded, just like a *Sûdra*, from all the duties and rights of an *Āryan*.

104. He who (desires to) perform the ceremony (of the) daily (recitation), may even recite the *Sāvitrī* near water, retiring into the forest, controlling his organs and concentrating his mind.

105. Both when (one studies) the supplementary treatises of the *Veda*, and when (one recites) the daily portion of the *Veda*, no regard need be paid to forbidden days, likewise when (one repeats) the sacred texts required for a burnt oblation.

106. There are no forbidden days for the daily recitation, since that is declared to be a *Brahmasattra* (an everlasting sacrifice offered to Brahman); at that the *Veda* takes the place of the burnt oblations, and it is meritorious (even), when (natural phenomena, requiring) a cessation of the *Veda*-study, take the place of the exclamation *Vasha!*

107. For him who, being pure and controlling his organs, during a year daily recites the *Veda* according to the rule, that (daily recitation) will ever cause sweet and sour milk, clarified butter and honey to flow.

103. Baudh. II, 17, 15.

104. Baudh. II, 11, 6. 'Even,' i.e. 'if he is unable to recite other Vedic texts.'

105-106. *Āp.* I, 12, 1-9; *Vas.* XIII, 7. The last clause of verse 106 finds its explanation by the passage from the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*, quoted by *Āp.* I, 12, 3. *Anadhyāyaḥ* ('not studying') means 'a cause for the interruption of the study, such as thunder or a violent wind, which takes the place of the exclamation *Vasha!*'

107. *Vi.* XXX, 34-38; *Yāgñ.* I, 41-46. *Nār.* and *Nand.* explain the four terms 'sweet and sour milk, clarified butter and

108. Let an Âryan who has been initiated, (daily) offer fuel in the sacred fire, beg food, sleep on the ground and do what is beneficial to his teacher, until (he performs the ceremony of) Samâvartana (on returning home).

109. According to the sacred law the (following) ten (persons, viz.) the teacher's son, one who desires to do service, one who imparts knowledge, one who is intent on fulfilling the law, one who is pure, a person connected by marriage or friendship, one who possesses (mental) ability, one who makes presents of money, one who is honest, and a relative, may be instructed (in the Veda).

110. Unless one be asked, one must not explain (anything) to anybody, nor (must one answer) a person who asks improperly; let a wise man, though he knows (the answer), behave among men as (if he were) an idiot.

111. Of the two persons, him who illegally explains (anything), and him who illegally asks (a question), one (or both) will die or incur (the other's) enmity.

honey,' as symbolical of the four objects of human existence, merit, wealth, pleasure, and liberation. Medh. quotes this interpretation as the opinion of 'others.'

108. Âp. I, 4, 16, 23, 25, 28, 32; Gaut. II, 8, 30, 35; Vas. VII, 9, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 4, 7, 9, 12; Baudh. I, 3, 16, 4, 4-8; Yâgñ. I, 25. Regarding the Samâvartana, see below, III, 3-4.

109. Yâgñ. I, 28. Dharmatah, 'according to the sacred law' (Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nâr. 'for the sake of spiritual merit.'

110. Âp. I, 32, 22-24; Vas. II, 12; Baudh. I, 4, 2; Vi. XXIX, 7. *Gadah*, 'an idiot,' means according to Medh. and Kull. 'dumb.'

111. Vi. XXIX, 7. The person who will die is in either case the offender. If both offend, both will die. *Vidvesham vâdhigakkhati*, 'will incur (the other's) enmity,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'will incur odium among men;' according to Râgh. 'will lose the reward.'

112. Where merit and wealth are not (obtained by teaching) nor (at least) due obedience, in such (soil) sacred knowledge must not be sown, just as good seed (must) not (be thrown) on barren land.

113. Even in times of dire distress a teacher of the Veda should rather die with his knowledge than sow it in barren soil.

114. Sacred Learning approached a Brâhmaṇa and said to him: 'I am thy treasure, preserve me, deliver me not to a scorner; so (preserved) I shall become supremely strong.'

115. 'But deliver me, as to the keeper of thy treasure, to a Brâhmaṇa whom thou shalt know to be pure, of subdued senses, chaste and attentive.'

116. But he who acquires without permission the Veda from one who recites it, incurs the guilt of stealing the Veda, and shall sink into hell.

117. (A student) shall first reverentially salute that (teacher) from whom he receives (knowledge), referring to worldly affairs, to the Veda, or to the Brahman.

118. A Brâhmaṇa who completely governs himself, though he know the Sâvitṛī only, is better than he who knows the three Vedas, (but) does not control himself, eats all (sorts of) food, and sells all (sorts of goods).

119. One must not sit down on a couch or seat

112. Baudh. I, 4, 1; Vi. XXIX, 8.

113. This verse shows, as Medh. and Gov. point out, that under ordinary circumstances a learned man must teach what he knows.

114-115. Vas. II, 8-10; Vi. XXIX, 9-10; Nirukta II, 4.

116. Vi. XXX, 41-42.

117. Âp. I, 14, 7-9; Gaut. VI, 1-3, 5; Vas. XIII, 41-43; Baudh. I, 3, 25-28; Vi. XXXII, 1-4. This rule refers to any casual meeting.

119. Âp. I, 8, 11, 14, 17; Gaut. II, 21, 25.

which a superior occupies; and he who occupies a couch or seat shall rise to meet a (superior), and (afterwards) salute him.

120. For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them.

121. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four (things), (viz.) length of life, knowledge, fame, (and) strength.

122. After the (word of) salutation, a Brâhmana who greets an elder must pronounce his name, saying, 'I am N. N.'

123. To those (persons) who, when a name is pronounced, do not understand (the meaning of) the salutation, a wise man should say, 'It is I;' and (he should address) in the same manner all women.

124. In saluting he should pronounce after his name the word *bhoḥ*; for the sages have declared that the nature of *bhoḥ* is the same as that of (all proper) names.

125. A Brâhmana should thus be saluted in return, 'May'st thou be long-lived, O gentle one!'

121. Âp. I, 5, 15; Baudh. I, 3, 26. Instead of *vidyâ* or *pragñâ*, 'knowledge,' Medh. reads *dharmaḥ*, 'spiritual merit,' and the same reading is given sec. man. in the text of Gov.

122. Âp. I, 5, 12; Gaut. VI, 5; Vas. XIII, 45; Baudh. I, 3, 27; Vi. XXVIII, 17; Yâgñ. I, 26. 'After the word of salutation,' i. e. after the word *abhivâdaye*, 'I salute' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

123. Vas. XIII, 46. I. e. to those who either are unacquainted with grammar or with the *Dharmasâstra* (Medh.). Nand. places this verse after versé 126.

124. Vi. XXVIII, 17.

125. Âp. I, 5, 18; Vas. XIII, 46. The translation of the second half of the verse is based on the reading '*pûrvâksharaplutaḥ*,' which

and the vowel 'a' must be added at the end of the name (of the person addressed), the syllable preceding it being drawn out to the length of three moras.

126. A Brâhmana who does not know the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a learned man ; as a Sûdra, even so is he.

127. Let him ask a Brâhmana, on meeting him, after (his health, with the word) kusala, a Kshatriya (with the word) anâmaya, a Vaisya (with the word) kshema, and a Sûdra (with the word) anârogya.

128. He who has been initiated (to perform a Srauta sacrifice) must not be addressed by his name, even though he be a younger man ; he who knows

Nand. gives, and Nâr. mentions as adopted by 'some.' It follows the interpretation of these two commentators which agrees in substance with the rule of Vasishṭha. The meaning is that Devadatta is to be pronounced 'Devadattâṣa,' Harabhûte, 'Harabhûtâṣya,' &c.

Medh. and Kull. take the passage as follows : 'and the vowel (i.e.) "a" (and so forth) at the end of the name, (or in case the word ends in a consonant) that of the preceding syllable, must be drawn out the length of the three moras.' According to this interpretation, which requires the reading 'pûrvâksharaḥ plutaḥ,' Manu's rule agrees with Âp. and Pânini VIII, 2, 83. The obvious objection is that Medh. and Kull. are forced to take akâra, 'the vowel a,' in the sense of 'a vowel such as a,' and to understand with pûrvâksharaḥ the word svaraḥ, which does not occur in the verse. Gov. and Râgh. go far off the mark. Most commentators think that the word vipraḥ, 'a Brâhmana,' is meant to include other Âryans also ; but see Âp. I, 14, 23.

126. It follows from this verse that Sûdras must never be greeted in the manner prescribed in the preceding rule.

127. Âp. I, 24, 26-29. The rule refers to friends or relatives meeting, not to every one who returns a salute (Gov.).

128. Gaut. VI, 19. The rule refers to the time between the performance of the Dikshazîyesh/i or initiatory ceremony and the final bath on completion of the sacrifice (Medh., Kull.). Besides bhoḥ and bhavat, the titles dikshita or yagamâna are to be used.

the sacred law must use in speaking to such (a man the particle) *bho* and (the pronoun) *bhavat* (your worship).

129. But to a female who is the wife of another man, and not a blood-relation, he must say, 'Lady' (*bhavati*) or 'Beloved sister!'

130. To his maternal and paternal uncles, fathers-in-law, officiating priests, (and other) venerable persons, he must say, 'I am N. N.,' and rise (to meet them), even though they be younger (than himself).

131. A maternal aunt, the wife of a maternal uncle, a mother-in-law, and a paternal aunt must be honoured like the wife of one's teacher; they are equal to the wife of one's teacher.

132. (The feet of the) wife of one's brother, if she be of the same caste (*varṇa*), must be clasped every day; but (the feet of) wives of (other) paternal and maternal relatives need only be embraced on one's return from a journey.

133. Towards a sister of one's father and of one's mother, and towards one's own elder sister, one must behave as towards one's mother; (but) the mother is more venerable than they.

134. Fellow-citizens are called friends (and equals though one be) ten years (older than the other), men

129. Vi. XXXII, 7.

130. Âp. I, 14, 11; Gaut. VI, 9; Vas. XIII, 41; Baudh. I, 4, 45; Vi. XXXII, 4. Gurūn, '(other) venerable persons, i.e. those venerable on account of their learning and austerities' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'his betters, because they are richer and so forth, e.g. the son of a sister' (Medh.), or 'the husband of a maternal aunt and so forth, but not those more learned than himself' (Gov.), or 'the teacher and the rest' (Nand.), or the 'sub-teachers' (*upādhyāya*, Nâr.).

131-132. Gaut. VI, 9; Âp. I, 14; Vi. XXXII, 2-3.

134. Âp. I, 14, 13; Gaut. VI, 14-17. Those who are 'friends'

practising (the same) fine art (though one be) five years (older than the other), Srottriyas (though) three years (intervene between their ages), but blood-relations only (if the) difference of age be very small.

135. Know that a Brāhmaṇa of ten years and Kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son ; but between those two the Brāhmaṇa is the father.

136. Wealth, kindred, age, (the due performance of) rites, and, fifthly, sacred learning are titles to respect ; but each later-named (cause) is more weighty (than the preceding ones).

137. Whatever man of the three (highest) castes possesses most of those five, both in number and degree, that man is worthy of honour among them ; and (so is) also a Sūdra who has entered the tenth (decade of his life).

138. Way must be made for a man in a carriage, for one who is above ninety years old, for one diseased, for the carrier of a burden, for a woman, for a Snātaka, for the king, and for a bridegroom.

139. Among all those, if they meet (at one time), a Snātaka and the king must be (most) honoured ;

and equals may address each other with the words *bhoḥ*, *bhavat*, or *vayasya*, 'friend.' The explanation of the verse, which is substantially the same in all the commentaries, is based on Gaut.'s passage, while Haradatta's interpretation of Âp. somewhat differs.

135. Âp. I, 14, 25 ; Vi. XXXII, 17.

136. Gaut. VI, 20 ; Vas. XIII, 56-57 ; Vi. XXXII, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 116.

137. Gaut. VI, 10 ; Yâgñ. I, 116.

138-139. Âp. II, 11, 5-7 ; Gaut. VI, 24-25 ; Vas. XIII, 58-60 ; Baudh. II, 6, 30 ; Vi. LXIII, 51 ; Yâgñ. I, 117. For the explanation of the term Snātaka, see below, IV, 31.

and if the king and a Snâtaka (meet), the latter receives respect from the king.

✓ 140. They call that Brâhmana who initiates a pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpa and the Rahasyas, the teacher (âkârya, of the latter).

141. But he who for his livelihood teaches a portion only of the Veda, or also the Ângas of the Veda, is called the sub-teacher (upâdhyâya).

142. That Brâhmana, who performs in accordance with the rules (of the Veda) the rites, the Garbhâdhâna (conception-rite), and so forth, and gives food (to the child), is called the Guru (the venerable one).

143. He who, being (duly) chosen (for the purpose), performs the Agnyâdheya, the Pâkayagñas, (and) the (Srauta) sacrifices, such as the Agnish-toma (for another man), is called (his) officiating priest.

144. That (man) who truthfully fills both his ears with the Veda, (the pupil) shall consider as his father and mother; he must never offend him.

✓ 145. The teacher (âkârya) is ten times more

140-141. Âp. I, 1, 13; Gaut. I, 9-10; Vas. III, 21-23; Vi. XXIX, 1-2; Yâgñ. I, 34-35. Kalpa, i. e. the Sûtras referring to sacrifices. Rahasyas, lit. 'the secret portions,' i. e. the Upanishads and their explanation (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), or 'the extremely secret explanation of the Veda and Ângas, not the Upanishads, because they are included in the term Veda' (Nâr).

142. Yâgñ. I, 34. The person meant is the natural father.

143. Vi. XXIX, 3; Yâgñ. I, 35.

144. Âp. I, 1, 14; Vas. II, 10; Vi. XXX, 47. 'Truthfully,' i. e. in such a manner that there is no mistake in the pronunciation or in the text of the Veda.

145. Vas. XIII, 48; Yâgñ. I, 35. The commentators try to reconcile the meaning of this verse and the next following one by

venerable than a sub-teacher (upâdhyâya), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father.

146. Of him who gives natural birth and him who gives (the knowledge of) the Veda, the giver of the Veda is the more venerable father; for the birth for the sake of the Veda (ensures) eternal (rewards) both in this (life) and after death.

147. Let him consider that (he received) a (mere animal) existence, when his parents begat him through mutual affection, and when he was born from the womb (of his mother).

148. But that birth which a teacher acquainted with the whole Veda, in accordance with the law, procures for him through the Sâvitṛī, is real, exempt from age and death.

149. (The pupil) must know that that man also who benefits him by (instruction in) the Veda, be it little or much, is called in these (Institutes) his Guru, in consequence of that benefit (conferred by instruction in) the Veda.

150. That Brâhmaṇa who is the giver of the birth

assuming, either that the term âtârya refers in this case to one who merely performs the rite of initiation and teaches the Gâyatrī only (Medh., Kull.), or that the word 'father' denotes a father who initiates his own child and teaches it the Veda (Gov., Nâr.). But it is more probable that two conflicting opinions are here placed side by side, because both are based on an ancient tradition; see Gaut. II, 50-51.

146-148. Âp. I, 1, 15-17; Gaut. I, 8; Vas. II, 3-5; Vi. XXX, 44-45. Nâr. and Nand. read utpâdakabrahmapitroh, 'of the two fathers, i.e. him who procreates the body and him who (gives the birth) for the Veda.'

149. Iha, lit. 'here,' i.e. in these Institutes (Kull.), or 'in the chapter on saluting' (Gov.). But it may also mean 'in this world.'

for the sake of the Veda and the teacher of the prescribed duties becomes by law the father of an aged man, even though he himself be a child.

151. Young Kavi, the son of Aṅgiras, taught his (relatives who were old enough to be) fathers, and, as he excelled them in (sacred) knowledge, he called them 'Little sons.'

152. They, moved with resentment, asked the gods concerning that matter, and the gods, having assembled, answered, 'The child has addressed you properly.'

153. 'For (a man) destitute of (sacred) knowledge is indeed a child, and he who teaches him the Veda is his father; for (the sages) have always said "child" to an ignorant man, and "father" to a teacher of the Veda.'

154. Neither through years, nor through white (hairs), nor through wealth, nor through (powerful) kinsmen (comes greatness). The sages have made this law, 'He who has learnt the Veda together with the Aṅgas (Anûkâṇa) is (considered) great by us.'

155. The seniority of Brâhmanas is from (sacred) knowledge, that of Kshatriyas from valour, that of Vaisyas from wealth in grain (and other goods), but that of Sûdras alone from age.

151. Baudh. I, 3, 42. *Sisu*, 'young,' seems to be a name or nickname in Baudh.'s passage. *Parigr̥hya*, 'as he excelled them' (Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. 'as on account of his learning he had received them (as his) pupils.' *Pitr̥n*, lit. 'fathers,' means according to Nâr. 'the manes, i.e. the Agnishvâttas and the rest.'

154. *Anûkâṇa*, 'who has learnt the Veda and the Aṅgas' (Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'who teaches the Veda and the Aṅgas.'

155. Vi. XXXII, 18.

156. A man is not therefore (considered) venerable because his head is gray; him who, though young, has learned the Veda, the gods consider to be venerable.

157. As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such is an unlearned Brâhmana; those three have nothing but the names (of their kind).

158. As a eunuch is unproductive with women, as a cow with a cow is unprolific, and as a gift made to an ignorant man yields no reward, even so is a Brâhmana useless, who (does) not (know) the *Rik̐as*.

159. Created beings must be instructed in (what concerns) their welfare without giving them pain, and sweet and gentle speech must be used by (a teacher) who desires (to abide by) the sacred law.

160. He, forsooth, whose speech and thoughts are pure and ever perfectly guarded, gains the whole reward which is conferred by the Vedânta.

161. Let him not, even though in pain, (speak words) cutting (others) to the quick; let him not injure others in thought or deed; let him not utter speeches which make (others) afraid of him, since that will prevent him from gaining heaven.

156. Nâr. and Nand. read sthaviro bhavati, K. sthaviro *gñeyo* for *vṛiddho*, 'venerable.'

157. Vas. III, 11; Baudh. I, 1, 10.

158. *Rik̐as*, i.e. the Veda (Gov., Nâr.).

159. Âp. I, 8, 25-30; Gaut. II, 42. This and the following verses refer in the first instance to the behaviour of the teacher towards his pupils; see also below, VIII, 299-300.

160. The Vedânta are the Upanishads, and the reward meant is 'final liberation' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.). Medh., however, prefers to take Vedânta in the sense of 'the maxims or teaching of the Veda,' and thinks that the reward includes all rewards for Vedic rites.

162. A Brâhmaṇa should always fear homage as if it were poison ; and constantly desire (to suffer) scorn as (he would long for) nectar.

163. For he who is scorned (nevertheless may) sleep with an easy mind, awake with an easy mind, and with an easy mind walk here among men ; but the scorner utterly perishes.

164. A twice-born man who has been sanctified by the (employment of) the means, (described above) in due order, shall gradually and cumulatively perform the various austerities prescribed for (those who) study the Veda.

165. An Âryan must study the whole Veda together with the Rahasyas, performing at the same time various kinds of austerities and the vows prescribed by the rules (of the Veda).

166. Let a Brâhmaṇa who desires to perform austerities, constantly repeat the Veda ; for the study

162. This verse contains an advice to the pupil who must go begging (Medh.).

164. 'The means (described above),' i.e. 'the various sacraments.' Vedâdhigamikam tapaḥ, 'the (various) austerities (prescribed) for (those who study) the Veda,' means according to Nâr. and Nand. 'the austerities, consisting in the study of the Veda ;' see also Âp. I, 12, 1-2.

165. 'The whole Veda,' i.e. 'the Veda with the Aṅgas' (Medh., 'others,' Nâr.), or 'one entire Sâkhâ consisting of the Mantras and the Brâhmaṇa' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'Rahasyas,' i.e. 'the Upa-nishads' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'the secret explanation of the Veda' (Nâr.). 'Various kinds of austerities,' i.e. 'fasting, Krikkhras, &c.' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.), or 'the restrictive rules applicable to students' (Medh., 'others,' Gov., Kull.), or 'particular observances, such as feeding a horse while one reads the Arvamedha texts' (Râgh.). 'The vows,' i.e. the Mahânâmnivrata, &c. ; see Sâṅkhâyana Grîhya-sûtra II, 11-13.

166. Âp. I, 12, 1-2 ; Yâgñ. I, 40.

of the Veda is declared (to be) in this world the highest austerity for a Brâhmaṇa.

167. Verily, that twice-born man performs the highest austerity up to the extremities of his nails, who, though wearing a garland, daily recites the Veda in private to the utmost of his ability.

168. A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and worldly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sûdra and his descendants (after him).

169. According to the injunction of the revealed texts the first birth of an Āryan is from (his natural) mother, the second (happens) on the tying of the girdle of Muñga grass, and the third on the initiation to (the performance of) a (Srauta) sacrifice.

170. Among those (three) the birth which is symbolised by the investiture with the girdle of Muñga grass, is his birth for the sake of the Veda; they declare that in that (birth) the Sâvitṛī (verse) is his mother and the teacher his father.

171. They call the teacher (the pupil's) father because he gives the Veda; for nobody can perform a (sacred) rite before the investiture with the girdle of Muñga grass.

172. (He who has not been initiated) should not pronounce (any) Vedic text excepting (those required for) the performance of funeral rites, since he is on a level with a Sûdra before his birth from the Veda.

167. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XI, 5, 7, 4.

168. Vas. III, 2; Vi. XXVIII, 36.

169-170. Vi. XXVIII, 37-38; Vas. II, 3; Yâgy. I, 39; Aitareya-brâhmaṇa I, 1; Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 390 seq.

171-172. Âp. II, 15, 19; Gaut. I, 10; II, 4-5; Vas. II, 4, 6-7; Baudh. I, 3, 6; Vi. XXVIII, 40.

173. The (student) who has been initiated must be instructed in the performance of the vows, and gradually learn the Veda, observing the prescribed rules.

174. Whatever dress of skin, sacred thread, girdle, staff, and lower garment are prescribed for a (student at the initiation), the like (must again be used) at the (performance of the) vows.

175. But a student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit.

176. Every day, having bathed, and being purified, he must offer libations of water to the gods, sages and manes, worship (the images of) the gods, and place fuel on (the sacred fire).

177. Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances (used for) flavouring (food), women, all substances turned acid, and from doing injury to living creatures,

178. From anointing (his body), applying colly-

173-174. Vi. XXVII, 28. 'The vows,' i.e. 'the observances and the restrictive rules, such as offering fuel, the prohibition of sleeping in the day-time' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'the Veda-vows, the Godâna, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'penances, such as the Prâgâpatya' (Nand. and Nâr.). In the second verse Kull. also adopts the explanation of Medh. and Gov.

176-182. Âp. I, 2, 17, 23-30; 3, 11-25; 4, 13-23; Gaut. II, 8-9, 12-17; Vas. VII, 15, 17; Baudh. I, 3, 19-20, 23-24; Vi. XXVIII, 4-5, 11, 48-51; Yâgyñ. I, 25, 33.

177. Rasân, 'substances (used for) flavouring,' i.e. 'molasses and the like' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'clarified butter, oil, and the like' (Nand.). Nâr. adds that others interpret rasân to mean the poetical rasas or sentiments. Medh. mentions the same explanation and two more: (1) spices; (2) juicy fruits and canes like sugar-cane.

rium to his eyes, from the use of shoes and of an umbrella (or parasol), from (sensual) desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing, and playing (musical instruments),

179. From gambling, idle disputes, backbiting, and lying, from looking at and touching women, and from hurting others.

180. Let him always sleep alone, let him never waste his manhood; for he who voluntarily wastes his manhood, breaks his vow.

181. A twice-born student, who has involuntarily wasted his manly strength during sleep, must bathe, worship the sun, and afterwards thrice mutter the *Rîk*-verse (which begins), 'Again let my strength return to me.'

182. Let him fetch a pot full of water, flowers, cowdung, earth, and *Kusa* grass, as much as may be required (by his teacher), and daily go to beg food.

183. A student, being pure, shall daily bring food from the houses of men who are not deficient in (the knowledge of) the *Veda* and in (performing) sacrifices, and who are famous for (following their lawful) occupations.

184. Let him not beg from the relatives of his teacher, nor from his own or his mother's blood-relations; but if there are no houses belonging to

179. *Ganavâda*, 'idle disputes' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'gossiping' (*Medh.*, *Nâr.*).

180. *Vi.* XXVIII, 48. Regarding the consequences of committing such an offence, see below, XI, 119-124.

181. *Vi.* XXVIII, 51. The verse occurs *Taitt. Âr.* I, 30.

182. *Nand.* reads *udakumbhân*, 'pots filled with water.'

183. *Baudh.* I, 3, 18; *Vi.* XXVIII, 9; *Âp.* I, 3, 25; *Gaut.* II, 35.

184. *Gaut.* II, 37-38.

strangers, let him go to one of those named above, taking the last-named first ;

185. Or, if there are no (virtuous men of the kind) mentioned above, he may go to each (house in the) village, being pure and remaining silent ; but let him avoid Abhisastas (those accused of mortal sin).

186. Having brought sacred fuel from a distance, let him place it anywhere but on the ground, and let him, unwearied, make with it burnt oblations to the sacred fire, both evening and morning.

187. He who, without being sick, neglects during seven (successive) days to go out begging, and to offer fuel in the sacred fire, shall perform the penance of an Avakīrṇin (one who has broken his vow).

188. He who performs the vow (of studentship) shall constantly subsist on alms, (but) not eat the food of one (person only); the subsistence of a student on begged food is declared to be equal (in merit) to fasting.

189. At his pleasure he may eat, when invited, the food of one man at (a rite) in honour of the

186. 'From a distance,' i.e. 'from a lonely place in the forest not defiled by any impurities.' Vihāyasi, 'anywhere but on the ground,' means lit. 'in the air,' and is explained variously by 'on the roof of the house' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), 'on a platform and the like' (Nâr.), 'in the open air' (Nand.), 'in any pure place except on the ground' (Râgh.). The purpose is, as most commentators think, to preserve the wood from defilement. But, according to 'others,' quoted by Medh., with whom Nand. seems to agree, the object is to let it become dry in the open air.

187. Vi. XXVIII, 52; Yâgñ. III, 281. The penance for an Avakīrṇin is mentioned below, XI, 119-120.

188. Yâgñ. I, 32.

189. Yâgñ. I, 32. 'Observing the conditions of his vow,' i.e. 'avoiding honey, meat, and the like.' *Rishivat*, 'like a hermit' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand.), or 'like an ascetic' (*yati*, Kull.).

gods, observing (however the conditions of) his vow, or at a (funeral meal) in honour of the manes, behaving (however) like a hermit.

190. This duty is prescribed by the wise for a Brâhmaṇa only; but no such duty is ordained for a Kshatriya and a Vaisya.

191. Both when ordered by his teacher, and without a (special) command, (a student) shall always exert himself in studying (the Veda), and in doing what is serviceable to his teacher.

192. Controlling his body, his speech, his organs (of sense), and his mind, let him stand with joined hands, looking at the face of his teacher.

193. Let him always keep his right arm uncovered, behave decently and keep his body well covered, and when he is addressed (with the words), 'Be seated,' he shall sit down, facing his teacher.

194. In the presence of his teacher let him always eat less, wear a less valuable dress and ornaments

According to Gov., Nâr., and Nand., the last phrase means that the student is to eat at a funeral dinner a little wild-growing rice and other food fit for a hermit (munyanna), while Medh. and Kull. think that the two phrases prohibit the eating of forbidden food only.

190. 'This duty' refers to the permission given in verse 189. According to Nâr. 'others,' however, thought that this verse annulled the rule given in verse 188.

191. Âp. I, 5, 27, 4, 23; Gaut. I, 54; II, 29-30; Vi. XXVIII, 6-7; Yâgy. I, 27.

193. Âp. I, 6, 18-20. I read, with Medh., Kull., and Râgh., *susamvriṭaḥ*, and translate it according to the latter two, 'keep his body well covered.' Medh. explains it, 'well guarding himself (in his speech).' Nâr. and K. read like the editions, *susamyataḥ*, and Nand. *samâhitaḥ*, 'concentrating his mind.' Gov. seems to have had the same reading as Nâr.

194. Âp. I, 4, 22, 28; Gaut. II, 21; Baudh. I, 3, 21; Vi. XXVIII, 13.

(than the former), and let him rise earlier (from his bed), and go to rest later.

195. Let him not answer or converse with (his teacher), reclining on a bed, nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face.

196. Let him do (that), standing up, if (his teacher) is seated, advancing towards him when he stands, going to meet him if he advances, and running after him when he runs;

197. Going (round) to face (the teacher), if his face is averted, approaching him if he stands at a distance, but bending towards him if he lies on a bed, and if he stands in a lower place.

198. When his teacher is nigh, let his bed or seat be low; but within sight of his teacher he shall not sit carelessly at ease.

199. Let him not pronounce the mere name of his teacher (without adding an honorific title) behind his back even, and let him not mimic his gait, speech, and deportment.

200. Wherever (people) justly censure or falsely defame his teacher, there he must cover his ears or depart thence to another place.

201. By censuring (his teacher), though justly, he

195-197. Âp. I, 6, 5-9; Gaut. II, 25-28; Vas. VII, 12; Baudh. I, 3, 38; Vi. XXVIII, 18-22.

197. Nidese tish/*hatah*, 'if he stands in a lower place' (Nâr., Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'if he stands close.'

198. Âp. I, 2, 21, 6, 13-17; Gaut. II, 14-15, 21; Vi. XXVIII, 12, 23.

199. Gaut. II, 23; Vi. XXVIII, 24-25. The epithets to be added to the teacher's name are upâdhyâya, bha/*ta* (Medh.), âtârya (Kull.), or *karana* and the like (Nâr.).

200. Vi. XXVIII, 26.

201. Paribhoktâ, 'he who lives on his teacher's substance,' means

will become (in his next birth) an ass, by falsely defaming him, a dog; he who lives on his teacher's substance, will become a worm, and he who is envious (of his merit), a (larger) insect.

202. He must not serve the (teacher by the intervention of another) while he himself stands aloof, nor when he (himself) is angry, nor when a woman is near; if he is seated in a carriage or on a (raised) seat, he must descend and afterwards salute his (teacher).

203. Let him not sit with his teacher, to the leeward or to the windward (of him); nor let him say anything which his teacher cannot hear.

204. He may sit with his teacher in a carriage drawn by oxen, horses, or camels, on a terrace, on a bed of grass or leaves, on a mat, on a rock, on a wooden bench, or in a boat.

205. If his teacher's teacher is near, let him behave (towards him) as towards his own teacher; but let him, unless he has received permission from his teacher, not salute venerable persons of his own (family).

206. This is likewise (ordained as) his constant behaviour towards (other) instructors in science, towards his relatives (to whom honour is due),

according to Nâr. and Nand. 'he who eats without the teacher's permission the best food, obtained by begging.' The latter explanation is supported by the meaning of the preposition 'pari' in parivettâ and paryâdhâtâ.

202. 'Nor when a woman is near,' i.e. 'if the teacher is in the company of his wife.'

203. Âp. I, 6, 15.

204. Âp. I, 7, 7, 12-13; Vi. XXVIII, 27-28.

205. Âp. I, 7, 29-30, 8, 19-20; Vi. XXVIII, 29-30.

206. Âp. I, 8, 28.

the teacher; but those who belong to a different caste, must be honoured by rising and salutation.

211. Let him not perform for a wife of his teacher (the offices of) anointing her, assisting her in the bath, shampooing her limbs, or arranging her hair.

212. (A pupil) who is full twenty years old, and knows what is becoming and unbecoming, shall not salute a young wife of his teacher (by clasping) her feet.

213. It is the nature of women to seduce men in this (world); for that reason the wise are never unguarded in (the company of) females.

214. For women are able to lead astray in (this) world not only a fool, but even a learned man, and (to make) him a slave of desire and anger.

215. One should not sit in a lonely place with one's mother, sister, or daughter; for the senses are powerful, and master even a learned man.

216. But at his pleasure a young student may prostrate himself on the ground before the young wife of a teacher, in accordance with the rule, and say, 'I, N. N., (worship thee, O lady).'

217. On returning from a journey he must clasp the feet of his teacher's wife and daily salute her (in the manner just mentioned), remembering the duty of the virtuous.

218. As the man who digs with a spade (into the ground) obtains water, even so an obedient (pupil) obtains the knowledge which lies (hidden) in his teacher.

219. A (student) may either shave his head, or

216-217. Vi. XXXII, 13-15.

219. Gaut. I, 27; Vas. VII, 11; Vi. XXVIII, 41; Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 10. Instead of 'while (he sleeps) in the village' (Medh.

wear his hair in braids, or braid one lock on the crown of his head; the sun must never set or rise while he (lies asleep) in the village.

220. If the sun should rise or set while he is sleeping, be it (that he offended) intentionally or unintentionally, he shall fast during the (next) day, muttering (the Sâvitri).

221. For he who lies (sleeping), while the sun sets or rises, and does not perform (that) penance, is tainted by great guilt.

222. Purified by sipping water, he shall daily worship during both twilights with a concentrated mind in a pure place, muttering the prescribed text according to the rule.

223. If a woman or a man of low caste perform anything (leading to) happiness, let him diligently practise it, as well as (any other permitted act) in which his heart finds pleasure.

224. (Some declare that) the chief good consists in (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, (others place it) in (the gratification of) desire and (the acquisition of) wealth, (others) in (the acqui-

'others,' Kull., Râgh.). Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. give 'while (he stays) in the village.' The former explanation is, however, more probable on account of the following verse.

220. Âp. II, 12, 13-14; Gaut. XXIII, 21; Vas. XX, 4; Baudh. II, 7, 16; Vi. XXVIII, 53. The translation of the last words follows Gov. and Kull., while Medh., Nâr., and Râgh. state that the penance shall be performed during 'the (next) day (or night),' and that he who neglects the evening prayer, shall fast in the evening and repeat the Gâyatri during the night. The parallel passages show that a difference of opinion existed with respect to the performance of this penance.

221. Vas. I, 18; Âp. II, 12, 22.

222. Âp. I, 30, 8; Gaut. II, 11; Baudh. II, 7; Vi. XXVIII, 2.

223. Âp. II, 29, 11.

sition of) spiritual merit alone, and (others say that the acquisition of) wealth alone is the chief good here (below); but the (correct) decision is that it consists of the aggregate of (those) three.

225. The teacher, the father, the mother, and an elder brother must not be treated with disrespect, especially by a Brâhmaṇa, though one be grievously offended (by them).

226. The teacher is the image of Brahman, the father the image of Praṇapati (the lord of created beings), the mother the image of the earth, and an (elder) full brother the image of oneself.

227. That trouble (and pain) which the parents undergo on the birth of (their) children, cannot be compensated even in a hundred years.

228. Let him always do what is agreeable to those (two) and always (what may please) his teacher; when those three are pleased, he obtains all (those rewards which) austerities (yield).

229. Obedience towards those three is declared to be the best (form of) austerity; let him not perform other meritorious acts without their permission.

230. For they are declared to be the three worlds, they the three (principal) orders, they the three Vedas, and they the three sacred fires.

231. The father, forsooth, is stated to be the Gârhapatya fire, the mother the Dakshinâgni, but

225. Âp. I, 14, 6; Vi. XXXI, 1-3. This verse is placed by Kull. alone after the following one, while all the other commentators as well as K. observe the order followed above.

229. Vi. XXXI, 6.

230. Vi. XXXI, 7. 'The three worlds,' i.e. 'the earth, the middle sphere, and the sky;' 'the three orders,' i.e. 'the first three orders' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.), 'the last three orders' (Medh., Gov.).

231. Âp. I, 3, 44; Vi. XXXI, 8.

the teacher the Âhavanîya fire ; this triad of fires is most venerable.

232. He who neglects not those three, (even after he has become) a householder, will conquer the three worlds and, radiant in body like a god, he will enjoy bliss in heaven.

✓ 233. By honouring his mother he gains this (nether) world, by honouring his father the middle sphere, but by obedience to his teacher the world of Brahman.

234. All duties have been fulfilled by him who honours those three ; but to him who honours them not, all rites remain fruitless.

235. As long as those three live, so long let him not (independently) perform any other (meritorious acts) ; let him always serve them, rejoicing (to do what is) agreeable and beneficial (to them).

236. He shall inform them of everything that with their consent he may perform in thought, word, or deed for the sake of the next world.

237. By (honouring) these three all that ought to be done by man, is accomplished ; that is clearly the highest duty, every other (act) is a subordinate duty.

✓ 238. He who possesses faith may receive pure learning even from a man of lower caste, the highest

232. Vi. XXXI, 9.

233. Vi. XXXI, 10.

238. Âp. II, 29, 11. 'The highest law,' i.e. 'the means of obtaining final liberation' (Kull.) ; but Medh., Gov., and Râgh. refer the expression to advice in worldly matters. 'From a base family,' i.e. 'from a family where the sacred rites are neglected' (Medh.), 'from one that is lower than oneself' (Kull.), 'from the family of a potter or a similar (low caste),' (Gov.) But probably the rule refers to the practice to take particularly desirable brides even from the families of outcasts ; see Vas. XIII, 51-53.

law even from the lowest, and an excellent wife even from a base family.

239. Even from poison nectar may be taken, even from a child good advice, even from a foe (a lesson in) good conduct, and even from an impure (substance) gold.

240. Excellent wives, learning, (the knowledge of) the law, (the rules of) purity, good advice, and various arts may be acquired from anybody.

241. It is prescribed that in times of distress (a student) may learn (the Veda) from one who is not a Brâhmana; and that he shall walk behind and serve (such a) teacher, as long as the instruction lasts.

242. He who desires incomparable bliss (in heaven) shall not dwell during his whole life in (the house of) a non-Brâhmanical teacher, nor with a Brâhmana who does not know the whole Veda and the Ângas.

243. But if (a student) desires to pass his whole life in the teacher's house, he must diligently serve him, until he is freed from this body.

244. A Brâhmana who serves his teacher till the dissolution of his body, reaches forthwith the eternal mansion of Brahman.

245. He who knows the sacred law must not present any gift to his teacher before (the Samâvar-tana); but when, with the permission of his teacher, he is about to take the (final) bath, let him procure

240. Striyo ratnâni, 'excellent wives' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'wives and gems.'

241. Âp. II, 4, 25; Gaut. VII, 1-3; Baudh. I, 3, 41-43.

243. Âp. II, 21, 6; Gaut. III. 5-6; Vas. VII, 4; Baudh. II, 11, 13; Vi. XXVIII, 43; Yâgñ. I, 49.

245. Âp. I, 7, 19; Gaut. II, 48-49; Vi. XXVIII, 42; Yâgñ. I, 51.

(a present) for the venerable man according to his ability,

246. (Viz.) a field, gold, a cow, a horse, a parasol and shoes, a seat, grain, (even) vegetables, (and thus) give pleasure to his teacher.

247. (A perpetual student) must, if his teacher dies, serve his son (provided he be) endowed with good qualities, or his widow, or his *Sapinda*, in the same manner as the teacher.

248. Should none of these be alive, he must serve the sacred fire, standing (by day) and sitting (during the night), and thus finish his life.

249. A *Brāhmaṇa* who thus passes his life as a student without breaking his vow, reaches (after death) the highest abode and will not be born again in this world.

CHAPTER III.

1. The vow (of studying) the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years, or for

246. Most commentators read *pritimāharet* for *āvahet*, and with this reading the translation must be, 'A field, gold . . . he should give to the teacher in order to please him.'

247. Gaut. III, 7; Vi. XXVIII, 44-45; *Yâgñ.* I, 49. Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see below, V, 60.

248. Gaut. III, 8; Vas. VII, 5-6; Vi. XXVIII, 46; *Yâgñ.* I, 49. *Sarīram sādhayet*, 'shall finish his life' (Medh., Gov.), means according to Kull. 'shall make the soul connected with his body perfect, i.e. fit for the union with Brahman.' *Nâr.* and *Râgh.* take the word similarly.

249. Vi. XXVIII, 49; *Yâgñ.* I, 50.

III. 1. *Âp.* I, 2, 12-16; Gaut. II, 45-47; Vas. VIII, 1; Baudh. I, 3, 1-4; Vi. XXVIII, 42; *Yâgñ.* I, 36.

The three Vedas meant are the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. The *Atharva-veda* is here, as in most of the ancient *Dharma-sûtras*, left out altogether. *Baudhâyana*, alone, states that

half that time, or for a quarter, or until the (student) has perfectly learnt them.

2. (A student) who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking the (rules of) studentship, shall enter the order of householders.

3. He who is famous for (the strict performance of) his duties and has received his heritage, the Veda, from his father, shall be honoured, sitting on a couch and adorned with a garland, with (the present of) a cow (and the honey-mixture).

4. Having bathed, with the permission of his teacher, and performed according to the rule the Samâvartana (the rite on returning home), a twice-born man shall marry a wife of equal caste who is endowed with auspicious (bodily) marks.

5. A (damsel) who is neither a Sapindâ on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on

the term of studentship extends over forty-eight years, and that rule includes the Atharva-veda.

2. Yâgñ. I, 52.

3. The meaning is, that the student who, after completing his term, has become a Snâtaka, shall receive first, i.e. before his marriage, the honour of the Madhuparka (Âp. II, 8, 5-9) from the person who instructed him. The phrase 'who has received his heritage, the Veda, from his father,' indicates, according to the commentators, that, as a rule, the father is to teach his son. As, however, the teacher is considered the spiritual father of his pupil, *pituḥ* might also be translated 'from his (spiritual) father.'

4. Gaut. IV, 1; Vas. VIII, 1; Yâgñ. I, 52. Regarding the 'auspicious bodily marks,' see Sâṅkhâya, *Gṛhya-sûtra* I, 5, 10. See also below, vers. 7-10.

5. Âp. II, 11, 15-16; Gaut. IV, 2-5; Vas. VIII, 1-2; Baudh. II, 1, 32-38; Vi. XXIV, 9-10; Yâgñ. I, 53.

Asagotrâ *ka yâ pituḥ*, 'who does not belong to the same family on the father's side,' means according to Medh. and Kull. 'between whose father's and the bridegroom's family no blood-relationship is

the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union.

6. In connecting himself with a wife, let him carefully avoid the ten following families, be they ever so great, or rich in kine, horses, sheep, grain, or (other) property,

7. (Viz.) one which neglects the sacred rites, one in which no male children (are born), one in which the Veda is not studied, one (the members of) which have thick hair on the body, those which are subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, weakness of digestion, epilepsy, or white and black leprosy.

8. Let him not marry a maiden (with) reddish (hair), nor one who has a redundant member, nor one who is sickly, nor one either with no hair (on the body) or too much, nor one who is garrulous or has red (eyes),

9. Nor one named after a constellation, a tree, or a river, nor one bearing the name of a low caste, or of a mountain, nor one named after a bird, a

traceable.' It is, however, very probable that gotra has a double meaning, *vaidika* and *laukika* gotra, and that, in the case of *Brâhmanas*, intermarriages between families descended from the same *Rîshi*, and, in the case of other *Âryans*, between families bearing the same name or known to be connected, are forbidden. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. hold that the first *ka*, 'and,' indicates that *asagotrâ* refers to the mother's side also, and Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. think that on account of the second *ka*, the word *asapindâ* must be taken to refer to the father's side also, and that thus intermarriages with the daughter of a paternal aunt or with the paternal grandfather's sister's descendants are forbidden. Maithune, 'for conjugal union' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), means according to Kull. and Râgh. 'for the holy rites to be performed by the husband and wife together.' Nand. reads *amaithuni*, 'one who is a virgin.' Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see below, V, 60.

7. Vi. XXIV, 11; Yâgñ. I, 54.

8. Yâgñ. I, 53; Vi. XXIV, 12-16.

snake, or a slave, nor one whose name inspires terror.

10. Let him wed a female free from bodily defects, who has an agreeable name, the (graceful) gait of a *Hamsa* or of an elephant, a moderate (quantity of) hair on the body and on the head, small teeth, and soft limbs.

11. But a prudent man should not marry (a maiden) who has no brother, nor one whose father is not known, through fear lest (in the former case she be made) an appointed daughter (and in the latter) lest (he should commit) sin.

12. For the first marriage of twice-born men (wives) of equal caste are recommended; but for those who through desire proceed (to marry again) the following females, (chosen) according to the (direct) order (of the castes), are most approved.

13. It is declared that a *Sûdra* woman alone (can be) the wife of a *Sûdra*, she and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Vaisya*, those two and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Kshatriya*, those three and one of his own caste (the wives) of a *Brâhmaṇa*.

11. *Yâgñ.* I, 53. 'Lest he should commit sin,' i.e. marry a *Sagotrâ* or one sprung from an illicit union. The translation follows Kull., *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and 'others' mentioned by Medh. But Medh. himself takes the verse differently, 'A prudent man should not marry a (maiden) who has no brother, if her father is not known (i.e. is dead or absent), through fear lest she be made an appointed daughter;' while Gov. explains it as follows, 'A prudent man should not marry a (maiden) who has no brother or whose father is not known, through fear lest she be made an appointed daughter.' According to the latter it would be possible, in case the father is not known, that she might be only the half-sister of her brother, and her real father, having no children, might make her an appointed daughter.

12. *Vi.* XXIV, 1-4; *Baudh.* I, 16, 2-5.

13. *Yâgñ.* I, 56; *Vas.* I, 25-26.

14. A *Sûdra* woman is not mentioned even in any (ancient) story as the (first) wife of a *Brâhmaṇa* or of a *Kṣatriya*, though they lived in the (greatest) distress.

15. Twice-born men who, in their folly, wed wives of the low (*Sûdra*) caste, soon degrade their families and their children to the state of *Sûdras*.

16. According to Atri and to (Gautama) the son of Utathya, he who weds a *Sûdra* woman becomes an outcast, according to Saunaka on the birth of a son, and according to *Bhrigu* he who has (male) offspring from a (*Sûdra* female, alone).

17. A *Brâhmaṇa* who takes a *Sûdra* wife to his bed, will (after death) sink into hell; if he begets a child by her, he will lose the rank of a *Brâhmaṇa*.

18. The manes and the gods will not eat the (offerings) of that man who performs the rites in

14. Vas. I, 27; Gaut. XV, 18; Âp. I, 18, 33.

15. Vi. XXV, 6.

16. Baudh. II, 2-7. The above translation follows Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. But Kull. takes the last clause differently, 'according to *Bhrigu* on the birth of a son's son.' This version is supported, as a quotation given by Nâr. shows, by the *Bhaviṣya-purâṇa*, which, as usual, paraphrases Manu's text, *putrasya putram âsâdya Saunakaḥ sûdratâm gataḥ | bhrigvâdayo 'py evam eva patitatvam avâpnuyuh* || There was, moreover, as this passage shows, an ancient explanation of our verse, according to which the various names of *Rîshis* do not refer to authors of law-books, but to founders of *Gotras*. This view is adopted by Nâr., and, according to him, the translation should run as follows: '(A man of the family) of Atri who weds a *Sûdra* female, becomes an outcast, (one of the race) of Utathya's son, on the birth of a son, and (one of) Saunaka's or *Bhrigu*'s (*Gotras*) by having no other but *Sûdra* offspring.' It ought to be noted that, according to Kull. alone, the three clauses refer to *Brâhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas* respectively. Râgh. particularly objects to this opinion, which, according to him, 'some' hold.

18. Vas. XIV, 11; Vi. XXV, 7.

honour of the gods, of the manes, and of guests chiefly with a (*Sûdra* wife's) assistance, and such (a man) will not go to heaven.

19. For him who drinks the moisture of a *Sûdra*'s lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who begets a son on her, no expiation is prescribed.

20. Now listen to (the) brief (description of) the following eight marriage-rites used by the four castes (*varṇa*) which partly secure benefits and partly produce evil both in this life and after death.

21. (They are) the rite of Brahman (*Brâhma*), that of the gods (*Daiva*), that of the *Rishis* (*Ârsha*), that of *Pragâpati* (*Prâgâpatya*), that of the *Asuras* (*Âsura*), that of the *Gandharvas* (*Gândharva*), that of the *Râkshasas* (*Râkshasa*), and that of the *Pisâkas* (*Paisâka*).

22. Which is lawful for each caste (*varṇa*) and which are the virtues or faults of each (rite), all this I will declare to you, as well as their good and evil results with respect to the offspring.

23. One may know that the first six according to the order (followed above) are lawful for a *Brâhmaṇa*, the four last for a *Kshatriya*, and the same four, excepting the *Râkshasa* rite, for a *Vaisya* and a *Sûdra*.

24. The sages state that the first four are approved (in the case) of a *Brâhmaṇa*, one, the *Râkshasa* (rite

21-34. Âp. II, 11, 17-21; Gaut. IV, 6-15; Vas. I, 17-35; Baudh. I, 20, 1-21, 23; Vi. XXIV, 18-28; Yâgñ. I, 58-61.

23. It seems extremely probable that this and the next three verses contain, as Sir W. Jones thinks, several conflicting opinions on the permissibility of the different marriage rites. The commentators, however, try to reconcile them by various tricks of interpretation.

in the case) of a Kshatriya, and the Âsura (marriage in that) of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra.

25. But in these (Institutes of the sacred law) three of the five (last) are declared to be lawful and two unlawful; the Paisâka and the Âsura (rites) must never be used.

26. For Kshatriyas those before-mentioned two rites, the Gândharva and the Râkshasa, whether separate or mixed, are permitted by the sacred tradition.

27. The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with costly garments) and honouring (her by presents of jewels), to a man learned in the Veda and of good conduct, whom (the father) himself invites, is called the Brâhma rite.

28. The gift of a daughter who has been decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, they call the Daiva rite.

29. When (the father) gives away his daughter according to the rule, after receiving from the bridegroom, for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law, a cow and a bull or two pairs, that is named the Ârsha rite.

30. The gift of a daughter (by her father) after

26. 'Mixed,' i. e. when a girl is forcibly abducted from her father's house after a previous understanding with her lover.

27. Nâr. and Râgh. refer *arṇayitvâ*, 'after honouring,' to the bridegroom, and take it in the sense of 'after honouring (the bridegroom with the honey-mixture).'

29. 'For the (fulfilment of) the sacred law,' i. e. 'not with the intention of selling his child' (Medh.); see also below, vers. 51-54. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'pronouncing the words prescribed for making a gift' (Nâr.).

30. 'Has shown honour,' i. e. 'to the bridegroom by the honey-mixture' (Nâr., Nand.).

he has addressed (the couple) with the text, 'May both of you perform together your duties,' and has shown honour (to the bridegroom), is called in the *Smṛiti* the *Prāgāpatya* rite.

31. When (the bridegroom) receives a maiden, after having given as much wealth as he can afford, to the kinsmen and to the bride herself, according to his own will, that is called the *Āsura* rite.

32. The voluntary union of a maiden and her lover one must know (to be) the *Gāndharva* rite, which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose.

33. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries out and weeps, after (her kinsmen) have been slain or wounded and (their houses) broken open, is called the *Rākshasa* rite.

34. When (a man) by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated, or disordered in intellect, that is the eighth, the most base and sinful rite of the *Pisākas*.

31. 'According to his own will,' i. e. 'not in accordance with the injunction of the sacred law, as in the case of the *Ārsha* rite' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*).

32. *Gov.* and *Nâr.* here enter on a discussion of the question whether the prescribed offerings and wedding ceremonies are to be performed in the case of the *Gāndharva*, *Rākshasa*, and *Paisāka* rites. Relying on a passage of *Devala* and of the *Bahvṛika Gr̥hya-pariśiṣṭa* (*Saunaka*) they are of opinion that the homas must be performed, at least in the case of *Āryan* couples. But they hold on the strength of *Manu's* dictum, VIII, 226, which restricts the use of the *Mantras* to women, married as virgins, that the Vedic nuptial texts must not be recited. From the comment of *Medh.* on verse 34 it would appear that the opinions on the subject were divided, and that some held weddings with the recitation of *Mantras* to be permissible, while others denied the necessity of any wedding.

35. The gift of daughters among Brâhmanas is most approved, (if it is preceded) by (a libation of) water; but in the case of other castes (it may be performed) by (the expression of) mutual consent.

36. Listen now to me, ye Brâhmanas, while I fully declare what quality has been ascribed by Manu to each of these marriage-rites.

37. The son of a wife wedded according to the Brâhma rite, if he performs meritorious acts, liberates from sin ten ancestors, ten descendants and himself as the twenty-first.

38. The son born of a wife, wedded according to the Daiva rite, likewise (saves) seven ancestors and seven descendants, the son of a wife married by the Ârsha rite three (in the ascending and descending lines), and the son of a wife married by the rite of Ka (Pragâpati) six (in either line).

39. From the four marriages, (enumerated) successively, which begin with the Brâhma rite spring sons, radiant with knowledge of the Veda and honoured by the Śishṭas (good men).

40. Endowed with the qualities of beauty and goodness, possessing wealth and fame, obtaining as

35. Itaretarakâmyayâ, 'by (the expression of) mutual consent,' i.e. by the parents, means according to Medh. 'in consequence of the mutual desire of the bride and the bridegroom.' He mentions, however, the other explanation too. The text refers probably to customs like the sending of a cocoa-nut, which is usually adopted by Kshatriyas.

37-42. Vi. XXIV, 29-32; Gaut. IV, 29-33; Baudh. I, 21, 1; Âp. II, 12, 4; Yâgñ. I, 58-60, 90.

39. Regarding the explanation of the term Śishṭas, see below, XII, 109.

40. Gov. and Kull. take the first adjective differently, 'endowed with beauty, goodness, and other excellent qualities.' Regarding the term 'goodness' (sattva), see below, XII, 31.

many enjoyments as they desire and being most righteous, they will live a hundred years.

41. But from the remaining (four) blamable marriages spring sons who are cruel and speakers of untruth, who hate the Veda and the sacred law.

42. In the blameless marriages blameless children are born to men, in blamable (marriages) blamable (offspring); one should therefore avoid the blamable (forms of marriage).

43. The ceremony of joining the hands is prescribed for (marriages with) women of equal caste (*varṇa*); know that the following rule (applies) to weddings with females of a different caste (*varṇa*).

44. On marrying a man of a higher caste a Kshatriya bride must take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya bride of a goad, and a Sūdra female of the hem of the (bridegroom's) garment.

45. Let (the husband) approach his wife in due season, being constantly satisfied with her (alone); he may also, being intent on pleasing her, approach her with a desire for conjugal union (on any day) excepting the Parvans.

46. Sixteen (days and) nights (in each month),

43. Vi. XXIV, 5-8; Yâgñ. I, 62.

44. The bridegroom takes hold of the other end of the arrow or of the goad, pronouncing the same texts which are recited on taking the hand of a bride of equal caste (Nâr.).

45. Yâgñ. I, 80-81; Âp. II, 1, 17-18; Gaut. V, 1-2; Vas. XII, 21-24; Vi. LXIX, 1; Baudh. IV, 17-19. Tadvratah, 'being intent on pleasing her' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'being careful to keep that rule (regarding the Parvans).' With respect to the Parvans, see below, IV, 128.

46. Yâgñ. I, 79. The days which the virtuous declared to be unfit for conjugal intercourse are the first four after the appearance of the menses.

including four days which differ from the rest and are censured by the virtuous, (are called) the natural season of women.

47. But among these the first four, the eleventh and the thirteenth are (declared to be) forbidden; the remaining nights are recommended.

48. On the even nights sons are conceived and daughters on the uneven ones; hence a man who desires to have sons should approach his wife in due season on the even (nights).

49. A male child is produced by a greater quantity of male seed, a female child by the prevalence of the female; if (both are) equal, a hermaphrodite or a boy and a girl; if (both are) weak or deficient in quantity, a failure of conception (results).

50. He who avoids women on the six forbidden nights and on eight others, is (equal in chastity to) a student, in whichever order he may live.

51. No father who knows (the law) must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring.

52. But those (male) relations who, in their folly, live on the separate property of women, (e. g. appropriate) the beasts of burden, carriages, and clothes of women, commit sin and will sink into hell.

48. Yâgñ. I, 79.

50. 'In whichever order he may live,' i.e. 'whether he be a householder or a hermit in the woods' (Kull., Nâr.). Medh. thinks that it is merely an arthavâda, and refers to no other order but that of householders, while Govinda thinks that the verse permits even to an ascetic who has lost all his children, to approach his wife during two nights in each month. Kull. justly ridicules the last opinion.

51. Âp. II, 13, 11; Vas. I, 37-38; Baudh. I, 21, 2-3.

52. Medh. gives in the first place another explanation of this

53. Some call the cow and the bull (given) at an Ârsha wedding 'a gratuity;' (but) that is wrong, since (the acceptance of) a fee, be it small or great, is a sale (of the daughter).

54. When the relatives do not appropriate (for their use) the gratuity (given), it is not a sale; (in that case) the (gift) is only a token of respect and of kindness towards the maidens.

55. Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare.

56. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields rewards.

57. Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.

58. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic.

59. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes, and (dainty) food.

verse, which Nâr. and Nand. consider the only admissible one: 'But those (male) relations who, in their folly, live on property obtained by (the sale of) women, (e. g.) carriages or beasts of burden and clothes (received for) females, commit sin, &c.' Nand. and K. read nârîr yânâni, 'female slaves, carriages, &c.' The objection to Nâr.'s explanation is that nârîyânâni can hardly mean 'carriages received for females.' The reading 'nârîh' is obviously a conjectural emendation.

53. Âp. II, 13, 12; Vas. I, 36.

55-60. Yâgñ. I, 82.

58. Some copies of Medh. omit verses 58-66.

59. Instead of satkāreshu (saṃkāreshu, Gov.), 'on holidays,' like the Kaumudî, the Mahânâmni, and so forth (Gov., Kull., Râgh.),

60. In that family, where the husband is pleased with his wife and the wife with her husband, happiness will assuredly be lasting.

61. For if the wife is not radiant with beauty, she will not attract her husband; but if she has no attractions for him, no children will be born.

62. If the wife is radiant with beauty, the whole house is bright; but if she is destitute of beauty, all will appear dismal.

63. By low marriages, by omitting (the performance of) sacred rites, by neglecting the study of the Veda, and by irreverence towards Brâhmanas, (great) families sink low.

64. By (practising) handicrafts, by pecuniary transactions, by (begetting) children on Sûdra females only, by (trading in) cows, horses, and carriages, by (the pursuit of) agriculture and by taking service under a king,

65. By sacrificing for men unworthy to offer sacrifices and by denying (the future rewards for good) works, families, deficient in the (knowledge of the) Veda, quickly perish.

66. But families that are rich in the knowledge of the Veda, though possessing little wealth, are numbered among the great, and acquire great fame.

Nâr. and Nand. read *satkâreṇa*, which, according to the former, means 'by kind speech.'

64. Baudh. I, 10, 28. Nâr. says, 'by (keeping) beasts of burden, such as bullocks and horses.'

65. Baudh. I, 10, 26. Instead of *kuḷâny âsu vinyasyanti*, 'families . . . perish quickly' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. read *kuḷâny akulatâṃ yânti*, '(great) families lose their rank.'

66. Baudh. I, 10, 29.

67. With the sacred fire, kindled at the wedding, a householder shall perform according to the law the domestic ceremonies and the five (great) sacrifices, and (with that) he shall daily cook his food.

68. A householder has five slaughter-houses (as it were, viz.) the hearth, the grinding-stone, the broom, the pestle and mortar, the water-vessel, by using which he is bound (with the fetters of sin).

69. In order to successively expiate (the offences committed by means) of all these (five) the great sages have prescribed for householders the daily (performance of the five) great sacrifices.

70. Teaching (and studying) is the sacrifice (offered) to Brahman, the (offerings of water and food called) *Tarpaṇa* the sacrifice to the manes, the burnt oblation the sacrifice offered to the gods, the

67. Yâgñ. I, 97; Gaut. V, 7; Vi. LIX, 1; Baudh. II, 4, 22. 'The domestic ceremonies,' i.e. 'all the rites prescribed in the *Gṛihya-sūtras*.'

68. Vi. LIX, 19. The translation of *upaskaraḥ*, 'the broom,' rests on the authority of Nâr., who says, *peshanena upakiraty asuddhânity upaskaro 'vaskarahetuḥ ; sammârganî bhûyish/hapipîlikâdihimsâhetuḥ* || The other commentators seem to take *upaskaraḥ* in its usual sense, 'a household implement,' as they explain it by *kundaka/âhâdi*, 'a pot, a kettle, and the like' (Medh.), *kundasammârganyâdi*, 'a pot, a broom, and the like' (Kull.), *sammârganyâdi*, 'a broom and the like' (Râgh.), *ulûkhalamusalâdi*, 'a mortar and pestle and the like' (K.). But it is clear from the context that one implement only is meant.

69. Vi. LIX, 20.

70. Âp. I, 12, 15-13, 1; Gaut. V, 3, 9; Baudh. II, 5, 11; II, 11, 1-6; Vi. LIX, 21-25; Yâgñ. I, 102. By Bhûtas either 'the goblins' or 'the living creatures' may be understood. Medh. takes it in the former sense. Nand. reads *adhyâyanam* for *adhyâpanam*, and adds *adhyâyanam evâ 'dhyayanam*, 'adhyâyana is the same as *adhyayana*, studying.'

Bali offering that offered to the Bhûtas, and the hospitable reception of guests the offering to men.

71. He who neglects not these five great sacrifices, while he is able (to perform them), is not tainted by the sins (committed) in the five places of slaughter, though he constantly lives in the (order of) house(-holders).

72. But he who does not feed these five, the gods, his guests, those whom he is bound to maintain, the manes, and himself, lives not, though he breathes.

73. They call (these) five sacrifices also, Ahuta, Huta, Prahuta, Brâhmya-huta, and Prâsita.

74. Ahuta (not offered in the fire) is the muttering (of Vedic texts), Huta the burnt oblation (offered to the gods), Prahuta (offered by scattering it on the ground) the Bali offering given to the Bhûtas, Brâhmya-huta (offered in the digestive fire of Brâhmaṇas), the respectful reception of Brâhmaṇa (guests), and Prâsita (eaten) the (daily oblation to the manes, called) Tarpaya.

75. Let (every man) in this (second order, at least) daily apply himself to the private recitation of the Veda, and also to the performance of the offering to the gods; for he who is diligent in the performance

72. 'Those whom he is bound to maintain,' i. e. 'aged parents and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'animals unfit for work' (Medh.), or 'the Bhûtas, goblins or living beings' (Nâr., Râgh.). Nand. reads bhûtânâm for bhrityânâm, as Nâr. and Râgh. seem to have done.

73. Medh. remarks that these technical terms must belong to some particular Sâkhâ of the Veda. Two of them occur in the beginning of Baudhâyana's *Grihya-sûtra*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxi, and four in Pâraskara's *Grihya-sûtra* I, 4, 1, as well as in Sâṅkhâyana's, I, 5, 1. Nâr., Nand., and K. read Brâhmahuta in this and the next verses.

of sacrifices, supports both the movable and the immovable creation.

76. An oblation duly thrown into the fire, reaches the sun ; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, therefrom the living creatures (derive their subsistence).

77. As all living creatures subsist by receiving support from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the householder.

78. Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the householder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) householders is the most excellent order.

79. (The duties of) this order, which cannot be practised by men with weak organs, must be carefully observed by him who desires imperishable (bliss in) heaven, and constant happiness in this (life).

80. The sages, the manes, the gods, the Bhûtas, and guests ask the householders (for offerings and gifts); hence he who knows (the law), must give to them (what is due to each).

81. Let him worship, according to the rule, the sages by the private recitation of the Veda, the gods by burnt oblations, the manes by funeral offerings

76. Vas. XI, 13.

77-78. Vas. VIII, 14-16 ; Vi. LIX, 27-28.

78. Medh. points out that this verse indicates that householders alone are, as a rule, to be the teachers of the Veda, not hermits or ascetics. He adds, however, that the Institutes of the Bhikshus prescribe that men of the latter two orders, too, shall teach. Similarly Nâr. and Nand. point out that householders alone shall be teachers, 'except in times of distress' (Nand.).

79. 'Of weak organs,' i.e. 'of uncontrolled organs' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Some MSS. of Medh. and Nand. read *atyantam*, 'excessive,' for *nityam*, 'constant.'

80. Vi. LIX, 29.

81. Yâgñ. I, 104.

(*Srâddha*), men by (gifts of) food, and the *Bhûtas* by the *Bali* offering.

82. Let him daily perform a funeral sacrifice with food, or with water, or also with milk, roots, and fruits, and (thus) please the manes.

83. Let him feed even one *Brâhmaṇa* in honour of the manes at (the *Srâddha*), which belongs to the five great sacrifices; but let him not feed on that (occasion) any *Brâhmaṇa* on account of the *Vaisvadeva* offering.

84. A *Brâhmaṇa* shall offer according to the rule (of his *Gṛhya-sûtra* a portion) of the cooked food destined for the *Vaisvadeva* in the sacred domestic fire to the following deities :

85. First to *Agni*, and (next) to *Soma*, then to both these gods conjointly, further to all the gods (*Visve Devâḥ*), and (then) to *Dhanvantari*,

86. Further to *Kuhû* (the goddess of the new-moon day), to *Anumati* (the goddess of the full-moon day), to *Pragâpati* (the lord of creatures), to heaven and earth conjointly, and finally to *Agni Svishtakṛit* (the fire which performs the sacrifice well).

82. Vi. LXVII, 23-25.

83. The object of the second part of the verse is to forbid that two sets of *Brâhmaṇas* are to be fed at the daily *Srâddha*, as is done at the *Pârvana Srâddha*, see below, verse 125 seq. *Nâr.* adds, *visveshâm devânâm nityasrâddhe prīṇanam nâstīti darsitam* || 'It is indicated (hereby) that the *Visvedevas* are not gladdened at the daily *Srâddha*.' *Medh.*, *Nand.*, and *Râgh.* read *kimṛit*, 'any (food),' for *kaṁṛit*, 'any (*Brâhmaṇa*).'

84. *Âp.* II, 3, 16; *Gaut.* V, 10; Vi. LXVII, 3 (see also the *Gṛhya-sûtras*, quoted by Professor Jolly on the last passage). The term 'a *Brâhmaṇa*' is not intended to exclude other *Âryans* (*Medh.*, *Nand.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*).

85. Each offering must be presented with a mantra, consisting of the name of the deity in the dative case and the word 'svâhâ.'

87. After having thus duly offered the sacrificial food, let him throw Bali offerings in all directions of the compass, proceeding (from the east) to the south, to Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, and Soma, as well as to the servants (of these deities).

88. Saying, '(Adoration) to the Maruts,' he shall scatter (some food) near the door, and (some) in water, saying, '(Adoration to the waters;' he shall throw (some) on the pestle and the mortar, speaking thus, '(Adoration) to the trees.'

89. Near the head (of the bed) he shall make an offering to Śrī (fortune), and near the foot (of his bed) to Bhadrakālī; in the centre of the house let him place a Bali for Brahman and for Vāstoshpati (the lord of the dwelling) conjointly.

90. Let him throw up into the air a Bali for all the gods, and (in the day-time one) for the goblins roaming about by day, (and in the evening one) for the goblins that walk at night.

91. In the upper story let him offer a Bali to Sarvātmabhūti; but let him throw what remains (from these offerings) in a southerly direction for the manes.

87-92. Âp. II, 3, 12-15, 18-4, 9; Gaut. V, 11-17; Vi. LXVII, 4-22, 26.

89. Uḁkīrshake, 'near the head of the bed' (Medh., 'others,' Nār., Nand.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. 'in the north-eastern portion of the house, where the head of the Vāstupurusha, "the Lar," is situated.' Medh. says that the spot is known as the devasaraṇa. The same authorities refer pādātāḥ, 'at the foot,' to a spot in the south-west part of the building where the Lar keeps his feet.

91. Prīṣṭhāvāstuni, 'in the upper story,' or (if the house has only one) 'on the top of the house' (Medh.), may also mean according to Gov. and Nār. 'behind the house,' or according to Nand. 'outside the house.' Instead of 'Sarvātmabhūti' (Kull.,

92. Let him gently place on the ground (some food) for dogs, outcasts, *Kandâlas* (*Svapak*), those afflicted with diseases that are punishments of former sins, crows, and insects.

93. That *Brâhmaṇa* who thus daily honours all beings, goes, endowed with a resplendent body, by a straight road to the highest dwelling-place (i. e. *Brahman*).

94. Having performed this *Bali* offering, he shall first feed his guest and, according to the rule, give alms to an ascetic (and) to a student.

95. A twice-born householder gains, by giving alms, the same reward for his meritorious act which (a student) obtains for presenting, in accordance with the rule, a cow to his teacher.

Râgh.), *Nâr.* and *Nand.* have '*Sarvânubhûti*,' *Gov.* '*Sarvânnabhûti*.' *Nâr.* mentions a various reading '*Sarvânnabhûta*,' which seems to have been also *Medh.*'s version. The same deity occurs *Sâṅkhâyaṇa Grîhya-sûtra* II, 14, where Professor Oldenberg has *Sarvânnabhûti*, while the *Petersburg Dict.* gives *Sarvânubhûti*. Probably one of the last two readings is the original one, but without further parallel passages it is difficult to say which has to be chosen.

93. Instead of *tegomûrtiḥ*, 'endowed with a resplendent body,' *Kull.* and *Râgh.* read *tegomûrti*, '(to the highest) resplendent (dwelling-place, i. e. *Brahman*).'

94. *Vi.* LIX, 14; LXVII, 27; *Vas.* XI, 5; *Baudh.* II, 5, 15; *Yâgñ.* I, 107. *Bhikshave brahmaṣârîze*, 'to an ascetic and to a student' (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*), may mean according to *Medh.* (who gives *Kull.*'s view also), either 'to a begging student' or 'to an ascetic who is chaste.' *Gov.* adopts the former explanation. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'making him wish welfare' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*); see also *Gaut.* V, 18.

95. For *vidhivad gurau* or *guroḥ*, 'according to the rule, to his teacher,' *Nand.* reads *agor yathâvidhi*, 'according to the rule to one who has no cow.' The var. lect. is mentioned by *Medh.* also. The 'rule' referred to is, according to *Gov.* and *Kull.*, that given *Yâgñ.* I, 204.

96. Let him give, in accordance with the rule, to a Brâhmana who knows the true meaning of the Veda, even (a small portion of food as) alms, or a pot full of water, having garnished (the food with seasoning, or the pot with flowers and fruit).

97. The oblations to gods and manes, made by men ignorant (of the law of gifts), are lost, if the givers in their folly present (shares of them) to Brâhmanas who are mere ashes.

98. An offering made in the mouth-fire of Brâhmanas rich in sacred learning and austerities, saves from misfortune and from great guilt.

99. But let him offer, in accordance with the rule, to a guest who has come (of his own accord) a seat and water, as well as food, garnished (with seasoning), according to his ability.

100. A Brâhmana who stays unhonoured (in the house), takes away (with him) all the spiritual merit even of a man who subsists by gleaning ears of corn, or offers oblations in five fires.

101. Grass, room (for resting), water, and fourthly a kind word ; these (things) never fail in the houses of good men.

102. But a Brâhmana who stays one night only is declared to be a guest (atithi) ; for because he stays (sthita) not long (anityam), he is called atithi (a guest).

96. Satkrîtya, 'having garnished, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'having honoured the recipient' (with fruits and flowers, Gov.).

97. Vas. III, 8.

99-118. Âp. II, 4, 11, 13-20 ; 6, 5-9 ; Gaut. V, 25-45 ; Vas. VIII, 4-5, 11-15 ; Baudh. II, 5, 11-18 ; 6, 36-37 ; Vi. LXVII, 28-46 ; Yâgñ. I, 104-109, 112-113.

103. One must not consider as a guest a Brâhmana who dwells in the same village, nor one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse, even though he has come to a house where (there is) a wife, and where sacred fires (are kept).

104. Those foolish householders who constantly seek (to live on) the food of others, become, in consequence of that (baseness), after death the cattle of those who give them food.

105. A guest who is sent by the (setting) sun in the evening, must not be driven away by a householder; whether he have come at (supper-)time or at an inopportune moment, he must not stay in the house without entertainment.

106. Let him not eat any (dainty) food which he does not offer to his guest; the hospitable reception of guests procures wealth, fame, long life, and heavenly bliss.

107. Let him offer (to his guests) seats, rooms,

103. *Sâmgatikañ*, 'one who seeks his livelihood by social intercourse,' is, according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh., 'one who makes his living by telling wonderful or laughable stories and the like.' Medh. explains the word first by 'he who stays being a fellow-student (*sahâdhyâyî*),' and afterwards by 'a Vaisya, or Sûdra, or a friend who makes friends with everybody, possessing wonderful or laughable stories and the like, which are indicated by the word *samgati*.' Nâr. says that *samgati* means *sambandha*, 'connexion,' that *sâmgatika* is 'one who comes for such a reason.' Perhaps the term might be rendered 'a visitor on business or pleasure.' According to Kull. and Râgh., the last clause, 'where (there is) a wife and sacred fires (are kept),' indicates, that a householder who has neither, need not entertain guests. But the words are taken differently by Gov. and Nâr., 'nor him who travels with his wife or his fires' (*tathâ yatra yasya pravâsino 'pi bhâryâgnayo vâ saha gakkhanti | etadanyatamam svagrîha upasthitam âgatam apyathi atithim na vidyât | nâtitidharmenârîkayet || Nâr.*).

107. Gaut. V, 38. 'The rule refers to the case when many guests

beds, attendance on departure and honour (while they stay), to the most distinguished in the best form, to the lower ones in a lower form, to equals in an equal manner.

108. But if another guest comes after the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished, (the householder) must give him food according to his ability, (but) not repeat the Bali offering.

109. A Brâhmaṇa shall not name his family and (Vedic) gotra in order to obtain a meal; for he who boasts of them for the sake of a meal, is called by the wise a foul feeder (vântâsin).

110. But a Kshatriya (who comes) to the house of a Brâhmaṇa is not called a guest (atithi), nor a Vaisya, nor a Sûdra, nor a personal friend, nor a relative, nor the teacher.

111. But if a Kshatriya comes to the house of a Brâhmaṇa in the manner of a guest, (the householder) may feed him according to his desire, after the above-mentioned Brâhmaṇas have eaten.

112. Even a Vaisya and a Sûdra who have approached his house in the manner of guests, he may allow to eat with his servants, showing (thereby) his compassionate disposition.

113. Even to others, personal friends and so forth, who have come to his house out of affection, he may

come at the same time.' Upâsanam, 'honour (while they stay),' i. e. 'sitting with them and talking to them' (Medh.).

108. 'When the Vaisvadeva offering has been finished,' i. e. 'when the dinner of the guests is over.'

111. 'In the manner of a guest,' i. e. 'having consumed his provisions while on a journey, being an inhabitant of another village or arriving at meal-time' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

112. Nâr. says, 'he may cause them to be fed by his servants in the same manner.'

give food, garnished (with seasoning) according to his ability, (at the same time) with his wife.

114. Without hesitation he may give food, even before his guests, to the following persons, (viz.) to newly-married women, to infants, to the sick, and to pregnant women.

115. But the foolish man who eats first without having given food to these (persons) does, while he crams, not know that (after death) he himself will be devoured by dogs and vultures.

116. After the Brâhmaṇas, the kinsmen, and the servants have dined, the householder and his wife may afterwards eat what remains.

117. Having honoured the gods, the sages, men, the manes, and the guardian deities of the house, the householder shall eat afterwards what remains.

118. He who prepares food for himself (alone), eats nothing but sin; for it is ordained that the food which remains after (the performance of) the sacrifices shall be the meal of virtuous men.

119. Let him honour with the honey-mixture a king, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, the teacher, a son-in-law, a father-in-law, and a maternal uncle, (if they come) again after a full year (has elapsed since their last visit).

114. Suvâsinîḥ, 'to newly-married women,' i.e. 'daughters-in-law and daughters,' may also mean according to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Gov., 'females whose fathers or fathers-in-law live.' Nand. reads svavâsinîḥ and explains it by 'sisters.'

119-120. Âp. II, 8, 5-9; Gaut.V, 27-30; Vas. XI, 1-2; Baudh. II, 6, 36-37; Yâgñ. I, 110.

119. Guruḥ, 'the teacher,' means according to Nâr. 'the teacher or the sub-teacher.' Priyaḥ, which according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. means 'a son-in-law,' is taken by Nâr. and Nand. in its etymological sense, 'a friend.'

120. A king and a Srotriya, who come on the performance of a sacrifice, must be honoured with the honey-mixture, but not if no sacrifice is being performed; that is a settled rule.

121. But the wife shall offer in the evening (a portion) of the dressed food as a Bali-oblation, without (the recitation of) sacred formulas; for that (rite which is called the) Vaisvadeva is prescribed both for the morning and the evening.

122. After performing the *Pitriyagña*, a Brāhmaṇa who keeps a sacred fire shall offer, month by month, on the new-moon day, the funeral sacrifice (*Śrāddha*, called) *Pindānvâhâryaka*.

123. The wise call the monthly funeral offering to the manes *Anvâhârya* (to be offered after the

120. According to one opinion, given by Medh., and according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., this rule is a limitation of verse 119, and means that the two persons mentioned shall not receive the honey-mixture, except when they come during the performance of a sacrifice, however long a period may have elapsed since their last visit. According to another explanation, mentioned by Medh., and according to Nand. and Râgh., the verse means that a king and a Srotriya, who come before a year since their last visit elapsed, on the occasion of a sacrifice, shall receive the *madhuparka*. The term *Srotriya* refers according to Medh. to a *Snâtaka* or to an officiating priest, according to others quoted by him to all the persons mentioned in the preceding verse, according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. to a *Snâtaka*. The latter is probably the correct opinion, as a *Srotriya*, i. e. one who knows a whole recension of the Veda, must be a *Snâtaka*. Medh. approves of the reading *yagñakarmāny upasthite*.

121. Nand. omits this verse.

122. *Yâgñ.* I, 217; *Gaut.* XV, 2. The sacrifice intended by the term *Pitriyagña*, 'sacrifice offered to the fathers,' is the so-called *Pindapitriyagña*, a *Srauta* rite (*Āsvalâyana*, *Srauta-sūtra* II, 6-7), and *Pindānvâhâryaka* is another name for the monthly *Śrāddha*.

cakes), and that must be carefully performed with the approved (sorts of) flesh (mentioned below).

124. I will fully declare what and how many Brāhmaṇas must be fed on that (occasion), who must be avoided, and on what kinds of food (they shall dine).

125. One must feed two (Brāhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three at the offering to the manes, or one only on either occasion; even a very wealthy man shall not be anxious (to entertain) a large company.

126. A large company destroys these five (advantages), the respectful treatment (of the invited, the propriety of) place and time, purity and (the selection of) virtuous Brāhmaṇa (guests); he therefore shall not seek (to entertain) a large company.

127. Famed is this rite for the dead, called (the sacrifice sacred to the manes (and performed) on the new-moon day; if a man is diligent in (performing) that, (the reward of) the rite for the dead, which is performed according to Smārta rules, reaches him constantly.

125. Vas. XI, 27; Baudh. II, 15, 10; Vi. LXXIII, 3-4; Gaut. XV, 8, 21; Yāgy. I, 228. The offering to the gods, mentioned in this verse, is an Aṅga or subsidiary rite preceding the offering to the manes. Medh. takes the first part of this verse in a peculiar manner, 'One must feed two (Brāhmaṇas) at the offering to the gods, and three (for each ancestor, or nine in all) at the offering to the manes, or one on either occasion (i.e. one at the offering to the gods and at the offering to the manes, one for each ancestor, or three in all).'

126. Vas. XI, 28; Baudh. II, 15, 11.

127. Gov. reads vidhiḥ kshaye for vidhukshaye, 'on the new-moon day,' and explains the first half of the verse as follows: 'The ceremony called the (sacrifice) to the manes (is) a rite for the benefit of the dead, (and) prescribed on the new-moon day

128. Oblations to the gods and manes must be presented by the givers to a Śrotriya alone; what is given to such a most worthy Brāhmaṇa yields great reward.

129. Let him feed even one learned man at (the sacrifice) to the gods, and one at (the sacrifice) to the manes; (thus) he will gain a rich reward, not (if he entertains) many who are unacquainted with the Veda.

130. Let him make inquiries even regarding the remote (ancestors of) a Brāhmaṇa who has studied an entire (recension of the) Veda; (if descended from a virtuous race) such a man is a worthy recipient of gifts (consisting) of food offered to the gods or to the manes, he is declared (to procure as great rewards as) a guest (atithi).

131. Though a million of men, unacquainted with the *Riṅas*, were to dine at a (funeral sacrifice), yet a single man, learned in the Veda, who is satisfied (with his entertainment), is worth them all as far as the (production of) spiritual merit (is concerned).

132. Food sacred to the manes or to the gods must be given to a man distinguished by sacred

or in the house, i.e. to be performed by householders, not by men of other orders.' Medh., too, mentions another reading, which he explains much in the same way as Gov., and which therefore may have been vidhiḥ kshaye, though the MSS. read tithikshaye.

128. Vas. III, 8; Gaut. XV, 9.

130. Vi. LXXXII, 2. The examination must extend, as in the case of officiating priests, to ten ancestors on the mother's and the father's side (Medh., Gov.).

131. 'The *Riṅas*,' i.e. 'the Veda.' Nār. reads instead of *prīṭaḥ*, 'who is satisfied,' *yuktaḥ*, and combines it with *dharmataḥ*, 'who is properly invited.' Nand. has *vipraḥ*, 'a Brāhmaṇa,' for *prīṭaḥ*. K. has *prima manu vipraḥ*, sec. *manu yuktaḥ*.

knowledge; for hands, smeared with blood, cannot be cleansed with blood.

133. As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red-hot spikes, spears, and iron balls must (the giver of the repast) swallow after death.

134. Some Brâhmanas are devoted to (the pursuit of) knowledge, and others to (the performance of) austerities; some to austerities and to the recitation of the Veda, and others to (the performance of) sacred rites.

135. Oblations to the manes ought to be carefully presented to those devoted to knowledge, but offerings to the gods, in accordance with the reason (of the sacred law), to (men of) all the four (above-mentioned classes).

136. If there is a father ignorant of the sacred texts whose son has learned one whole recension of the Veda and the Aṅgas, and a son ignorant of the sacred texts whose father knows an entire recension of the Veda and the Aṅgas,

133. Nâr. thinks that the eater, not the giver of the feast will bear the punishment. Medh. gives both this explanation and that adopted in the translation. Nâr. explains *rishî*, 'spear,' by *khadga*, 'sword.' Nand. reads *hulân* for *gudân*, 'balls,' and says that *hula* means 'a double-edged sword.'

134. 'Knowledge,' i. e. 'the knowledge of the supreme soul' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Medh. and Nâr. say that ascetics, hermits, students, and householders are intended by the four divisions mentioned in the text.

135. Vas. XI, 17; Baudh. II, 14, 3. The verse indicates that ascetics are particularly desirable guests.

136-137. Kull. remarks that the object of the verse is to teach that at a *Srâddha* the learned son of a learned father is to be entertained, but not to permit the admission of a fool whose father is learned.



137. Know that he whose father knows the Veda, is the more venerable one (of the two); yet the other one is worthy of honour, because respect is due to the Veda (which he has learned).

138. Let him not entertain a personal friend at a funeral sacrifice; he may gain his affection by (other) valuable gifts; let him feed at a Srâddha a Brâhmaṇa whom he considers neither as a foe nor as a friend.

139. He who performs funeral sacrifices and offerings to the gods chiefly for the sake of (gaining) friends, reaps after death no reward for Srâddhas and sacrifices.

140. That meanest among twice-born men who in his folly contracts friendships through a funeral sacrifice, loses heaven, because he performed a Srâddha for the sake of friendship.

141. A gift (of food) by twice-born men, consumed with (friends and relatives), is said to be offered to the Pisâkas; it remains in this (world) alone like a blind cow in one stable.

142. As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the *Rikas*.

143. But a present made in accordance with the rules to a learned man, makes the giver and the

138-148. Âp. II, 17, 4-6; Gaut. XV, 12-14; Baudh. II, 14, 6; Yâgyñ. I, 220.

141. Âp. II, 17, 8-9. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. *paisakî* means 'offered after the manner of the Pisâkas.' But the version given above, which follows Nâr. and Nand., is supported by the ancient verse, quoted by Âpastamba, from which Manu's Sloka is probably derived.

recipient partakers of rewards both in this (life) and after death.

144. (If no learned Brâhmaṇa be at hand), he may rather honour a (virtuous) friend than an enemy, though the latter may be qualified (by learning and so forth); for sacrificial food, eaten by a foe, bears no reward after death.

145. Let him (take) pains (to) feed at a Srâddha an adherent of the *Rig*-veda who has studied one entire (recension of that) Veda, or a follower of the *Yagur*-veda who has finished one Sâkhâ, or a singer of Sâmans who (likewise) has completed (the study of an entire recension).

146. If one of these three dines, duly honoured, at a funeral sacrifice, the ancestors of him (who gives the feast), as far as the seventh person, will be satisfied for a very long time.

147. This is the chief rule (to be followed) in offering sacrifices to the gods and manes; know that the virtuous always observe the following subsidiary rule.

148. One may also entertain (on such occasions) one's maternal grandfather, a maternal uncle, a sister's son, a father-in-law, one's teacher, a daughter's son, a daughter's husband, a cognate kinsman, one's own officiating priest or a man for whom one offers sacrifices.

149. For a rite sacred to the gods, he who knows the law will not make (too close) inquiries regarding an (invited) Brâhmaṇa; but when one performs a

148. Bandhum, 'a cognate kinsman' (Kull., Râgh.), is taken by Medh. and Gov. in its widest sense, 'any remoter kinsman' (sago-trâdîḥ).

149. Vi. LXXXII, 1-2.

ceremony in honour of the manes, one must carefully examine (the qualities and parentage of the guest).

150. Manu has declared that those Brâhmaṇas who are thieves, outcasts, eunuchs, or atheists are unworthy (to partake) of oblations to the gods and manes.

151. Let him not entertain at a Śrāddha one who wears his hair in braids (a student), one who has not studied (the Veda), one afflicted with a skin-disease, a gambler, nor those who sacrifice for a multitude (of sacrificers).

152. Physicians, temple-priests, sellers of meat, and those who subsist by shop-keeping must be avoided at sacrifices offered to the gods and to the manes.

153. A paid servant of a village or of a king, a man with deformed nails or black teeth, one who opposes his teacher, one who has forsaken the sacred fire, and a usurer ;

154. One suffering from consumption, one who subsists by tending cattle, a younger brother who

150-182. Âp. II, 17, 21 ; Gaut. XV, 16-19, 30-31 ; Vas. XI, 19 ; Vi. LXXXII, 3-30 ; Yâgñ. I, 222-224.

150. For the term *nâstikavṛtti*, 'atheist,' Medh. proposes, besides the explanation given above, the other equally possible one, 'he who derives his livelihood from atheists.'

151. *Anadhiyânam*, 'one who has not studied the Veda,' i.e. 'one who has been initiated only, but has not studied' (Kull.), or 'one who has not mastered the Veda' (Medh.), or 'one who has left off studying' (Nâr.). Medh. and Nand. read *durvâlam* for *durbalam*, 'afflicted with a skin-disease,' and the former explains his var. lect. by 'a bald or a red-haired man.' 'Those who sacrifice for a multitude,' i.e. 'who offer the (forbidden) Ahîna sacrifices, for on that occasion there are many sacrificers' (Nâr.).

154. *Nirâkrûh*, 'one who neglects the five great sacrifices' (Medh.,

marries or kindles the sacred fire before the elder, one who neglects the five great sacrifices, an enemy of the Brâhmana race, an elder brother who marries or kindles the sacred fire after the younger, and one who belongs to a company or corporation,

155. An actor or singer, one who has broken the vow of studentship, one whose (only or first) wife is a Sûdra female, the son of a remarried woman, a one-eyed man, and he in whose house a paramour of his wife (resides);

156. He who teaches for a stipulated fee and he who is taught on that condition, he who instructs Sûdra pupils and he whose teacher is a Sûdra, he who speaks rudely, the son of an adulteress, and the son of a widow,

157. He who forsakes his mother, his father, or a teacher without a (sufficient) reason, he who has

Kull., Râgh.), means according to Gov. 'one who forsakes the Vedas (and the rest),' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'one who does not recite the Veda privately,' or 'who has forgotten it.' *Ganâ-bhyantaraḥ*, 'one who belongs to a company or corporation,' i.e. 'of men who live by one trade' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), is further explained by Nâr. by 'the headman of a village,' or 'the leader of a caravan.' According to Kull. and Râgh. it means 'one who misappropriates the money of a corporation.'

155. *Kusilava*, 'an actor or singer,' is, as Medh. states, a very wide term, including all 'bards, actors, jugglers, dancers, singers, and the like.' Kull. wrongly understands by *avakîrṇin*, 'one who has broken the vow of studentship,' an ascetic also who has become unchaste. Such an ascetic is called *ârûḍhapatita*.

156. *Vâgdushaḥ*, 'one who speaks rudely,' means according to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Kull., 'one who is accused of a great crime' (*abhisasta*).

157. According to Nâr. *guroḥ*, 'a teacher,' denotes the *âkârya* alone. Medh. blames this explanation, and refers it to the sub-teacher. The same explains *kundâśi*, 'he who eats the food of the son of an adulteress,' by 'a glutton who eats sixty Palas of rice.'

contracted an alliance with outcasts either through the Veda or through a marriage,

158. An incendiary, a prisoner, he who eats the food given by the son of an adulteress, a seller of Soma, he who undertakes voyages by sea, a bard, an oil-man, a suborner to perjury,

159. He who wrangles or goes to law with his father, the keeper of a gambling-house, a drunkard, he who is afflicted with a disease (in punishment of former) crimes, he who is accused of a mortal sin, a hypocrite, a seller of substances used for flavouring food,

160. A maker of bows and of arrows, he who lasciviously dallies with a brother's widow, the betrayer of a friend, one who subsists by gambling, he who learns (the Veda) from his son,

158. Agâradâhî, 'an incendiary,' includes according to a verse, quoted by Nand. also, 'one who burns corpses for money.' Kûâ-kârakaḥ, 'a suborner to perjury' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. and Râgh. 'a false witness,' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'any one who commits fraud,' e.g. a forger, a falsifier of weights and measures. 'Others' quoted by Medh. explain somavikrayin as 'one who sells (the merit gained by) Soma (sacrifices).'

159. 'He who wrangles or goes to law with his father,' e.g. who forces him to divide the family estate (Medh.), see Gaut. XV, 19. Kitavaḥ, 'the keeper of a gambling-house' (Medh.), means according to Gov. and Nand. 'one who makes others play for himself,' according to Nâr. 'a gambler for pleasure,' and according to Nand. 'a rogue.' 'Others,' however, read kekaraḥ, 'a squinting man,' and construe it with madyapaḥ, 'a drunkard' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.). Rasa, 'substances used for flavouring food,' e.g. 'sugar-cane juice' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'molasses' (Nâr.). Medh. explains rasadaḥ by vishadaḥ, 'a poisoner.'

160. I accept Gov.'s and Râgh.'s explanation of agredidhishûpati, who believe it to be equivalent to didhishûpati explained below, verse 173. Kull. and Nand. take it as 'the husband of a younger sister married before the elder,' and Medh. as an

161. An epileptic man, one who suffers from scrofulous swellings of the glands, one afflicted with white leprosy, an informer, a madman, a blind man, and he who cavils at the Veda must (all) be avoided.

162. A trainer of elephants, oxen, horses, or camels, he who subsists by astrology, a bird-fancier, and he who teaches the use of arms,

163. He who diverts water-courses, and he who delights in obstructing them, an architect, a messenger, and he who plants trees (for money),

164. A breeder of sporting-dogs, a falconer, one who defiles maidens, he who delights in injuring living creatures, he who gains his subsistence from *Sûdras*, and he who offers sacrifices to the *Ganas*,

165. He who does not follow the rule of conduct, a (man destitute of energy like a) eunuch, one who constantly asks (for favours), he who lives by agri-

irregular compound consisting of *agredidhishûpati* and *didhishûpati*, see Gaut. XV, 16. Though in some *Smṛitis* *agredidhishûpati* has the meaning given by Kull., it seems here inadmissible, on account of verse 173, which is meaningless, if it is not meant to explain this term. *Dyûtavṛittiḥ*, 'one who subsists by gambling,' means according to Medh. 'one who makes others play for his profit,' according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'the keeper of a gambling-house.' Nâr. and Nand. take it in its literal meaning.

162. *Pakshinâm poshakaḥ*, 'a bird-fancier,' means according to Medh. 'a trainer of hunting-falcons and hawks.'

164. The commentators mention a var. lect. *vṛishalaputraḥ*, 'one who has only sons by a *Sûdra* wife,' for 'one who gains his subsistence from *Sûdras*.' Nâr. and Nand. explain *ganânâm yâgakaḥ* by 'one who sacrifices for *ganas*,' i.e. many people or guilds. According to the explanation of Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., which has been translated above, the performance of the *Vinâyaka* or *Ganesahoma* (*Yâgñ.* I, 270-294) may be meant. But it is also possible to think of the *Ganahomas*, which according to Baudh. IV, 8, 1 must not be performed for others.

culture, a club-footed man, and he who is censured by virtuous men,

166. A shepherd, a keeper of buffaloes, the husband of a remarried woman, and a carrier of dead bodies, (all these) must be carefully avoided.

167. A Brāhmaṇa who knows (the sacred law) should shun at (sacrifices) both (to the gods and to the manes) these lowest of twice-born men, whose conduct is reprehensible, and who are unworthy (to sit) in the company (at a repast).

168. As a fire of dry grass is (unable to consume the offerings and is quickly) extinguished, even so (is it with) an unlearned Brāhmaṇa ; sacrificial food must not be given to him, since it (would be) offered in ashes.

169. I will fully declare what result the giver obtains after death, if he gives food, destined for the gods or manes, to a man who is unworthy to sit in the company.

170. The Rākshasas, indeed, consume (the food) eaten by Brāhmaṇas who have not fulfilled the vow of studentship, by a Parivetrī and so forth, and by other men not admissible into the company.

171. He must be considered as a Parivetrī who

168. According to Medh. and Gov. the object of this verse is to admit virtuous and learned men, afflicted with bodily defects, as guests at rites in honour of the gods ; see Vas. XI, 20. Kull. thinks that the injunction to avoid ignorant men is repeated here in order to show that they are as unfit as real 'defilers of the company.'

170. Avratāḥ, 'who have not fulfilled the vow of studentship' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Medh. 'of bad conduct,' and according to Nār. 'who do not observe the rules prescribed for a Snātaka and so forth.'

171. Usually a person who kindles the sacred fire before his elder brother is called a Paryādhātṛī, and the elder brother a Paryāhita.

marries or begins the performance of the Agnihotra before his elder brother, but the latter as a Parivitti.

172. The elder brother who marries after the younger, the younger brother who marries before the elder, the female with whom such a marriage is contracted, he who gives her away, and the sacrificing priest, as the fifth, all fall into hell.

173. He who lasciviously dallies with the widow of a deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a child by him) in accordance with the sacred law, must be known to be a Didhishâpati.

174. Two (kinds of) sons, a *Kunda* and a *Golaka*, are born by wives of other men; (he who is born) while the husband lives, will be a *Kunda*, and (he who is begotten) after the husband's death, a *Golaka*.

175. But those two creatures, who are born of wives of other men, cause to the giver the loss (of the rewards), both in this life and after death, for the food sacred to gods or manes which has been given (to them).

176. The foolish giver (of a funeral repast) does not reap the reward for as many worthy guests as a man, inadmissible into company, can look on while they are feeding.

177. A blind man by his presence causes to the giver (of the feast) the loss of the reward for ninety (guests), a one-eyed man for sixty, one who suffers from white leprosy for a hundred, and one punished by a (terrible) disease for a thousand.

178. The giver (of a *Srâddha*) loses the reward,

172. Baudh. II, 1, 39.

177. Regarding the diseases which are punishments for sins committed in a former life, see below, XI, 49 seq.

178. Paurtikam, 'due for such a non-sacrificial gift,' i.e. 'for one

due for such a non-sacrificial gift, for as many Brāhmaṇas as a (guest) who sacrifices for Sūdras may touch (during the meal) with his limbs.

179. And if a Brāhmaṇa, though learned in the Veda, accepts through covetousness a gift from such (a man), he will quickly perish, like a vessel of unburnt clay in water.

180. (Food) given to a seller of Soma becomes ordure, (that given) to a physician pus and blood, but (that presented) to a temple-priest is lost, and (that given) to a usurer finds no place (in the world of the gods).

181. What has been given to a Brāhmaṇa who lives by trade that is not (useful) in this world and the next, and (a present) to a Brāhmaṇa born of a remarried woman (resembles) an oblation thrown into ashes.

182. But the wise declare that the food which (is offered) to other unholy, inadmissible men, enumerated above, (is turned into) adipose secretions, blood, flesh, marrow, and bone.

183. Now hear by what chief of twice-born men

which is given outside the sacrificial enclosure' (Medh., Gov.), or 'for the gift of food at a Śrāddha' (Kull., Rāgh.).

179. 'From such a man,' i. e. 'from one who sacrifices for Sūdras.'

180. The meaning is that the giver will be born in his next life among the animals, feeding on the unclean substances enumerated (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or that the food will be rejected by the manes and the gods as impure (Nār.). Apratish/ham, 'finds no place' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Nār. and Nand. 'secures no fame (to the giver).'

182. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh., it must be understood that the giver will be born in his next existence as a worm, feeding on the substances mentioned.

183-186. Âp. II, 17, 22; Gaut. XV, 28, 31; Vas. III, 19; Baudh. II, 14, 2-3; Vi. LXXXIII; Yâgñ. I, 219-221.

a company defiled by (the presence of) unworthy (guests) is purified, and the full (description of) the Brâhmanas who sanctify a company.

184. Those men must be considered as the sanctifiers of a company who are most learned in all the Vedas and in all the Aṅgas, and who are the descendants of Srotriyas.

185. A Trinâkiketa, one who keeps five sacred fires, a Trisuparna, one who is versed in the six Aṅgas, the son of a woman married according to the Brâhma rite, one who sings the *Gyeshthasâman*,

186. One who knows the meaning of the Veda, and he who expounds it, a student, one who has given a thousand (cows), and a centenarian must be considered as Brâhmanas who sanctify a company.

187. On the day before the Srâddha-rite is performed, or on the day when it takes place, let him invite with due respect at least three Brâhmanas, such as have been mentioned above.

188. A Brâhmaṇa who has been invited to a (rite) in honour of the manes shall always control himself and not recite the Veda, and he who performs the Srâddha (must act in the same manner).

185. Regarding the term Trinâkiketa, see Âp. II, 17, 22, note. *Pañkâgniḥ*, 'one who keeps five sacred fires' (Medh., 'others,' Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Nâr. 'one who knows the *pañkâgnividyâ*, taught in the *Khândogya*panishad IV, 10 seq. Trisuparna means according to Medh., Nâr., and Nand. 'one who knows the texts Taitt. Âr. X, 38-40; but according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'one who knows the portion of the Rig-veda called Trisuparna, Rig-veda X, 114, 3-5.

186. Nand. explains *brahmatâri*, 'a student,' by 'a chaste man' (see above, verse 50).

187. Âp. II, 17, 11-15; Vas. XI, 17; Yâgñ. I, 225.

188. Gaut. XV. 23; Yâgñ. I, 225. 'Control himself,' i.e. 'remain chaste.'

189. For the manes attend the invited Brâhmaṇas, follow them (when they walk) like the wind, and sit near them when they are seated.

190. But a Brâhmaṇa who, being duly invited to a rite in honour of the gods or of the manes, in any way breaks (the appointment), becomes guilty (of a crime), and (in his next birth) a hog.

191. But he who, being invited to a Srâddha, dallies with a Sûdra woman, takes upon himself all the sins which the giver (of the feast) committed.

192. The manes are primeval deities, free from anger, careful of purity, ever chaste, averse from strife, and endowed with great virtues.

193. Now learn fully from whom all these (manes derive) their origin, and with what ceremonies they ought to be worshipped.

194. The (various) classes of the manes are declared to be the sons of all those sages, Marîkî and the rest, who are children of Manu, the son of Hiranyagarbha.

195. The Somasads, the sons of Virâg, are stated to be the manes of the Sâdhyas, and the Agnish-

189. 'Like the wind,' i.e. 'like the vital air, the breath' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Medh. thinks that the manes enter the body of the invited guests.

190. Medh. explains atikrâman, 'breaks the appointment' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by 'breaks the rules of chastity and the like.' Medh. mentions a second 'improper' explanation given by 'others,' 'does not accept the invitation.'

191. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. take *vrîshalt*, 'a Sûdra woman,' in the sense of 'his lascivious wife.' Probably the word is used in its proper sense and indicates, as Nâr. states, that intercourse with a Sûdra wife is the worst offence in such a case.

194. 'Marîkî and the rest,' see above, I, 35.

195. Nâr., Nand., and K. *prima manu* read *Somasutaḥ* for *Somasadaḥ*.

vâttas, the children of Marîkî, are famous in the world (as the manes) of the gods.

196. The Barhishads, born of Atri, are recorded to be (the manes) of the Daityas, Dânavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Snake-deities, Râkshasas, Suparnas, and Kinnaras,

197. The Somapas those of the Brâhmanas, the Havirbhugs those of the Kshatriyas, the Âgyapas those of the Vaisyas, but the Sukâlins those of the Sûdras.

198. The Somapas are the sons of Kavi (Bhrigu), the Havishmats the children of Aṅgiras, the Âgyapas the offspring of Pulastya, but the Sukâlins (the issue) of Vasishtha.

199. One should know that (other classes), the Agnidagdhas, the Anagnidagdhas, the Kâvyas, the Barhishads, the Agnishvâttas, and the Saumyas, are (the manes) of the Brâhmanas alone.

200. But know also that there exist in this (world) countless sons and grandsons of those chief classes of manes which have been enumerated.

201. From the sages sprang the manes, from the manes the gods and the Dânavas, but from the gods the whole world, both the movable and the immovable in due order.

202. Even water offered with faith (to the manes)

199. Medh. and Gov. place the Anagnidagdhas first. Nâr. reads at the end of the first half-verse bahûn, 'many,' instead of tathâ, and Nand. has vahân. The translation follows the explanation given by Gov., Kull., and Râgh. The other three commentators say that this verse gives partly different names for the several classes of manes, enumerated in the preceding verses. But their explanations are not very clear, and they are forced to ignore or transpose the particle eva which stands after viprânâm. The verse probably contains a second classification of the manes, which differs from the preceding, because it is based on a different tradition.

202. Akshayâpakalpate, 'produces endless (bliss),' (Gov., Kull.),

in vessels made of silver or adorned with silver, produces endless (bliss).

203. For twice-born men the rite in honour of the manes is more important than the rite in honour of the gods; for the offering to the gods which precedes (the *Srâddhas*), has been declared to be a means of fortifying (the latter).

204. Let him first invite a (*Brâhmaṇa*) in honour of the gods as a protection for the (offering to the manes); for the *Rākshasas* destroy a funeral sacrifice which is left without such a protection.

205. Let him make (the *Srâddha*) begin and end with (a rite) in honour of the gods; it shall not begin and end with a (rite) to the manes; for he who makes it begin and end with a (rite) in honour of the manes, soon perishes together with his progeny.

206. Let him smear a pure and secluded place with cowdung, and carefully make it sloping towards the south.

207. The manes are always pleased with offerings made in open, naturally pure places, on the banks of rivers, and in secluded spots.

means according to Medh. 'affords to them imperishable satisfaction.'

203. The rite in honour of the gods meant is the *Vaisvadeva* which precedes each *Srâddha*.

204. The above translation of the first half-verse follows Medh., Gov., and Kull. It is, however, not impossible to take, with Sir W. Jones, *daivam* as a neuter, and to translate, 'Let him first perform the rite in honour of the gods as a protection for the (*Srâddha*).'

205. The meaning of the verse is that the *Brâhmaṇas*, fed at the *Vaisvadeva* which precedes the *Srâddha*, must be invited and served before and dismissed after the *Brâhmaṇas* entertained in honour of the manes (Medh., Kull., Nâr.). See also below, verse 209.

206. Âp. II, 18, 14; Gaut. XV, 25; Yâgñ. I, 227.

207. Vi. LXXXV, 54-63. *Koksheshu*, 'naturally pure' (Medh.,

208. The (sacrificer) shall make the (invited) Brâhmanas, who have duly performed their ablutions, sit down on separate, prepared seats, on which blades of Kusa grass have been placed.

209. Having placed those blameless Brâhmanas on their seats, he shall honour them with fragrant garlands and perfumes, beginning with (those who are invited in honour of) the gods.

210. Having presented to them water, sesamum grains, and blades of Kusa grass, the Brâhmana (sacrificer) shall offer (oblations) in the sacred fire, after having received permission (to do so) from (all) the Brâhmana (guests) conjointly.

211. Having first, according to the rule, performed, as a means of protecting (the Srâddha), oblations to Agni, to Soma, and to Yama, let him afterwards satisfy the manes by a gift of sacrificial food.

212. But if no (sacred) fire (is available), he shall place (the offerings) into the hand of a Brâhmana; for Brâhmanas who know the sacred texts declare, 'What fire is, even such is a Brâhmana.'

213. They (also) call those first of twice-born men the ancient deities of the funeral sacrifice, free from anger, easily pleased, employed in making men prosper.

Gov., Kull., Nâr.) or 'lovely' (Nand., Râgh.), 'such as forest glades' (Kull.).

208. Yâgñ. I, 226.

209. Vi. LXXIII, 2; Yâgñ. I, 231.

210. Vi. LXXXIII, 5; Âp. II, 17, 17-19; Baudh. II, 14, 7; Yâgñ. I, 229.

211. Vi. LXXIII, 12; Baudh. II, 14, 7.

212. Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra IV, 8, 5-6. Cases, where a sacred fire is wanting, are those in which a child, an unmarried man, or a widower perform a Srâddha (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

213. The object of the verse is to show why the offerings may

214. After he has performed (the oblations) in the fire, (and) the whole series of ceremonies in such a manner that they end in the south, let him sprinkle water with his right hand on the spot (where the cakes are to be placed).

215. But having made three cakes out of the remainder of that sacrificial food, he must, concentrating his mind and turning towards the south, place them on (Kusa grass) exactly in the same manner in which (he poured out the libations of) water.

216. Having offered those cakes according to the (prescribed) rule, being pure, let him wipe the same hand with (the roots of) those blades of Kusa grass for the sake of the (three ancestors) who partake of the wipings (lepa).

217. Having (next) sipped water, turned round (towards the north), and thrice slowly suppressed

be placed into the hands of the guests. The epithet 'ancient' is explained to mean 'produced in the kalpa when the Sādhyas were created' (Medh.), or 'those whose succession has been uninterrupted since immemorial times' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'those who were produced before all other castes' (Nār.), or 'those who receive gifts before others' (Rāgh.). Medh. prefers, however, to read purā-tanāḥ, 'the ancients call,' &c., and this seems to have stood in Nand.'s text too.

214. 'The whole series of ceremonies,' i.e. 'the acts of sprinkling water and strewing Kusa grass round the fire and so forth, which are subsidiary to the oblations in the fire.' Apasavyam, 'in such a manner that they end in the south' (dakṣiṇāsamsthām), means according to Nār., prāñnāvītena, 'passing the sacrificial string over the right shoulder and under the left arm.' Apasavyena hastena, 'with his right hand' (Medh. 'others,' Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., Nār., and Nand., 'out of the Tīrtha of the right hand which is sacred to the manes' (see above, II, 59).

216. The three ancestors meant are the great-grandfather, his father and grandfather; see Vi. LXXIII, 22.

217. The texts to be pronounced are, 'Adoration to Spring I' &c.,

his breath, (the sacrificer) who knows the sacred texts shall worship (the guardian deities of) the six seasons and the manes.

218. Let him gently pour out the remainder of the water near the cakes, and, with fixed attention, smell those cakes, in the order in which they were placed (on the ground).

219. But taking successively very small portions from the cakes, he shall make those seated Brâhmanas eat them, in accordance with the rule, before (their dinner).

220. But if the (sacrificer's) father is living, he must offer (the cakes) to three remoter (ancestors); or he may also feed his father at the funeral sacrifice as (one of the) Brâhmaṇa (guests).

221. But he whose father is dead, while his grandfather lives, shall, after pronouncing his father's name, mention (that of) his great-grandfather.

222. Manu has declared that either the grandfather may eat at that Srâddha (as a guest), or (the

and afterwards, 'Adoration to you, oh manes!' &c. Before he recites the latter texts, the worshipper must turn round towards the south.

218. Vi. LXXIII, 23. 'The remainder of the water,' i.e. 'which is contained in the vessel from which he took the water for sprinkling the ground' (verse 214).

219. 'Those seated Brâhmanas,' i.e. 'those invited for the funeral rite, not those invited for the preceding rite in honour of the gods.' 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'giving to the representative of the father a piece from the cake offered to the manes of the father and so forth' (Kull.), or 'after they have sipped water and so forth' (Nâr.). Nand. inserts here verse 223, and states that it is explanatory of the term 'according to the rule.'

220. Vi. LXXV, 1, 4. Nâr. adds that this case happens when a son has kindled the sacred fire during his father's lifetime, because then the *Pindâpitriyagña* and afterwards the *Pârvaṇa* Srâddha must be performed.

221-222. Vi. LXXV, 6.

grandson) having received permission, may perform it, as he desires.

223. Having poured water mixed with sesamum, in which a blade of Kusa grass has been placed, into the hands of the (guests), he shall give (to each) that (above-mentioned) portion of the cake, saying, 'To those, Svadhâ !'

224. But carrying (the vessel) filled with food with both hands, the (sacrificer) himself shall gently place it before the Brâhmanas, meditating on the manes.

225. The malevolent Asuras forcibly snatch away that food which is brought without being held with both hands.

226. Let him, being pure and attentive, carefully place on the ground the seasoning (for the rice), such as broths and pot herbs, sweet and sour milk, and honey,

227. (As well as) various (kinds of) hard food which require mastication, and of soft food, roots, fruits, savoury meat, and fragrant drinks.

228. All this he shall present (to his guests), and, being pure and attentive, successively invite them to partake of each (dish), proclaiming its qualities.

229. Let him on no account drop a tear, become angry or utter an untruth, nor let him touch the food with his foot nor violently shake it.

223. Vi. LXXIII, 23. This rule is a supplement to verse 220. Instead of the pronoun the names are to be used (Medh., Gov.).

225. Vas. XI, 25; Baudh. II, 15, 3.

229. Vi. LXXIX, 19-21; LXXXI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 239. Avadhû-nayet, 'nor violently shake it,' is explained according to Medh. by 'others,' 'nor remove the dust with his dress.' Nand. places verse 230 immediately after verse 228.

230. A tear sends the (food) to the Pretas, anger to his enemies, a falsehood to the dogs, contact with his foot to the Rākshasas, a shaking to the sinners.

231. Whatever may please the Brāhmaṇas, let him give without grudging it; let him give riddles from the Veda, for that is agreeable to the manes.

232. At a (sacrifice in honour) of the manes, he must let (his guests) hear the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law, legends, tales, Purāṇas, and Khilas.

233. Himself being delighted, let him give delight to the Brāhmaṇas, cause them to partake gradually and slowly (of each dish), and repeatedly invite (them to eat) by (offering) the food and (praising) its qualities.

234. Let him eagerly entertain at a funeral sacrifice a daughter's son, though he be a student, and let him place a Nepāl blanket on the seat (of each guest), scattering sesamum grains on the ground.

231. Yâgñ. I, 239. Brahmodyâḥ kathâḥ, 'let him give riddles from the Veda,' such as those collected in the Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra X, 9, 2 (Medh., Nand.). Medh. thinks that the term brahmodya may also refer to Vedic stories, such as that of the fights of the Devas and Asuras, or of Saramâ and the Panis, and he mentions a var. lect. brahmâdyâḥ, 'conversations regarding the Brahman, the supreme soul.' This latter explanation is adopted by Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh., though the text everywhere has brahmodyâḥ. As the Brahmodya-riddles were a favourite recreation of the priests during the tedious performance of their sacrifices, it is not doubtful that the explanation given in the translation is the only admissible one.

232. Baudh. II, 14, 5; Vi. LXXIII, 16; Yâgñ. I, 239. 'Khilas,' i. e. 'the apocrypha of the Veda, such as the Śrîsûkta.' 'Ākhyânâni legends, such as the Sauparna, the Maitrâvâruṇa' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'such as occur in the Brāhmaṇas' (Nâr.), or 'the death of Kamsa and so forth' (Nand.).

235. There are three means of sanctification, (to be used) at a Śrāddha, a daughter's son, a Nepāl blanket, and sesamum grains; and they recommend three (other things) for it, cleanliness, suppression of anger, and absence of haste.

236. All the food must be very hot, and the (guests) shall eat in silence; (even though) asked by the giver (of the feast), the Brāhmaṇas shall not proclaim the qualities of the sacrificial food.

237. As long as the food remains warm, as long as they eat in silence, as long as the qualities of the food are not proclaimed, so long the manes partake (of it).

238. What (a guest) eats, covering his head, what he eats with his face turned towards the south, what he eats with sandals on (his feet), that the Rākshasas consume.

239. A Kāṇḍāla, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at the Brāhmaṇas while they eat.

240. What (any of) these sees at a burnt-oblation, at a (solemn) gift, at a dinner (given to Brāhmaṇas), or at any rite in honour of the gods and manes, that produces not the intended result.

241. A boar makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings), a cock by the air of his wings, a dog by throwing his eye (on them), a low-caste man by touching (them).

242. If a lame man, a one-eyed man, one deficient

235. Vas. XI, 35-36.

236. Vi. LXXXI, 11, 20.

237. Vi. LXXXI, 20; Vas. XI, 32.

238. Vi. LXXXI, 12-14.

239. Âp. II, 17, 20; Gaut. XV, 24.

241. 'A low-caste man,' i.e. 'a Śūdra.'

242. Vi. LXXXI, 15-16. According to Medh., Gov., and Kull.,

in a limb, or one with a redundant limb, be even the servant of the performer (of the *Srâddha*), he also must be removed from that place (where the *Srâddha* is held).

243. To a *Brâhmana* (householder), or to an ascetic who comes for food, he may, with the permission of (his) *Brâhmana* (guests), show honour according to his ability.

244. Let him mix all the kinds of food together, sprinkle them with water and put them, scattering them (on *Kusa* grass), down on the ground in front of (his guests), when they have finished their meal.

245. The remnant (in the dishes), and the portion scattered on *Kusa* grass, shall be the share of deceased (children) who received not the sacrament (of cremation) and of those who (unjustly) forsook noble wives.

246. They declare the fragments which have fallen on the ground at a (*Srâddha*) to the manes, to be the share of honest, dutiful servants.

the word *api*, 'even,' indicates that others, e.g. *Sûdras*, must also be sent away.

243. Vi. LXXXI, 18. Medh., Gov., and Kull. take the first words differently, 'To a *Brâhmana* who comes as a guest (*atithi*) or any other mendicant.' Nâr. and Râgh. give the explanation adopted above.

244. Vi. LXXXI, 21.

245. Vas. XI, 23-24; Vi. LXXXI, 22. Regarding the burial of children, see below, V, 69. *Tyâginâm kulayoshitâm*, 'of those who unjustly forsook noble wives' (Medh., Kull.), may also mean, according to Râgh. and to 'others,' quoted by Medh. and Kull., 'of those who forsook their Gurus and of unmarried maidens;' according to Gov., 'of women who forsook their families;' according to Nâr., 'of suicides and childless women.' Nand. explains the first word by 'of ascetics.'

246. Vi. LXXXI, 23.

247. But before the performance of the *Sapindīkarana*, one must feed at the funeral sacrifice in honour of a (recently-)deceased Āryan (one Brāhmaṇa) without (making an offering) to the gods, and give one cake only.

248. But after the *Sapindīkarana* of the (deceased father) has been performed according to the sacred law, the sons must offer the cakes with those ceremonies, (described above.)

249. The foolish man who, after having eaten a Śrāddha(-dinner), gives the leavings to a Sūdra, falls headlong into the Kālasūtra hell.

250. If the partaker of a Śrāddha(-dinner) enters on the same day the bed of a Sūdra female, the manes of his (ancestors) will lie during that month in her ordure.

251. Having addressed the question, 'Have you dined well?' (to his guests), let him give water for sipping to them who are satisfied, and dismiss them, after they have sipped water, (with the words) 'Rest either (here or at home)!'

247. Vi. XXI, 2-12, 19; Yāgñ. I, 250. The *Sapindīkarana*, 'the solemn reception of a dead person among the partakers of the funeral oblations,' is performed either on the thirteenth day or a year after the death. Up to the time of its performance the Śrāddhas are so-called *Ekoddish/as*, 'performed for one person only.' Medh., Gov., Nār., Nand., and K. read the first word of the verse *asapindakriyākarma*, and according to this var. lect. the translation must be, 'The rite for persons not made *Sapindas* (i. e. the *Ekoddish/a* Śrāddha, must be performed) for an Āryan (recently) deceased; (on that occasion) one must,' &c.

250. Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. take *vrīṣhalī*, 'a Sūdra female' (Nār.), in the sense of 'a seducing woman' (*vrīṣhasyantī*).

251. Yāgñ. I, 242; Vi. LXXIII, 26-27. Kull. reads *abhi bho ramyatām*, 'Ho, take rest!' and Rāgh., *abhito gamyatām*, 'Go where you please!'

252. The Brâhmaṇa (guests) shall then answer him, 'Let there be Svadhâ;' for at all rites in honour of the manes the word Svadhâ is the highest benison.

253. Next let him inform (his guests) who have finished their meal, of the food which remains; with the permission of the Brâhmaṇas let him dispose (of that), as they may direct.

254. At a (Srâddha) in honour of the manes one must use (in asking the guests if they are satisfied, the word) svaditam; at a Gosh/hi-srâddha, (the word) susrutam; at a Vriddhi-srâddha, (the word) sampannam; and at (a rite) in honour of the gods, (the word) ruḷitam.

255. The afternoon, Kusa grass, the due preparation of the dwelling, sesamum grains, liberality, the careful preparation of the food, and (the company of) distinguished Brâhmaṇas are true riches at all funeral sacrifices.

256. Know that Kusa grass, purificatory (texts), the morning, sacrificial viands of all kinds, and those means of purification, mentioned above, are blessings at a sacrifice to the gods.

252. Yâgyñ. I, 243. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. read svadhetyeva, (shall then answer him) 'Svadhâ!'

254. 'One must ask,' i. e. 'the giver of the feast or any other person who comes' (Medh., Gov.), the former only (Kull.). Medh. and Gov. explain gosh/hi, 'at a Gosh/hi-srâddha' (Kull., Râgh.), by 'in a cow-pen' (goshu tish/hantishu, goganamadhya), and Nâr. by gosh/hi gomandalârtham gosh/hi brâhmaṇabhogane. Abhyudaya or Vriddhi-srâddhas are those performed on joyful occasions, such as marriages.

256. Pavitram, 'purificatory texts,' means according to Nâr. 'other means of purification, such as barley and water.' Nand. reads darbhapavitram, 'blades of Kusa grass.' 'Those means of purification mentioned above,' i. e. 'the preparation of the house

257. The food eaten by hermits in the forest, milk, Soma-juice, meat which is not prepared (with spices), and salt unprepared by art, are called, on account of their nature, sacrificial food.

258. Having dismissed the (invited) Brāhmaṇas, let him, with a concentrated mind, silent and pure, look towards the south and ask these blessings of the manes :

259. 'May liberal men abound with us! May (our knowledge of) the Vedas and (our) progeny increase! May faith not forsake us! May we have much to give (to the needy)!'

260. Having thus offered (the cakes), let him, after (the prayer), cause a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, a goat, or the sacred fire to consume those cakes, or let him throw them into water.

261. Some make the offering of the cakes after (the dinner); some cause (them) to be eaten by birds or throw them into fire or into water.

and so forth.' Nand. reads *havishyāni ka śaktiṭaḥ*, 'sacrificial viands (prepared) according to one's ability.'

257. *Anupaskṛitam*, 'which is not prepared (with spices),' (Gov., Nār.), means according to Nand. 'not dressed as people usually do,' according to Kull. and Rāgh. 'not tainted by a bad smell,' and according to Medh. 'not forbidden, such as meat from a slaughter-house.' 'Salt unprepared by art,' i.e. 'rock salt or salt from the sea' (but not *Bizā*, Nār.).

259. *Yâgñ.* I, 245; Vi. LXXIII, 28.

260. *Yâgñ.* I, 256. 'Thus,' i.e. as described in verse 215.

261. Baudh. II, 14, 9. According to the MSS. and editions the word translated in accordance with the clear explanations of Medh., Kull., and K., and with the requirements of the context, by 'after (the dinner),' is *purastât*. As *purastât* always means 'before,' it would seem that the real reading of the three commentators was like that of Rāgh.'s commentary '*parastât*,' the sense of which perfectly agrees with their explanation.

262. The (sacrificer's) first wife, who is faithful and intent on the worship of the manes, may eat the middle-most cake, (if she be) desirous of bearing a son.

263. (Thus) she will bring forth a son who will be long-lived, famous, intelligent, rich, the father of numerous offspring, endowed with (the quality of) goodness, and righteous.

264. Having washed his hands and sipped water, let him prepare (food) for his paternal relations and, after giving it to them with due respect, let him feed his maternal relatives also.

265. But the remnants shall be left (where they lie) until the Brâhmanas have been dismissed; afterwards he shall perform the (daily) domestic Bali-offering; that is a settled (rule of the) sacred law.

266. I will now fully declare what kind of sacrificial food, given to the manes according to the rule, will serve for a long time or for eternity.

267. The ancestors of men are satisfied for one month with sesamum grains, rice, barley, mâsha beans, water, roots, and fruits, which have been given according to the prescribed rule,

268. Two months with fish, three months with the meat of gazelles, four with mutton, and five indeed with the flesh of birds,

Nâr. and Nand. clearly read purastât, and explain it by prâk, 'before.' But the meaning, thus obtained, is not good, because it stands to reason that the custom mentioned here should differ from that described above, verse 218 seq.

264. This is to be done after the cakes have been made and placed (Medh., Nand.). Medh., Gov., Nand. read pûgayet, 'let him honour,' instead of 'let him feed.'

267-272. Âp. II, 16, 23-17, 3; Gaut. XV, 15; Vi. LXXX; Yâgñ. I, 257-259.

269. Six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the black antelope, but nine with that of the (deer called) Ruru,

270. Ten months they are satisfied with the meat of boars and buffaloes, but eleven months indeed with that of hares and tortoises,

271. One year with cow-milk and milk-rice ; from the flesh of a long-eared white he-goat their satisfaction endures twelve years.

272. The (vegetable called) Kālasāka, (the fish called) Mahāsalka, the flesh of a rhinoceros and that of a red goat, and all kinds of food eaten by hermits in the forest serve for an endless time.

273. Whatever (food), mixed with honey, one gives on the thirteenth lunar day in the rainy season under the asterism of Maghāḥ, that also procures endless (satisfaction).

274. 'May such a man (the manes say) be born in our family who will give us milk-rice, with honey and clarified butter, on the thirteenth lunar day (of the month of Bhādrapada) and (in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east.'

269. Gov. states the Ruru is the Sambara, or Sāmbar stag.

271. Nār. explains vārdhrīṇasa, which Medh., Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. declare, on the strength of a verse, to be a white goat, by 'a black-necked, white-winged bird with a red head,' and quotes another nigama in favour of his view ; see also Âp. II, 17, 3, where the crane called Vārdhrīṇasa (var. lect. Vārdhrīṇasa) is mentioned.

272. Another name of the pot-herb Kālasāka is according to Medh. Kṛīṣṇavāsudeva, according to Nand. Kṛīṣṇanimba. The Mahāsalka is the prawn. Others mentioned by Medh. read saralkān.

273. Vi. LXXVI, 1 ; Yāgñ. I, 260. The day meant is Bhādrapada Badi 13.

274. Vi. LXXVIII, 51-52 ; Vas. XI, 40. Gov. omits this verse.

275. Whatever (a man), full of faith, duly gives according to the prescribed rule, that becomes in the other world a perpetual and imperishable (gratification) for the manes.

276. The days of the dark half of the month, beginning with the tenth, but excepting the fourteenth, are recommended for a funeral sacrifice; (it is) not thus (with) the others.

277. He who performs it on the even (lunar) days and under the even constellations, gains (the fulfilment of) all his wishes; he who honours the manes on odd (lunar days) and under odd (constellations), obtains distinguished offspring.

278. As the second half of the month is preferable to the first half, even so the afternoon is better for (the performance of) a funeral sacrifice than the forenoon.

Medh. says that 'others' improperly explain *prākṣhāye kuṅgarasya*, '(in the afternoon) when the shadow of an elephant falls towards the east' (Kull., Nār., Rāgh.), by 'during an eclipse.' He also mentions a var. lect. *prākṣhāyām*. It seems, however, by no means certain that the explanation, adopted by him and most commentators, is the correct one. It is much more probable that a particular day (see *Vigñānesvara* on *Yâgñ.* I, 217) is meant. The thirteenth lunar day is, of course, the thirteenth of the dark half of *Bhâdrapada*, the day of the *Mahâlaya Sṛâddha*.

276. Âp. II, 17, 6; Gaut. XV, 3; *Yâgñ.* I, 263; Vas. XI, 16. The reason why the fourteenth is excepted, is given Vi. LXXVIII, 50, and *Yâgñ.* loc. cit.

277. Âp. II, 17, 8-22; Gaut. XV, 4; Vi. LXXVIII, 8-49; *Yâgñ.* I, 267. I read with Medh., Gov., Nand., Rāgh., and K. *pitṛṇ arkan*, which, to judge from the commentary, must have been Kull.'s reading also, instead of the senseless *pitṛṇ sarvân* of the editions. Nand. adds five verses and a half which give the details with respect to the rewards obtained by performing the *Sṛâddhas* on particular lunar days. They are clearly an interpolation.

278. Âp. II, 17, 5.

279. Let him, untired, duly perform the (rites) in honour of the manes in accordance with the prescribed rule, passing the sacred thread over the right shoulder, proceeding from the left to the right (and) holding *Kusa* grass in his hands, up to the end (of the ceremony).

280. Let him not perform a funeral sacrifice at night, because the (night) is declared to belong to the *Rākshasas*, nor in the twilight, nor when the sun has just risen.

281. Let him offer here below a funeral sacrifice, according to the rule given above, (at least) thrice a year, in winter, in summer, and in the rainy season, but that which is included among the five great sacrifices, every day.

282. The burnt-oblation, offered at a sacrifice to the manes, must not be made in a common fire; a *Brāhmaṇa* who keeps a sacred fire (shall) not (perform) a funeral sacrifice except on the new-moon day.

283. Even when a *Brāhmaṇa*, after bathing, satisfies the manes with water, he obtains thereby the whole reward for the performance of the (daily) *Śrāddha*.

284. They call (the manes of) fathers *Vasus*, (those of) grandfathers *Rudras*, and (those of) great-grandfathers *Ādityas*; thus (speaks) the eternal *Veda*.

279. Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. explain *apasavyam*, 'proceeding from left to right' (Nār.), by 'with the *Tirtha* of the hand, that is sacred to the manes.' Medh. and Gov. think that *â nidhanât*, 'up to the end (of the ceremony),' (Kull., Nār., Nand., Rāgh.), means 'until death.'

280. Âp. II, 17, 23.

284. Yâgñ. I, 268.

285. Let him daily partake of the vighasa and daily eat *amṛita* (ambrosia); but vighasa is what remains from the meal (of Brāhmaṇa guests) and the remainder of a sacrifice (is called) *amṛita*.

286. Thus all the ordinances relating to the five (daily great) sacrifices have been declared to you; hear now the law for the manner of living fit for Brāhmaṇas.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Having dwelt with a teacher during the fourth part of (a man's) life, a Brāhmaṇa shall live during the second quarter (of his existence) in his house, after he has wedded a wife.

2. A Brāhmaṇa must seek a means of subsistence which either causes no, or at least little pain (to others), and live (by that) except in times of distress.

3. For the purpose of gaining bare subsistence, let him accumulate property by (following those) irreproachable occupations (which are prescribed for) his (caste), without (unduly) fatiguing his body.

4. He may subsist by *Rita* (truth), and *Amṛita*

285. Medh. and Nār. seem to have read *bhṛityasēṣam*, 'what remains after those who must be supported (have been fed).' The former mentions the other reading too.

IV. 2. Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., and Rāgh. particularly state that *droha* and *adroha* are not equivalent to *himsā* and *ahimsā*, because 'injury to living beings' is forbidden under any circumstances. What is meant by *droha* is the pain caused to others by importunate begging. Hence the meaning of Manu is that householders shall, if possible, not subsist by begging, but rather by gleaning corn. Nand., however, explains *droha* by *himsā*, and the following verses favour his opinion.

3. 'For the purpose of gaining bare subsistence, but not in order to procure many enjoyments for himself.'

(ambrosia), or by *Mr̥ita* (death) and by *Pramr̥ita* (what causes many deaths); or even by (the mode) called *Satyânṛita* (a mixture of truth and falsehood), but never by *Svavr̥itti* (a dog's mode of life).

5. By *Rita* shall be understood the gleanings of corn; by *Amṛita*, what is given unasked; by *Mr̥ita*, food obtained by begging; and agriculture is declared to be *Pramr̥ita*.

6. But trade and (money-lending) are *Satyânṛita*, even by that one may subsist. Service is called *Svavr̥itti*; therefore one should avoid it.

7. He may either possess enough to fill a granary, or a store filling a grain-jar; or he may collect what suffices for three days, or make no provision for the morrow.

8. Moreover, among these four *Brāhmaṇa* householders, each later-(named) must be considered more distinguished, and through his virtue to have conquered the world more completely.

9. One of these follows six occupations, another subsists by three, one by two, but the fourth lives by the *Brahmasattra*.

7. *Yâgñ. I, 128*. The first two clauses are variously interpreted. The first means according to *Medh.*, 'he may keep a store of grain or other property, sufficient to maintain a large family, many servants and animals during three years;' according to *Gov.*, 'a store of grain sufficient for twelve days;' according to *Kull. and Râgh.*, 'a store sufficient to fill a granary which holds a supply for three years or more;' and according to *Nâr.*, 'a store sufficient for a year, six months, or three months.' The second clause is interpreted by *Medh.* as 'a store sufficient for six months;' by *Gov. and Nâr.* as 'a store sufficient for six days;' and by *Kull. and Râgh.* as 'a sufficiency for one year.' For other explanations of the term *Kumbhîdhânya*, see *Baudh. I, 1, 5* note. *Nand.* reads *dvyahaihikaḥ*, 'or he may collect what suffices for two days.'

9. 'Six occupations,' i.e. 'gleaning corn, acceptance of gifts

10. He who maintains himself by picking up grains and ears of corn, must be always intent on (the performance of) the Agnihotra, and constantly offer those *Ishṛis* only, which are prescribed for the days of the conjunction and opposition (of the moon), and for the solstices.

11. Let him never, for the sake of subsistence, follow the ways of the world; let him live the pure, straightforward, honest life of a *Brāhmaṇa*.

12. He who desires happiness must strive after a perfectly contented disposition and control himself; for happiness has contentment for its root, the root of unhappiness is the contrary (disposition).

13. A *Brāhmaṇa*, who is a *Snātaka* and subsists by one of the (above-mentioned) modes of life, must

given unasked, begging, agriculture, trade, and teaching' (Medh.), or 'those mentioned in verses 5-6' (Gov.), or 'those mentioned in verses 5-6, excepting service and with the addition of money-lending' (Kull., Rāgh.), or 'those enumerated in verses 5-6, and those six, mentioned above, I, 88' (Nār.), or 'those mentioned above, I, 88' (Nand.). 'Subsists by three,' i.e. 'by the first three, mentioned in verses 5-6' (Medh.), or 'by teaching, sacrificing, and accepting gifts' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.), or 'by teaching, sacrificing and accepting gifts, and by the first three, mentioned in verses 5-6' (Nār.). 'One by two,' i.e. 'by gleaning and accepting voluntary gifts' (Medh.), or 'by sacrificing and teaching' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.), or 'by gleaning ears and single grains' (Nār.). 'The *Brahmasattra*,' i.e. 'gleaning either ears or single grains' (Nār.), or 'teaching' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.). Elsewhere the term *Brahmasattra* is applied to the daily recitation of the Veda, and it probably means here 'teaching.'

10. The Agnihotra, i.e. the daily morning and evening oblations in the sacred fire or fires. The sacrifices intended are the *Darsapaurṇamāsas* and the *Āgrayanas*.

11. *Yāgñ.* I, 123.

12-17. *Yāgñ.* I, 129.

13. Nand. places verse 15 immediately after verse 12. Regarding the term *Snātaka*, see below, verse 31, *Āp.* I, 30, 1-3.

discharge the (following) duties which secure heavenly bliss, long life, and fame.

14. Let him, untired, perform daily the rites prescribed for him in the Veda ; for he who performs those according to his ability, attains to the highest state.

15. Whether he be rich or even in distress, let him not seek wealth through pursuits to which men cleave, nor by forbidden occupations, nor (let him accept presents) from any (giver whosoever he may be).

16. Let him not, out of desire (for enjoyments), attach himself to any sensual pleasures, and let him carefully obviate an excessive attachment to them, by (reflecting on their worthlessness in) his heart.

17. Let him avoid all (means of acquiring) wealth which impede the study of the Veda ; (let him maintain himself) anyhow, but study, because that (devotion to the Veda-study secures) the realisation of his aims.

18. Let him walk here (on earth), bringing his dress, speech, and thoughts to a conformity with his age, his occupation, his wealth, his sacred learning, and his race.

19. Let him daily pore over those Institutes of science which soon give increase of wisdom, those

15. Prasaṅga, 'through pursuits to which men cleave,' e.g. 'music and singing' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.). Nâr. interprets the word by 'with too great eagerness.'

17. Vi. LXXI, 4.

18. Yâgñ. I, 123 ; Vi. LXXI, 5-6. 'His race,' e.g. let him wear his hair in the manner prescribed by the usage of his family (Vas. II, 21).

19. Yâgñ. I, 99 ; Vi. LXXI, 8. The various sciences meant are the Itihâsas, Purâṇas, and Nyâya, the Artharâstra, medicine, and

which teach the acquisition of wealth, those which are beneficial (for other worldly concerns), and likewise over the Nigamas which explain the Veda.

20. For the more a man completely studies the Institutes of science, the more he fully understands (them), and his great learning shines brightly.

21. Let him never, if he is able (to perform them), neglect the sacrifices to the sages, to the gods, to the Bhûtas, to men, and to the manes.

22. Some men who know the ordinances for sacrificial rites, always offer these great sacrifices in their organs (of sensation), without any (external) effort.

23. Knowing that the (performance of the) sacrifice in their speech and their breath yields imperishable (rewards), some always offer their breath in their speech, and their speech in their breath.

24. Other Brâhmanas, seeing with the eye of knowledge that the performance of those rites has knowledge for its root, always perform them through knowledge alone.

25. A Brâhmana shall always offer the Agnihotra at the beginning or at the end of the day and of the night, and the Darsa and Purnamâsa (Ishîs) at the end of each half-month,

26. When the old grain has been consumed the

astrology. The Nigamas are the Ângas (Medh.). Gov., Kull., and Nâr. consider the Nigamas to be a separate class of works, teaching the meaning of the Veda, i. e. the naigamakânda of the Nirukta.

22. This and the next two verses refer to various symbolical ways of performing the great sacrifices, which are mentioned in the Upanishads.

23. Kaushîtaki-Up. II, 5.

24. Nand. omits this verse.

25-27. Gaut. VIII, 19-20; Vas. XI, 46; Vi. LIX, 2-9; Baudh. II, 4, 23; Yâgñ. I, 97, 124-125.

(Âgrayana) Ishî with new grain, at the end of the (three) seasons the (*Kâturmâsya*)-sacrifices, at the solstices an animal (sacrifice), at the end of the year Soma-offerings.

27. A Brâhmana, who keeps sacred fires, shall, if he desires to live long, not eat new grain or meat, without having offered the (Âgrayana) Ishî with new grain and an animal-(sacrifice).

28. For his fires, not being worshipped by offerings of new grain and of an animal, seek to devour his vital spirits, (because they are) greedy for new grain and flesh.

29. No guest must stay in his house without being honoured, according to his ability, with a seat, food, a couch, water, or roots and fruits.

30. Let him not honour, even by a greeting, heretics, men who follow forbidden occupations, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians, (arguing against the Veda,) and those who live like herons.

31. Those who have become Snâtakas after studying the Veda, or after completing their vows, (and) householders, who are Srotriyas, one must worship by (gifts of food) sacred to gods and manes, but one must avoid those who are different.

30. *Yâgñ. I, 130. Pâshandînah*, 'heretics,' i.e. 'non-Brâhmanical ascetics' (*vâhyalingînah*, Medh.), or 'ascetics wearing red dresses and the like' (Gov.), or 'non-Brâhmanical ascetics, such as Bauddhas' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'those who do not believe in the Vedas' (Râgh.). The term does not necessarily refer to the Buddhists and Gainas, though the latter may be designated by it. The correct explanation of the word *pâshanda* or *pâshandin*, 'a sectarian,' has been given by Kern, *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, p. 67. Regarding the men who act like cats or herons, see below, verses 195-196.

31. Nand. reads *griham âgatân*, 'who have come to his house,' instead of *grihamedhînah*, 'who are householders.'

32. A householder must give (as much food) as he is able (to spare) to those who do not cook for themselves, and to all beings one must distribute (food) without detriment (to one's own interest).

33. A Snâtaka who pines with hunger, may beg wealth of a king, of one for whom he sacrifices, and of a pupil, but not of others ; that is a settled rule.

34. A Snâtaka who is able (to procure food) shall never waste himself with hunger, nor shall he wear old or dirty clothes, if he possesses property.

35. Keeping his hair, nails, and beard clipped, subduing his passions by austerities, wearing white garments and (keeping himself) pure, he shall be always engaged in studying the Veda and (such acts as are) conducive to his welfare.

36. He shall carry a staff of bamboo, a pot full of water, a sacred string, a bundle of Kusa grass, and (wear) two bright golden ear-rings.

32. Âp. II, 4, 14 ; Gaut. V, 22 ; Baudh. II, 5, 20. 'Those who do not cook for themselves,' i.e. students and ascetics. According to Gov. Pâshandâs are included by this term.

33. Gaut. IX, 63-64 ; Vas. XII, 2 ; Yâgñ. I, 130. 'A king,' i.e. 'a Kshatriya king who rules in accordance with the Sâstras ;' see below, verse 84.

34. Vas. XII, 4 ; Vi. LXXI, 9 ; Gaut. IX, 3 ; Âp. I, 30, 13. Saktañ, 'who is able (to procure food),' (Nâr.), means according to Nand. 'he who is able to dine, shall not stint himself through avarice.' Gov., Kull., and K. explain the phrase, 'A Snâtaka, who is a fit (recipient of gifts), must not pine with hunger (as long as the king has anything to give),' i.e. he must be relieved. Râgh. reads yuktañ instead of saktañ, 'A Snâtaka who is suffering hunger shall not despair.' If taken in the second sense the rule is identical with that given Âp. II, 25, 11 ; Gaut. X, 9-10 ; Vi. III, 79.

35. Âp. I, 30, 10-12 ; Gaut. IX, 4, 7 ; Yâgñ. I, 131 ; Baudh. I, 5, 7.

36. Vas. XII, 14-17 ; Baudh. I, 5, 3-5 ; 6, 1-5 ; II, 6, 7 ; Vi. LXXI, 13-16 ; Yâgñ. I, 133.

37. Let him never look at the sun, when he sets or rises, is eclipsed or reflected in water, or stands in the middle of the sky.

38. Let him not step over a rope to which a calf is tied, let him not run when it rains, and let him not look at his own image in water ; that is a settled rule.

39. Let him pass by (a mound of) earth, a cow, an idol, a Brâhmana, clarified butter, honey, a cross-way, and well-known trees, turning his right hand towards them.

40. Let him, though mad with desire, not approach his wife when her courses appear ; nor let him sleep with her in the same bed.

41. For the wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight, and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excretions, utterly perish.

42. If he avoids her, while she is in that condition, his wisdom, energy, strength, sight, and vitality will increase.

43. Let him not eat in the company of his wife, nor look at her, while she eats, sneezes, yawns, or sits at her ease.

44. A Brâhmana who desires energy must not

37. Âp. I, 31, 20 ; Vas. XII, 10 ; Baudh. II, 6, 10 ; Vi. LXXI, 17-21 ; Yâgñ. I, 135.

38. Âp. I, 31, 15 ; Vas. XII, 9 ; Baudh. II, 6, 15 ; Vi. LXXI, 23 ; LXIII, 41-43.

39. Gaut. IX, 66 ; Vi. LXIII, 26-28 ; Yâgñ. I, 133.

40-42. Gaut. IX, 29-30 ; Vas. XII, 7 ; Vi. LXIX, 11.

42. Medh. and Nand. read lakshmî, 'luck,' instead of *tegañ*, 'energy.'

43. Vas. XII, 31 ; Vi. LXVIII, 46 ; Yâgñ. I, 131 ; Gaut. IX, 32.

44. Gaut. IX, 32.

look at (a woman) who applies collyrium to her eyes, has anointed or uncovered herself or brings forth (a child).

45. Let him not eat, dressed with one garment only; let him not bathe naked; let him not void urine on a road, on ashes, or in a cow-pen,

46. Nor on ploughed land, in water, on an altar of bricks, on a mountain, on the ruins of a temple, nor ever on an ant-hill,

47. Nor in holes inhabited by living creatures, nor while he walks or stands, nor on reaching the bank of a river, nor on the top of a mountain.

48. Let him never void faeces or urine, facing the wind, or a fire, or looking towards a Brâhmaṇa, the sun, water, or cows.

49. He may ease himself, having covered (the ground) with sticks, clods, leaves, grass, and the like, restraining his speech, (keeping himself) pure, wrapping up his body, and covering his head.

50. Let him void faeces and urine, in the day-time turning to the north, at night turning towards the south, during the two twilights in the same (position) as by day.

45. Âp. I, 30, 18; Gaut. IX, 40, 45; Vas. XII, 11; Baudh. II, 6, 24, 39; Vi. LXVIII, 14; LXIV, 5; LX, 11, 16, 19; Yâgñ. I, 131, 134. Govrage, 'in a cow-pen' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. 'a place where cows graze.'

46. Âp. I, 30, 18; Gaut. IX, 40; Vi. LX, 4, 21, 10. 'Some omit verses 46-47' (Nâr.), and they are not found in Nand.

47. Vi. LX, 9.

48. Âp. I, 30, 20; Gaut. II, 12; Vi. LX, 22; Yâgñ. I, 134. 'Looking at (things moved by) the wind' (Medh., Kull.). Medh. places verse 52 immediately after this.

49. Âp. I, 30, 14-15; Gaut. IX, 37-38, 41-43; Vas. XII, 13; Vi. LX, 2-3, 23.

50. Âp. I, 31, 1; Vi. LX, 2-3.

51. In the shade or in darkness a Brāhmaṇa may, both by day and at night, do it, assuming any position he pleases ; likewise when his life is in danger.

52. The intellect of (a man) who voids urine against a fire, the sun, the moon, in water, against a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, or the wind, perishes.

53. Let him not blow a fire with his mouth ; let him not look at a naked woman ; let him not throw any impure substance into the fire, and let him not warm his feet at it.

54. Let him not place (fire) under (a bed or the like) ; nor step over it, nor place it (when he sleeps) at the foot-(end of his bed) ; let him not torment living creatures.

55. Let him not eat, nor travel, nor sleep during the twilight ; let him not scratch the ground ; let him not take off his garland.

56. Let him not throw urine or faeces into the water, nor saliva, nor (clothes) defiled by impure substances, nor any other (impurity), nor blood, nor poisonous things.

57. Let him not sleep alone in a deserted dwelling ; let him not wake (a superior) who is sleeping ; let him not converse with a menstruating woman ;

52. Medh. and Nār. mention a var. lect. for *prativātam*, 'against the wind,' *pratisamdhyaṃ*, 'in the twilights,' which Nand. adopts.

53. Âp. I, 15, 20-21 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 27 ; Vi. LXXI, 32-34, 37 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

54. Vi. LXXI, 36 ; Yâgñ. I, 135, 137 ; Gaut. IX, 73.

55. Vi. LXIII, 8 ; LXVIII, 12 ; LXXI, 41, 55.

56. Âp. I, 30, 19 ; Vi. LXXI, 35 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

57. Gaut. IX, 54-55 ; Vas. XII, 42 ; Vi. LXIII, 21 ; LXX, 13 ; LXXI, 58 ; Yâgñ. I, 138.

nor let him go to a sacrifice, if he is not chosen (to be officiating priest).

58. Let him keep his right arm uncovered in a place where a sacred fire is kept, in a cow-pen, in the presence of Brâhmaṇas, during the private recitation of the Veda, and at meals.

59. Let him not interrupt a cow who is suckling (her calf), nor tell anybody of it. A wise man, if he sees a rainbow in the sky, must not point it out to anybody.

60. Let him not dwell in a village where the sacred law is not obeyed, nor (stay) long where diseases are endemic; let him not go alone on a journey, nor reside long on a mountain.

61. Let him not dwell in a country where the rulers are Sûdras, nor in one which is surrounded by unrighteous men, nor in one which has become subject to heretics, nor in one swarming with men of the lowest castes.

62. Let him not eat anything from which the oil has been extracted; let him not be a glutton; let him not eat very early (in the morning), nor very late (in the evening), nor (take any food) in the evening, if he has eaten (his fill) in the morning.

63. Let him not exert himself without a purpose; let him not drink water out of his joined palms; let

58. Baudh. II, 6, 38; Vi. LXXI, 60.

59. Âp. I, 31, 10, 18; Gaut. IX, 23; Vas. XII, 33; Baudh. II, 6, 11, 17; Vi. LXIII, 2; LXXI, 62. All the commentators except Râgh. explain dhayantîm, 'who is suckling (her calf),' by pibantîm, 'who is drinking' (milk or water, see Yâgñ. I, 140).

60-61. Âp. I, 15, 22, 32, 18; Gaut. IX, 65; Baudh. II, 6, 21, 31; Vi. LXXI, 64-68.

62. Vi. LXVIII, 27, 48; see above, II, 56-57.

63. Gaut. IX, 9, 50, 56; Baudh. II, 6, 5; Vi. LXXI, 69.

him not eat food (placed) in his lap; let him not show (idle) curiosity.

64. Let him not dance, nor sing, nor play musical instruments, nor slap (his limbs), nor grind his teeth, nor let him make uncouth noises, though he be in a passion.

65. Let him never wash his feet in a vessel of white brass; let him not eat out of a broken (earthen) dish, nor out of one that (to judge) from its appearance (is) defiled.

66. Let him not use shoes, garments, a sacred string, ornaments, a garland, or a water-vessel which have been used by others.

67. Let him not travel with untrained beasts of burden, nor with (animals) that are tormented by hunger or disease, or whose horns, eyes, and hoofs have been injured, or whose tails have been disfigured.

68. Let him always travel with (beasts) which are well broken in, swift, endowed with lucky marks, and perfect in colour and form, without urging them much with the goad.

69. The morning sun, the smoke rising from a (burning) corpse, and a broken seat must be avoided. Let him not clip his nails or hair, and not tear his nails with his teeth.

64. Âp. II, 20, 13; Vi. LXXI, 70-71. Na kshvedet, 'let him not grind his teeth,' means according to Nâr., 'let him not roar like a lion;' according to Nand., 'let him not snap his fingers.' Na spho/aye/, 'he shall not slap (his limbs),' means according to Nand., 'he shall not make his fingers crack.'

65. Vi. LXVIII, 20; LXXI, 39.

66. Vi. LXXI, 47.

67-68. Vi. LXIII, 13-18.

69. Vi. LXXI, 44, 46; Yâgñ. I, 139. Bâlâtapaḥ, 'the morning sun,' is according to 'some,' mentioned by Nâr., and according to

70. Let him not crush earth or clods, nor tear off grass with his nails ; let him not do anything that is useless or will have disagreeable results in the future.

71. A man who crushes clods, tears off grass, or bites his nails, goes soon to perdition, likewise an informer and he who neglects (the rules of) purification.

72. Let him not wrangle ; let him not wear a garland over (his hair). To ride on the back of cows (or of oxen) is anyhow a blamable act.

73. Let him not enter a walled village or house except by the gate, and by night let him keep at a long distance from the roots of trees.

74. Let him never play with dice, nor himself take off his shoes ; let him not eat, lying on a bed, nor what has been placed in his hand or on a seat.

Râgh. 'the sun in the sign of Kanyâ, or Virgo,' i.e. 'the sun in autumn.' The same explanation is mentioned by Nandapandita in his comment on the parallel passage of Vishnu. It is, however, probably wrong : see the Introduction. 'Let him not clip his nails or hair,' i.e. 'not himself, but let him employ a barber' (Medh., Gov.), or 'before they have grown long' (Kull.), or 'except at the proper time for clipping' (Nand.).

70. Âp. I, 32, 18 ; Gaut. IX, 51 ; Vi. LXXI, 42-43.

72. Âp. I, 32, 5 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Baudh. II, 69. I read with all the commentators 'vigrîhya' instead of the 'vigarhya' of the editions. 'Let him not wear a garland over (his dress),' (Medh.), or 'let him not wear a garland outside (the house),' or 'one that is not fragrant' (others, Medh.).

73. Âp. I, 31, 23 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Baudh. II, 6, 13 ; Yâgñ. I, 140.

74. Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 36 ; Baudh. II, 6, 6 ; Vi. LXVIII, 23 ; Vi. LXXI, 45 ; Yâgñ. I, 138. 'Nor what has been placed in his hand,' i.e. 'in his left hand or in a vessel held in that hand' (Nâr.). This is no doubt the best explanation, as Hindus always eat with the fingers of the right hand, and the left hand is considered unclean for very good reasons.

75. Let him not eat after sunset any (food) containing sesamum grains ; let him never sleep naked, nor go anywhere unpurified (after meals).

76. Let him eat while his feet are (yet) wet (from the ablution), but let him not go to bed with wet feet. He who eats while his feet are (still) wet, will attain long life.

77. Let him never enter a place, difficult of access, which is impervious to his eye ; let him not look at urine or ordure, nor cross a river (swimming) with his arms.

78. Let him not step on hair, ashes, bones, potsherds, cotton-seed or chaff, if he desires long life.

79. Let him not stay together with outcasts, nor with *Kāṇḍālas*, nor with *Pukkasas*, nor with fools, nor with overbearing men, nor with low-caste men, nor with *Antyāvasāyins*.

80. Let him not give to a *Sūdra* advice, nor the remnants (of his meal), nor food offered to the gods ; nor let him explain the sacred law (to such a man), nor impose (upon him) a penance.

81. For he who explains the sacred law (to a *Sūdra*) or dictates to him a penance, will sink together with that (man) into the hell (called) *Asamvṛita*.

82. Let him not scratch his head with both hands

75. Gaut. IX, 60 ; Vi. LXVIII, 29 ; LXXI, 3 ; see above, II, 56.

76. Vi. LXVIII, 34 ; LXX, 1.

77. Âp. I, 32, 26 ; Gaut. IX, 32 ; Vas. XII, 45 ; Baudh. II, 6, 26 ; Vi. LXIII, 46.

78. Âp. II, 20, 11 ; Gaut. IX, 15 ; Baudh. II, 6, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 139.

79. Regarding the *Pukkasas* and *Antyāvasāyins*, see below, X, 18, 39.

80. Âp. I, 31, 24 ; Vi. LXXI, 48-52 ; Vas. XVIII, 14.

81. Vas. XVIII, 15.

82. Vi. LXXI, 53.

joined ; let him not touch it while he is impure, nor bathe without (submerging) it.

83. Let him avoid (in anger) to lay hold of (his own or other men's) hair, or to strike (himself or others) on the head. When he has bathed (submerging) his head, he shall not touch any of his limbs with oil.

84. Let him not accept presents from a king who is not descended from the Kshatriya race, nor from butchers, oil-manufacturers, and publicans, nor from those who subsist by the gain of prostitutes.

85. One oil-press is as (bad) as ten slaughter-houses, one tavern as (bad as) ten oil-presses, one brothel as (bad as) ten taverns, one king as (bad as) ten brothels.

86. A king is declared to be equal (in wickedness) to a butcher who keeps a hundred thousand slaughter-houses ; to accept presents from him is a terrible (crime).

87. He who accepts presents from an avaricious king who acts contrary to the Institutes (of the sacred law), will go in succession to the following twenty-one hells :

88. Tâmisra, Andhatâmisra, Mahâraurava, Raurava, the Kâlasûtra hell, Mahânaraka,

89. Samgîvana, Mahâvîki, Tapanâ, Sampratâpana, Samghâta, Sakâkola, Kuḍmala, Pûtimrittika,

83. Vi. LXIV, 12. 'When he has bathed (submerging) his head' should be according to others (mentioned by Kull. and Râgh.) 'when he has anointed his head with oil.'

84. Yâgñ. I, 140.

85. Yâgñ. I, 141. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. say, 'one king as bad as ten prostitutes' (veryâ).

88-90. Vi. XLIII, 2-22. Nâr. and Gov. say expressly that *narakam kâlasûtram* ka means 'the Kâlasûtra hell,' and Nâr. that 'Vaita-

90. Lohasaṅku, *Rīgīsha*, Pathin, the (flaming) river, Sālmala, Asipatravana, and Lohakāraḥa.

91. Learned Brāhmaṇas, who know that, who study the Veda and desire bliss after death, do not accept presents from a king.

92. Let him wake in the muhūrta, sacred to Brahman, and think of (the acquisition of) spiritual merit and wealth, of the bodily fatigue arising therefrom, and of the true meaning of the Veda.

93. When he has risen, has relieved the necessities of nature and carefully purified himself, let him stand during the morning twilight, muttering for a long time (the Gāyatrī), and at the proper time (he must similarly perform) the evening (devotion).

94. By prolonging the twilight devotions, the sages obtained long life, wisdom, honour, fame, and excellence in Vedic knowledge.

95. Having performed the Upākarmaṇ according to the prescribed rule on (the full moon of the month) Srāvana, or on that of Praushṭhapada (Bhādrapada),

raṁī' must be understood with nadi, 'the river,' while Gov. speaks of a hell called Nadi, 'the river.' The corresponding passage of Vishṇu shows that the Dīpanadī is meant. The editions read Samhāta instead of Samghāta, Sālmali instead of Sālmala, and Lohadāraḥa, which Rāgh. has also, instead of Lohakāraḥa.

92. Vas. XII, 47; Vi. LX, 1. Kull. and Rāgh. say, 'in the muhūrta, sacred to Brāhmī,' or Bhārati, the goddess of speech. But this explanation is wrong, as the expression prāḡāpatya muhūrta, used in other Smṛitis, shows.

93. Vi. LXXI, 77.

94. I read with Gov., Nand., and K., avāpnuyān, 'obtained,' instead of avāpnuyuh (Medh., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.).

95-97. Āp. I, 9, 1-3, 10, 2; Gaut. XVI, 1-2, 40; Vas. XIII, 1-5; Baudh. I, 12-16; Vi. XXX, 1-2, 24-25; Yāgyñ. I, 142-144.

The Upākarmaṇ is the solemn opening of the Brāhmaṇical school-term, and the Utsargana or Utsarga its closing. Their

a Brâhmaṇa shall diligently study the Vedas during four months and a half.

96. When the Pushya-day (of the month Pausha), or the first day of the bright half of Mâgha has come, a Brâhmaṇa shall perform in the forenoon the Utsargana of the Vedas.

97. Having performed the Utsarga outside (the village), as the Institutes (of the sacred law) prescribe, he shall stop reading during two days and the intervening night, or during that day (of the Utsarga) and (the following) night.

98. Afterwards he shall diligently recite the Vedas during the bright (halves of the months), and duly study all the Aṅgas of the Vedas during the dark fortnights.

99. Let him not recite (the texts) indistinctly, nor in the presence of Sûdras; nor let him, if in the latter part of the night he is tired with reciting the Veda, go again to sleep.

100. According to the rule declared above, let him recite the daily (portion of the) Mantras, and a zealous Brâhmaṇa, (who is) not in distress, (shall study) the Brâhmaṇa and the Mantrasamhitâ.

101. Let him who studies always avoid (reading) on the following occasions when the Veda-study is

description is found in the *Gr̥hya-sûtras*, e.g. *Sâṅkhâya* IV, 5-6. The Pushya-day is the sixth lunar day of each month: *Śrâvāṇa*, July-August; *Bhâdrapada*, August-September; *Pausha*, December-January; *Mâgha*, January-February.

97. But see below, verse 119.

98-129. *Âp.* I, 9, 4-11, 38; 32, 12-15; *Gaut.* I, 58-60; XVI, 5-49; *Vas.* XIII, 6-40; XVIII, 13; *Baudh.* I, 21, 4-22; *Vi.* XXX, 3-30; *Yâgy.* I, 144-151.

100. 'The daily (portion of the) Mantras,' i.e. 'the *Gâyatrî* and other portions of the *Rikas*, *Yagus*, and *Sâmans*.'

forbidden, and (let) him who teaches pupils according to the prescribed rule (do it likewise).

102. Those who know the (rules of) recitation declare that in the rainy season the Veda-study must be stopped on these two (occasions), when the wind is audible at night, and when it whirls up the dust in the day-time.

103. Manu has stated, that when lightning, thunder, and rain (are observed together), or when large fiery meteors fall on all sides, the recitation must be interrupted until the same hour (on the next day, counting from the occurrence of the event).

104. When one perceives these (phenomena) all together (in the twilight), after the sacred fires have been made to blaze (for the performance of the Agnihotra), then one must know the recitation of the Veda to be forbidden, and also when clouds appear out of season.

105. On (the occasion of) a preternatural sound from the sky, (of) an earthquake, and when the lights of heaven are surrounded by a halo, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) stopped until the same hour (on the next day), even if (these phenomena happen) in the (rainy) season.

106. But when lightning and the roar of thunder (are observed) after the sacred fires have been made to blaze, the stoppage shall last as long as the light (of the sun or of the stars is visible); if the remaining (above-named phenomenon, rain, occurs, the reading shall cease), both in the day-time and at night.

105. Medh. proposes as another explanation of *gyotishâm kopa-sargane*, 'when the heavenly lights trouble each other,' i. e. obscure each other, and Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. refer the phrase to eclipses.

107. For those who wish to acquire exceedingly great merit, a continual interruption of the Veda-study (is prescribed) in villages and in towns, and (the Veda-study must) always (cease) when any kind of foul smell (is perceptible).

108. In a village where a corpse lies, in the presence of a (man who lives as unrighteously as a) Sûdra, while (the sound of) weeping (is heard), and in a crowd of men the (recitation of the Veda must be) stopped.

109. In water, during the middle part of the night, while he voids excrements, or is impure, and after he has partaken of a funeral dinner, a man must not even think in his heart (of the sacred texts).

110. A learned Brâhmana shall not recite the Veda during three days, when he has accepted an invitation to a (funeral rite) in honour of one ancestor (ekoddishṭa), or when the king has become impure through a birth or death in his family (sûtaka), or when Râhu by an eclipse makes the moon impure.

111. As long as the smell and the stains of the (food given) in honour of one ancestor remain on the body of a learned Brâhmana, so long he must not recite the Veda.

112. While lying on a bed, while his feet are raised (on a bench), while he sits on his hams with a cloth tied round his knees, let him not study, nor when he has eaten meat or food given by a person impure on account of a birth or a death,

107. With respect to this verse, see especially Baudh. II, 6, 33-34.

109. Medh. mentions a var. lect. udaye, 'at sunrise,' for udaye, 'in water.'

110. Eclipses of the sun are of course included.

113. Nor during a fog, nor while the sound of arrows is audible, nor during both the twilights, nor on the new-moon day, nor on the fourteenth and the eighth (days of each half-month), nor on the full-moon day.

114. The new-moon day destroys the teacher, the fourteenth (day) the pupil, the eighth and the full-moon days (destroy all remembrance of) the Veda; let him therefore avoid (reading on) those (days).

115. A Brâhmana shall not recite (the Veda) during a dust-storm, nor while the sky is preternaturally red, nor while jackals howl, nor while the barking of dogs, the braying of donkeys, or the grunting of camels (is heard), nor while (he is seated) in a company.

116. Let him not study near a burial-ground, nor near a village, nor in a cow-pen, nor dressed in a garment which he wore during conjugal intercourse, nor after receiving a present at a funeral sacrifice.

117. Be it an animal or a thing inanimate, whatever be the (gift) at a Srâddha, let him not, having just accepted it, recite the Veda; for the hand of a Brâhmana is his mouth.

118. When the village has been beset by robbers, and when an alarm has been raised by fire, let him know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted until the same hour (on the next day), and on (the occurrence of) all portents.

113. *Vâna*, 'arrows,' may also mean 'a large lute.'

115. *Pañktau*, 'in a company' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., 'others'), means according to Medh., Nâr., and Râgh. 'in the midst of dogs, donkeys, or camels.' Nâr. mentions a third explanation, 'in the company of unworthy persons' (*apâñktya*).

117. I.e. it is as sinful to recite the Veda after accepting a present at a Srâddha, as to study after partaking of a funeral dinner.

119. On (the occasion of) the Upâkarman and (of) the Vedotsarga an omission (of the Veda-study) for three days has been prescribed, but on the Ash/akâs and on the last nights of the seasons for a day and a night.

120. Let him not recite the Veda on horseback, nor on a tree, nor on an elephant, nor in a boat (or ship), nor on a donkey, nor on a camel, nor standing on barren ground, nor riding in a carriage,

121. Nor during a verbal altercation, nor during a mutual assault, nor in a camp, nor during a battle, nor when he has just eaten, nor during an indigestion, nor after vomiting, nor with sour eructations,

122. Nor without receiving permission from a guest (who stays in his house), nor while the wind blows vehemently, nor while blood flows from his body, nor when he is wounded by a weapon.

123. Let him never recite the *Rîg-veda* or the *Yagur-veda* while the *Sâman* (melodies) are heard; (let him stop all Veda-study for a day and a night) after finishing a Veda or after reciting an *Âraṇyaka*.

124. The *Rîg-veda* is declared to be sacred to the gods, the *Yagur-veda* sacred to men, and the *Sâma-veda* sacred to the manes; hence the sound of the latter is impure (as it were).

119. The Ash/akâs are the three or four days for the Ash/akâ Srâddhas, which are placed differently by different writers; see Weber, *Die Nakshatras* II, 337.

121. Nâr. interprets *na vivâde na kalahe* by 'neither during a dispute on legal matters nor during an altercation.'

124. 'Is impure (as it were),' i.e. 'it is not really impure, but when it is heard, one must not study, just as in the presence of some impure thing or person' (Medh.).

125. Knowing this, the learned daily repeat first in due order the essence of the three (Vedas) and afterwards the (text of the) Veda.

126. Know that (the Veda-study must be) interrupted for a day and a night, when cattle, a frog, a cat, a dog, a snake, an ichneumon, or a rat pass between (the teacher and his pupil).

127. Let a twice-born man always carefully interrupt the Veda-study on two (occasions, viz.) when the place where he recites is impure, and when he himself is unpurified.

128. A twice-born man who is a Snātaka shall remain chaste on the new-moon day, on the eighth (lunar day of each half-month), on the full-moon day, and on the fourteenth, even (if they fall) in the period (proper for conjugal intercourse).

129. Let him not bathe (immediately) after a meal, nor when he is sick, nor in the middle of the night, nor frequently dressed in all his garments, nor in a pool which he does not perfectly know.

130. Let him not intentionally step on the shadow of (images of) the gods, of a Guru, of a king, of a Snātaka, of his teacher, of a reddish-brown animal, or of one who has been initiated to the performance of a Śrauta sacrifice (Dikshita).

125. 'The essence of three (Vedas),' i.e. the syllable Om and the Gâyatrī; see above, II, 76-77.

128. Vi. LXIX, 1; Vas. XII, 21. According to others, quoted by Medh., the word *brahmaṭrī* translated by 'chaste' indicates that a Snātaka must also in other respects behave like a student. Medh. thinks it possible that the abstention from honey and meat may also be indicated.

129. Âp. I, 32, 8; Baudh. II, 6, 25; Vi. LXIV, 3-4, 6. 'Not frequently,' i.e. 'only for particular reasons, such as being touched by a *Kāṇḍāla*.'

130. Yâgñ. I, 152; Vi. LXIII, 40. Babhru, 'a reddish-brown

131. At midday and at midnight, after partaking of meat at a funeral dinner, and in the two twilights let him not stay long on a cross-road.

132. Let him not step intentionally on things used for cleansing the body, on water used for a bath, on urine or ordure, on blood, on mucus, and on anything spat out or vomited.

133. Let him not show particular attention to an enemy, to the friend of an enemy, to a wicked man, to a thief, or to the wife of another man.

134. For in this world there is nothing so detrimental to long life as criminal conversation with another man's wife.

135. Let him who desires prosperity, indeed, never despise a Kshatriya, a snake, and a learned Brâhmaṇa, be they ever so feeble.

136. Because these three, when treated with disrespect, may utterly destroy him; hence a wise man must never despise them.

137. Let him not despise himself on account of former failures; until death let him seek fortune, nor despair of gaining it.

138. Let him say what is true, let him say what is pleasing, let him utter no disagreeable truth, and let him utter no agreeable falsehood; that is the eternal law.

animal,' is not clearly explained by Gov., Kull., and Râgh. Medh. thinks that 'a brown cow' or 'the Soma creeper' may be meant. Nand. adopts the former view, and Nâr. explains it by 'a brown creature.'

132. Vi. LXIII, 41; Yâgñ. I, 152. Apasânânam, 'water used for a bath,' means according to Nâr. and Nand. 'water used for washing a corpse.'

135-136. Yâgñ. I, 153.

137. Vi. LXXI, 76; Yâgñ. I, 153.

138. Gaut. IX, 68; Vi. LXXI, 73-74; Yâgñ. I, 132.

139. (What is) well, let him call well, or let him say 'well' only; let him not engage in a useless enmity or dispute with anybody.

140. Let him not journey too early in the morning, nor too late in the evening, nor just during the midday (heat), nor with an unknown (companion), nor alone, nor with Śūdras.

141. Let him not insult those who have redundant limbs or are deficient in limbs, nor those destitute of knowledge, nor very aged men, nor those who have no beauty or wealth, nor those who are of low birth.

142. A Brāhmaṇa who is impure must not touch with his hand a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, or fire; nor, being in good health, let him look at the luminaries in the sky, while he is impure.

143. If he has touched these, while impure, let him always sprinkle with his hand water on the organs of sensation, all his limbs, and the navel.

144. Except when sick he must not touch the cavities (of the body) without a reason, and he must avoid (to touch) the hair on the secret (parts).

145. Let him eagerly follow the (customs which are) auspicious and the rule of good conduct, be careful of purity, and control all his organs, let him mutter (prayers) and, untired, daily offer oblations in the fire.

139. Âp. I, 32, 11-14; Gaut. IX, 19-20; Vi. LXXI, 57; Yâgñ. I, 132; Gaut. IX, 32. 'Only,' i.e. even if things go wrong. I follow Nâr.'s explanation, which is the only correct one: *bhadram vastuto yakkhobhanam* | *bhadram ity eva vâ 'bhadram api*, '(let him call) well what is really well; or (let him call) well even that which is not well.'

140. Baudh. II, 6, 22-23; Vi. LXIII, 4, 6-7, 9.

141. Vi. LXXI, 2. 142. Yâgñ. I, 155. 144. Vi. LXXI, 79.

146. No calamity happens to those who eagerly follow auspicious customs and the rule of good conduct, to those who are always careful of purity, and to those who mutter (sacred texts) and offer burnt-oblations.

147. Let him, without tiring, daily mutter the Veda at the proper time; for they declare that to be one's highest duty; (all) other (observances) are called secondary duties.

148. By daily reciting the Veda, by (the observance of the rules of) purification, by (practising) austerities, and by doing no injury to created beings, one (obtains the faculty of) remembering former births.

149. He who, recollecting his former existences, again recites the Veda, gains endless bliss by the continual study of the Veda.

150. Let him always offer on the Parva-days oblations to Savitṛi and such as avert evil omens, and on the Aśtākās and Anvashākās let him constantly worship the manes.

151. Far from his dwelling let him remove urine (and ordure), far (let him remove) the water used for washing his feet, and far the remnants of food and the water from his bath.

152. Early in the morning only let him void

146. Vas. XXVI, 14.

147. Gaut. IX, 72.

150. Vi. LXXI, 86. Nand. reads sāvitrīyā, 'with the Sāvitrī,' for sāvitrān, 'to Savitrī,' and Nār. has the same explanation.

151. Âp. I, 31, 2-3; Gaut. IX, 39; Yâgñ. I, 153. Âvasatha, 'his dwelling,' means according to Kull. 'the room where the fires are kept.' Kull. explains nishekam, 'the water from his bath,' by 'seminal impurity.' Gov. and Nār. read *utkṣhish/ānnanishekam ka*, and explain nisheka by tyāga, 'throwing away.'

152. According to Medh., 'others' explained maitram, 'defecation,' by 'friendly service,' or by 'the worship of Mitra.'

fæces, decorate (his body), bathe, clean his teeth, apply collyrium to his eyes, and worship the gods.

153. But on the Parva-days let him go to visit the (images of the) gods, and virtuous Brāhmanas, and the ruler (of the country), for the sake of protection, as well as his Gurus.

154. Let him reverentially salute venerable men (who visit him), give them his own seat, let him sit near them with joined hands and, when they leave, (accompany them), walking behind them.

155. Let him, untired, follow the conduct of virtuous men, connected with his occupations, which has been fully declared in the revealed texts and in the sacred tradition (*Smṛiti*) and is the root of the sacred law.

156. Through virtuous conduct he obtains long life, through virtuous conduct desirable offspring, through virtuous conduct imperishable wealth; virtuous conduct destroys (the effect of) inauspicious marks.

157. For a man of bad conduct is blamed among people, constantly suffers misfortunes, is afflicted with diseases, and short-lived.

158. A man who follows the conduct of the virtuous, has faith and is free from envy, lives a hundred years, though he be entirely destitute of auspicious marks.

159. Let him carefully avoid all undertakings (the success of) which depends on others; but let

153. Âp. I, 31, 21-22. Medh. omits verses 153-158.

154. Baudh. II, 6, 35. 155. Vas. LXXI, 90; Yâgñ. I, 154.

156. Vas. VI, 7; Vi. LXXI, 91. 157. Vas. VI, 6.

158. Vas. VI, 8; Vi. LXXI, 92.

him eagerly pursue that (the accomplishment of) which depends on himself.

160. Everything that depends on others (gives) pain, everything that depends on oneself (gives) pleasure; know that this is the short definition of pleasure and pain.

161. When the performance of an act gladdens his heart, let him perform it with diligence; but let him avoid the opposite.

162. Let him never offend the teacher who initiated him, nor him who explained the Veda, nor his father and mother, nor (any other) Guru, nor cows, nor Brâhmaṇas, nor any men performing austerities.

163. Let him avoid atheism, cavilling at the Vedas, contempt of the gods, hatred, want of modesty, pride, anger, and harshness.

164. Let him, when angry, not raise a stick against another man, nor strike (anybody) except a son or a pupil; those two he may beat in order to correct them.

161. This rule refers to indifferent acts or cases where there is an option; see above, II, 12.

162. Yâgñ. I, 157-158. Na himsyât, 'let him never offend' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Gov. 'let him never injure them, though they attempt his life, when self-defence is permitted' (see VIII, 350). Tapasvinah means according to Medh. and Gov. 'all those engaged in the performance of austerities,' e.g. even sinners who perform penances (Medh.), while the other commentators understand it to denote 'ascetics.'

163. Âp. I, 30, 25; Vas. XIII, 41; Vi. LXXI, 83. I read with all the commentators instead of dambham, 'hypocrisy,' stambham, which according to Medh., Gov., and Nâr. means 'want of modesty,' and according to Kull. 'want of energy in the fulfilment of duties.'

164. Vi. LXXI, 81-82. See also below, VIII, 299-300.

165. A twice-born man who has merely threatened a Brāhmaṇa with the intention of (doing him) a corporal injury, will wander about for a hundred years in the Tāmisa hell.

166. Having intentionally struck him in anger, even with a blade of grass, he will be born during twenty-one existences in the wombs (of such beings where men are born in punishment of their) sins.

167. A man who in his folly caused blood to flow from the body of a Brāhmaṇa who does not attack him, will suffer after death exceedingly great pain.

168. As many particles of dust as the blood takes up from the ground, during so many years the spiller of the blood will be devoured by other (animals) in the next world.

169. A wise man should therefore never threaten a Brāhmaṇa, nor strike him even with a blade of grass, nor cause his blood to flow.

170. Neither a man who (lives) unrighteously, nor he who (acquires) wealth (by telling) falsehoods, nor he who always delights in doing injury, ever attain happiness in this world.

171. Let him, though suffering in consequence of his righteousness, never turn his heart to unrighteousness; for he will see the speedy overthrow of unrighteous, wicked men.

172. Unrighteousness, practised in this world, does not at once produce its fruit, like a cow; but, advancing slowly, it cuts off the roots of him who committed it.

165-167. Gaut. XXI, 20-22; Yâgñ. I, 155.

172. 'Like a cow,' i.e. 'which at once yields benefits by its milk, &c.' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.). Medh., Kull., and Râgh. take gauḥ

173. If (the punishment falls) not on (the offender) himself, (it falls) on his sons, if not on the sons, (at least) on his grandsons ; but an iniquity (once) committed, never fails to produce fruit to him who wrought it.

174. He prospers for a while through unrighteousness, then he gains great good fortune, next he conquers his enemies, but (at last) he perishes (branch and) root.

175. Let him always delight in truthfulness, (obedience to) the sacred law, conduct worthy of an Āryan, and purity ; let him chastise his pupils according to the sacred law ; let him keep his speech, his arms, and his belly under control.

176. Let him avoid (the acquisition of) wealth and (the gratification of his) desires, if they are opposed to the sacred law, and even lawful acts which may cause pain in the future or are offensive to men.

177. Let him not be uselessly active with his hands and feet, or with his eyes, nor crooked (in his ways), nor talk idly, nor injure others by deeds or even think of it.

178. Let him walk in that path of holy men

in its other sense, 'the earth,' i.e. 'which does not at once yield a harvest,' but mention the first explanation too. It is not impossible that the word has to be taken both ways, and that the author wishes to give with it both a *sādharmya* and a *vaidharmyadrishānta*.

175. Gaut. IX, 50, 68-69.

176. Gaut. IX, 47, 73 ; Vi. LXXI, 84-85 ; Yâgñ. I, 156. As an example of 'a lawful act causing pain in the future,' Medh. adduces 'the gift of one's whole property.'

177. The last portion of the verse, 'nor injure others, &c.,' may also be translated, 'let him not be intent on deeds (calculated) to injure others.'

which his fathers and his grandfathers followed; while he walks in that, he will not suffer harm.

179. With an officiating or a domestic priest, with a teacher, with a maternal uncle, a guest and a dependant, with infants, aged and sick men, with learned men, with his paternal relatives, connexions by marriage and maternal relatives,

180. With his father and his mother, with female relatives, with a brother, with his son and his wife, with his daughter and with his slaves, let him not have quarrels.

181. If he avoids quarrels with these persons, he will be freed from all sins, and by suppressing (all) such (quarrels) a householder conquers all the following worlds.

182. The teacher is the lord of the world of Brahman, the father has power over the world of the Lord of created beings (Pragâpati), a guest rules over the world of Indra, and the priests over the world of the gods.

183. The female relatives (have power) over the world of the Apsarases, the maternal relatives over that of the Visve Devâs, the connexions by marriage over that of the waters, the mother and the maternal uncle over the earth.

184. Infants, aged, poor and sick men must be considered as rulers of the middle sphere, the eldest

179-184. Yâgñ. I, 157-158.

179. Vaidyair, 'with learned men,' may also mean 'with physicians.'

181. Instead of *etair gitais ka*, 'by suppressing (all) such (quarrels),' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), Nâr. and Nand. read *etair gitais ka*, 'allowing himself to be conquered by these,' i.e. 'by bearing with these persons.' This reading, though less well attested than the vulgata, is perhaps preferable.

brother as equal to one's father, one's wife and one's son as one's own body,

185. One's slaves as one's shadow, one's daughter as the highest object of tenderness ; hence if one is offended by (any one of) these, one must bear it without resentment.

186. Though (by his learning and sanctity) he may be entitled to accept presents, let him not attach himself (too much) to that (habit); for through his accepting (many) presents the divine light in him is soon extinguished.

187. Without a full knowledge of the rules, prescribed by the sacred law for the acceptance of presents, a wise man should not take anything, even though he may pine with hunger.

188. But an ignorant (man) who accepts gold, land, a horse, a cow, food, a dress, sesamum-grains, (or) clarified butter, is reduced to ashes like (a piece of) wood.

189. Gold and food destroy his longevity, land and a cow his body, a horse his eye(sight), a garment his skin, clarified butter his energy, sesamum-grains his offspring.

190. A Brâhmaṇa who neither performs austerities nor studies the Veda, yet delights in accepting gifts, sinks with the (donor into hell), just as (he who attempts to cross over in) a boat made of stone (is submerged) in the water.

191. Hence an ignorant (man) should be afraid of accepting any presents ; for by reason of a very small (gift) even a fool sinks (into hell) as a cow into a morass.

186. Vi. LVII, 6-7.

188. Yâgyñ. I, 201.

187. Vi. LVII, 8.

191. Yâgyñ. I, 202.

192. (A man) who knows the law should not offer even water to a Brāhmaṇa who acts like a cat, nor to a Brāhmaṇa who acts like a heron, nor to one who is unacquainted with the Veda.

193. For property, though earned in accordance with prescribed rules, which is given to these three (persons), causes in the next world misery both to the giver and to the recipient.

194. As he who (attempts to) cross water in a boat of stone sinks (to the bottom), even so an ignorant donor and an ignorant donee sink low.

195. (A man) who, ever covetous, displays the flag of virtue, (who is) a hypocrite, a deceiver of the people, intent on doing injury, (and) a detractor (from the merits) of all men, one must know to be one who acts like a cat.

196. That Brāhmaṇa, who with downcast look, of a cruel disposition, is solely intent on attaining his own ends, dishonest and falsely gentle, is one who acts like a heron.

197. Those Brāhmaṇas who act like herons, and those who display the characteristics of cats, fall in consequence of that wicked mode of acting into (the hell called) Andhatâmisra.

198. When he has committed a sin, let him not

192. Vi. XCIII, 7.

195. Vi. XCIII, 8.

196-200. Vi. XCIII, 9-13.

196. I have everywhere translated the word *baka* or *vaka* by 'heron,' though, like its modern representative *baglâ*, it is used also as a name of the white ibis and of the bittern. But from other verses, which speak of the *baka* cautiously wading in the water as if it were afraid of hurting the aquatic animals, it would seem that the proceedings of the heron, which one can watch in India at every village tank, gave rise to the proverbial expressions *bakavrata* and *bakavratin*.

198. Several penances, e.g. the *Kândrâyaṇa* or the lunar penance,

perform a penance under the pretence (that the act is intended to gain) spiritual merit, (thus) hiding his sin under (the pretext of) a vow and deceiving women and Sûdras.

199. Such Brâhmaṇas are reprehended after death and in this (life) by those who expound the Veda, and a vow, performed under a false pretence, goes to the Râkshasas.

200. He who, without being a student, gains his livelihood by (wearing) the dress of a student, takes upon himself the guilt of (all) students and is born again in the womb of an animal.

201. Let him never bathe in tanks belonging to other men ; if he bathes (in such a one), he is tainted by a portion of the guilt of him who made the tank.

202. He who uses without permission a carriage, a bed, a seat, a well, a garden or a house belonging to an (other man), takes upon himself one fourth of (the owner's) guilt.

203. Let him always bathe in rivers, in ponds, dug by the gods (themselves), in lakes, and in water-holes or springs.

204. A wise man should constantly discharge the paramount duties (called yama), but not always the minor ones (called niyama) ; for he who does not

may be performed either by a sinner in order to atone for a crime or by a guiltless man in order to gain spiritual merit ; see Baudh. III, 8, 27-31.

201. Vi. LXIV, 1 ; Yâgñ. I, 159 ; Baudh. II, 5, 6.

202. Yâgñ. I, 160 ; Baudh. II, 6, 29.

203. Vi. LXIV, 16 ; Yâgñ. I, 159. Garta, 'water-holes' (Gov., Nâr.), means according to Kull., who quotes a verse of the *Khândogya-pariśiṣṭa*, Nand., and Râgh., 'a brook.'

204. Regarding the two classes of duties, see Yâgñ. III, 313-314. Though the commentators give various explanations of yama

discharge the former, while he obeys the latter alone, becomes an outcast.

205. A Brāhmaṇa must never eat (a dinner given) at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Srotriya, by one who sacrifices for a multitude of men, by a woman, or by a eunuch.

206. When those persons offer sacrificial viands in the fire, it is unlucky for holy (men) and it displeases the gods ; let him therefore avoid it.

207. Let him never eat (food given) by intoxicated, angry, or sick (men), nor that in which hair or insects are found, nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot,

208. Nor that at which the slayer of a learned Brāhmaṇa has looked, nor that which has been touched by a menstruating woman, nor that which has been pecked at by birds or touched by a dog,

209. Nor food at which a cow has smelt, nor particularly that which has been offered by an invitation to all comers, nor that (given) by a multitude or by harlots, nor that which is declared to be bad by a learned (man),

210. Nor the food (given) by a thief, a musician, a carpenter, a usurer, one who has been initiated (for the performance of a Srauta sacrifice), a miser, one bound with fetters,

and niyama, it is highly probable that Kull. is right in supposing Manu to have held the same opinion as Yâgñ.

205. Nâr. mentions a var. lect. *sûdreṇa*, 'by a Sûdra,' for 'by a eunuch.'

209. Gov. and Kull. give as an instance of 'a multitude,' 'a fraternity of Brāhmaṇas inhabiting a monastery.'

210. I translate *baddhasya nigadasya ka* according to Kull. by 'one bound with fetters,' because in the older Sanskrit the genitive is occasionally used for the instrumental with passive perfect parti-

211. By one accused of a mortal sin (Abhisasta), a hermaphrodite, an unchaste woman, or a hypocrite, nor (any sweet thing) that has turned sour, nor what has been kept a whole night, nor (the food) of a Sûdra, nor the leavings (of another man),

212. Nor (the food given) by a physician, a hunter, a cruel man, one who eats the fragments (of another's meal), nor the food of an Ugra, nor that prepared for a woman in childbed, nor that (given at a dinner) where (a guest rises) prematurely (and) sips water, nor that (given by a woman) whose ten days of impurity have not elapsed,

213. Nor (food) given without due respect, nor (that which contains) meat eaten for no sacred purpose, nor (that given) by a female who has no male (relatives), nor the food of an enemy, nor that (given) by the lord of a town, nor that (given) by outcasts, nor that on which anybody has sneezed ;

ciples, and because *nigada* does not mean 'bound with fetters,' as the other commentators assume. Nand. adds that the correct reading is *nigalena*, which is found in some southern MSS.

211. *Sûdrasyokkḥisham eva ka*, 'nor (the food) of a Sûdra, nor the leavings (of any other man),' (Kull., Nâr.); or, 'the leavings of a Sûdra,' which are mentioned in order to show that a very heavy penance has to be performed (Medh., Râgh.); or, 'that food of which a Sûdra has eaten, and has left a remnant in the dish' (Gov., Nand., Medh., 'others'). Medh. mentions also a var. lect. *ukḥisham aguros tathâ*, 'nor the leavings of any man excepting a Guru.'

212. Ugra is explained variously as 'a man of the Ugra caste' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.); or, 'a king' (Medh., Gov. in the *Mañgari*); or, 'a man who perpetrates dreadful deeds' (Kull., Râgh.).

213. Kull. and Gov. seem to take *nagaryannam*, 'food given by the lord of a town,' i.e. a king (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.), in the sense of *nagarânnam*, 'food given by a whole town.'

214. Nor the food (given) by an informer, by one who habitually tells falsehoods, or by one who sells (the rewards for) sacrifices, nor the food (given) by an actor, a tailor, or an ungrateful (man),

215. By a blacksmith, a Nishâda, a stage-player, a goldsmith, a basket-maker, or a dealer in weapons,

216. By trainers of hunting dogs, publicans, a washerman, a dyer, a pitiless (man), and a man in whose house (lives) a paramour (of his wife),

217. Nor (the food given) by those who knowingly bear with paramours (of their wives), and by those who in all matters are ruled by women, nor food (given by men) whose ten days of impurity on account of a death have not passed, nor that which is unpalatable.

218. The food of a king impairs his vigour, the food of a Sûdra his excellence in sacred learning, the food of a goldsmith his longevity, that of a leather-cutter his fame ;

219. The food of an artisan destroys his offspring, that of a washerman his (bodily) strength ; the food of a multitude and of harlots excludes him from (the higher) worlds.

220. The food of a physician (is as vile as) pus, that of an unchaste woman (equal to) semen, that of a usurer (as vile as) ordure, and that of a dealer in weapons (as bad as) dirt.

221. The food of those other persons who have

215. According to 'others,' quoted by Medh., Nand., and Râgh., *sailûsha*, 'an actor,' may also mean 'one who prostitutes his wife.'

216. *Nrisamsa*, 'a pitiless man' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), may also mean 'a bard' (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.).

220. I.e. it causes him to be reborn as an animal feeding on pus or other impure substances (Gov.).

been successively enumerated as such whose food must not be eaten, the wise declare (to be as impure as) skin, bones, and hair.

222. If he has unwittingly eaten the food of one of those, (he must) fast for three days; if he has eaten it intentionally, or (has swallowed) semen, ordure, or urine, he must perform a *Krikkhra* penance.

223. A Brâhmaṇa who knows (the law) must not eat cooked food (given) by a Sûdra who performs no *Srâddhas*; but, on failure of (other) means of subsistence, he may accept raw (grain), sufficient for one night (and day).

224. The gods, having considered (the respective merits) of a niggardly *Srottriya* and of a liberal usurer, declared the food of both to be equal (in quality).

225. The Lord of created beings (*Pragâpati*) came and spake to them, 'Do not make that equal, which is unequal. The food of that liberal (usurer) is purified by faith; (that of the) other (man) is defiled by a want of faith.'

226. Let him, without tiring, always offer sacrifices and perform works of charity with faith; for offerings and charitable works made with faith and with lawfully-earned money, (procure) endless rewards.

227. Let him always practise, according to his

222. Gaut. XXIII, 23-24. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, XI, 211.

224. Nâr. explains *asrâddhinaḥ*, 'who performs no *Srâddhas*,' by 'destitute of faith,' and Nand. writes *asraddhinaḥ*.

224-225. Baudh. I, 10, 5; Vas. XIV, 17.

226-227. Gov. gives and explains 226a and 227b only.

ability, with a cheerful heart, the duty of liberality, both by sacrifices and by charitable works, if he finds a worthy recipient (for his gifts).

228. If he is asked, let him always give something, be it ever so little, without grudging; for a worthy recipient will (perhaps) be found who saves him from all (guilt).

229. A giver of water obtains the satisfaction (of his hunger and thirst), a giver of food imperishable happiness, a giver of sesamum desirable offspring, a giver of a lamp a most excellent eyesight.

230. A giver of land obtains land, a giver of gold long life, a giver of a house most excellent mansions, a giver of silver (*rûpya*) exquisite beauty (*rûpa*),

231. A giver of a garment a place in the world of the moon, a giver of a horse (*asva*) a place in the world of the *Asvins*, a giver of a draught-ox great good fortune, a giver of a cow the world of the sun;

232. A giver of a carriage or of a bed a wife, a giver of protection supreme dominion, a giver of grain eternal bliss, a giver of the *Veda* (*brahman*) union with *Brahman*;

233. The gift of the *Veda* surpasses all other gifts, water, food, cows, land, clothes, sesamum, gold, and clarified butter.

234. For whatever purpose (a man) bestows any gift, for that same purpose he receives (in his next birth) with due honour its (reward).

226-235. Vas. XXX; Vi. XCI-XCII; *Yâgñ.* I, 201, 203-212.

234. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Râgh. take the verse differently. 'With whatever disposition (a man) bestows any gift, with that same disposition he receives (in his next birth its reward), being duly honoured.' Nand. omits it. K. follows Kull's explanation, which is mentioned by Medh. also.

235. Both he who respectfully receives (a gift), and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven ; in the contrary case (they both fall) into hell.

236. Let him not be proud of his austerities ; let him not utter a falsehood after he has offered a sacrifice ; let him not speak ill of Brāhmanas, though he be tormented (by them) ; when he has bestowed (a gift), let him not boast of it.

237. By falsehood a sacrifice becomes vain, by self-complacency (the reward for) austerities is lost, longevity by speaking evil of Brāhmanas, and (the reward of) a gift by boasting.

238. Giving no pain to any creature, let him slowly accumulate spiritual merit, for the sake (of acquiring) a companion to the next world, just as the white ant (gradually raises its) hill.

239. For in the next world neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons, nor relations stay to be his companions ; spiritual merit alone remains (with him).

240. Single is each being born ; single it dies ; single it enjoys (the reward of its) virtue ; single (it suffers the punishment of its) sin.

241. Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces ; but spiritual merit follows the (soul).

242. Let him therefore always slowly accumulate spiritual merit, in order (that it may be his) companion (after death) ; for with merit as his companion he will traverse a gloom difficult to traverse.

243. (That companion) speedily conducts the man who is devoted to duty and effaces his sins by

austerities, to the next world, radiant and clothed with an ethereal body.

244. Let him, who desires to raise his race, ever form connexions with the most excellent (men), and shun all low ones.

245. A Brâhmaṇa who always connects himself with the most excellent (ones), and shuns all inferior ones, (himself) becomes most distinguished; by an opposite conduct he becomes a Sûdra.

246. He who is persevering, gentle, (and) patient, shuns the company of men of cruel conduct, and does no injury (to living creatures), gains, if he constantly lives in that manner, by controlling his organs and by liberality, heavenly bliss.

247. He may accept from any (man), fuel, water, roots, fruit, food offered without asking, and honey, likewise a gift (which consists in) a promise of protection.

248. The Lord of created beings (Pragâpati) has declared that alms freely offered and brought (by the giver himself) may be accepted even from a sinful man, provided (the gift) had not been (asked for or) promised beforehand.

249. During fifteen years the manes do not eat (the food) of that man who disdains a (freely-offered gift), nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).

250. A couch, a house, Kusa grass, perfumes,

247. Âp. I, 18, 1; Gaut. XVII, 5; Vas. XIV, 12; Vi. LVII, 11.

248. Âp. I, 10, 12-14; Vas. XIV, 16; Vi. LVII, 11; Yâgñ. I, 215. Medh., Gov., and Nâr. take *apraṇoditâm*, 'not asked for or promised,' in the sense of 'not promised' only, and so does Nand., who reads *apraṇeditâm*.

249. Âp. I, 19, 14; Vas. XIV, 18; Vi. LVII, 12.

250. Gaut. XVII, 5; Vas. XIV, 12; Vi. LVII, 11; Yâgñ. I, 214.

water, flowers, jewels, sour milk, grain, fish, sweet milk, meat, and vegetables let him not reject, (if they are voluntarily offered.)

251. He who desires to relieve his Gurus and those whom he is bound to maintain, or wishes to honour the gods and guests, may accept (gifts) from anybody ; but he must not satisfy his (own hunger) with such (presents).

252. But if his Gurus are dead, or if he lives separate from them in (another) house, let him, when he seeks a subsistence, accept (presents) from good men alone.

253. His labourer in tillage, a friend of his family, his cow-herd, his slave, and his barber are, among Sûdras, those whose food he may eat, likewise (a poor man) who offers himself (to be his slave).

254. As his character is, as the work is which he desires to perform, and as the manner is in which he means to serve, even so (a voluntary slave) must offer himself.

255. He who describes himself to virtuous (men), in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful (wretch) in this world ; he is a thief who makes away with his own self.

256. All things (have their nature) determined by speech ; speech is their root, and from speech they proceed ; but he who is dishonest with respect to speech, is dishonest in everything.

251. Âp. I, 7, 20 ; Gaut. XVII, 4 ; Vas. XIV, 13 ; Vi. LVII, 13 ; Yâgy. I, 216.

252. Vi. LVII, 15.

253. Âp. I, 18, 14 ; Gaut. XVII, 5-6 ; Vi. LVII, 16.

255. I. e. by denying who he really is, he destroys his own identity.

257. When he has paid, according to the law, his debts to the great sages, to the manes, and to the gods, let him make over everything to his son and dwell (in his house), not caring for any worldly concerns.

258. Alone let him constantly meditate in solitude on that which is salutary for his soul; for he who meditates in solitude attains supreme bliss.

259. Thus have been declared the means by which a Brâhmaṇa householder must always subsist, and the summary of the ordinances for a Snâtaka, which cause an increase of holiness and are praise-worthy.

260. A Brâhmaṇa who, being learned in the lore of the Vedas, conducts himself in this manner and daily destroys his sins, will be exalted in Brahman's world.

CHAPTER V.

1. The sages, having heard the duties of a Snâtaka thus declared, spoke to great-souled Bhrîgu, who sprang from fire :

2. 'How can Death have power over Brâhmaṇas

257. Regarding the three debts, see Vas. XI, 48. This verse and the next describe, as Medh. points out, a kind of informal *samnyâsa*.

260. Vas. VIII, 17; Baudh. II, 3, 1; Gaut. IX, 74.

V. 1. Medh., Gov., and Râgh. state correctly that Bhrîgu, though above, I, 35, he is said to have been created by Manu, and has therefore been named Mânava below, V, 3, is here called the offspring of Fire, in accordance with other passages of the Veda and of the Mahâbhârata.

2. I.e. 'how can they be deprived of the length of life, one hundred years, allotted to men in the Veda?' (Gov., Kull.)

who know the sacred science, the Veda, (and) who fulfil their duties as they have been explained (by thee), O Lord ?'

3. Righteous Bhrigu, the son of Manu, (thus) answered the great sages : 'Hear, (in punishment) of what faults Death seeks to shorten the lives of Brâhmaṇas !'

4. 'Through neglect of the Veda-study, through deviation from the rule of conduct, through remissness (in the fulfilment of duties), and through faults (committed by eating forbidden) food, Death becomes eager to shorten the lives of Brâhmaṇas.'

5. Garlic, leeks and onions, mushrooms and (all plants), springing from impure (substances), are unfit to be eaten by twice-born men.

6. One should carefully avoid red exudations from trees and (juices) flowing from incisions, the Selu (fruit), and the thickened milk of a cow (which she gives after calving).

7. Rice boiled with sesamum, wheat mixed with butter, milk and sugar, milk-rice and flour-cakes which are not prepared for a sacrifice, meat which has not been sprinkled with water while sacred texts were recited, food offered to the gods and sacrificial viands,

8. The milk of a cow (or other female animal) within ten days after her calving, that of camels,

5-25. Âp. I, 17, 18-39 ; Gaut. XVII, 22-36 ; Vas. XIV, 33-48 ; Baudh. I, 12, 1-15 ; Vi. LI, 3-6, 21-42 ; Yâgyñ. I, 169-178. Selu, i.e. Cordia Myxa.

7. 'Food offered to the gods,' i.e. the so-called Naivedya. This and sacrificial viands, i.e. those destined for burnt-oblations, must not be eaten before the offering has been made, afterwards the remnants may be eaten (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

8. Sandhinî, 'a cow in heat' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according

of one-hoofed animals, of sheep, of a cow in heat, or of one that has no calf with her,

9. (The milk) of all wild animals excepting buffalo-cows, that of women, and all (substances turned) sour must be avoided.

10. Among (things turned) sour, sour milk, and all (food) prepared of it may be eaten, likewise what is extracted from pure flowers, roots, and fruit.

11. Let him avoid all carnivorous birds and those living in villages, and one-hoofed animals which are not specially permitted (to be eaten), and the *Tittibha* (Parra Jacana),

12. The sparrow, the *Plava*, the *Hamsa*, the *Brâhmañi* duck, the village-cock, the *Sârasa* crane, the *Raggudâla*, the woodpecker, the parrot, and the starling,

13. Those which feed striking with their beaks, web-footed birds, the *Koyashî*, those which scratch with their toes, those which dive and live on fish, meat from a slaughter-house and dried meat,

14. The *Baka* and the *Balâkâ* crane, the raven, the *Khañgarî* (animals) that eat fish, village-pigs, and all kinds of fishes.

15. He who eats the flesh of any (animal) is

to Medh. and Gov. 'one who gives milk once a day only,' and according to Nand. and K. 'one big with a calf.'

11. The permission to eat one-hoofed animals is, as the commentators observe, not given in the *Smṛiti*. The expression refers to the cases where the Veda prescribes horses, &c., to be slain and eaten at sacrifices.

12. I read with all the commentators *Raggudâla* instead of *Ragguvâla*, which the printed editions give. The *Raggudâla* is according to *Vigñânesvara* the jungle-fowl, according to *Nâr.* an aquatic bird.

14. Regarding the *Vaka* or *Baka*, see above, IV, 196.

called the eater of the flesh of that (particular creature), he who eats fish is an eater of every (kind of) flesh ; let him therefore avoid fish.

16. (But the fish called) *Pâtikṇa* and (that called) *Rohita* may be eaten, if used for offerings to the gods or to the manes ; (one may eat) likewise *Râgīvas*, *Simhatundas*, and *Sasalkas* on all (occasions).

17. Let him not eat solitary or unknown beasts and birds, though they may fall under (the categories of) eatable (creatures), nor any five-toed (animals).

18. The porcupine, the hedgehog, the iguana, the rhinoceros, the tortoise, and the hare they declare to be eatable ; likewise those (domestic animals) that have teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels.

19. A twice-born man who knowingly eats mushrooms, a village-pig, garlic, a village-cock, onions, or leeks, will become an outcast.

20. He who unwittingly partakes of (any of) these six, shall perform a *Sântapana* (*Krikkhṛa*) or the lunar penance (*Kândrâyana*) of ascetics ; in case (he has eaten) any other (kind of forbidden food) he shall fast for one day (and a night).

21. Once a year a *Brâhmaṇa* must perform a *Krikkhṛa* penance, in order to atone for unintentionally eating (forbidden food) ; but for intentionally (eating forbidden food he must perform the penances prescribed) specially.

22. Beasts and birds recommended (for con-

16. Nâr. explains *ekaṭarân*, 'solitary animals,' by 'those who go in herds' (*saṃghaṭârinah*).

20. Regarding the *Sântapana* *Krikkhṛa* and the lunar penance of ascetics, see below, XI, 213 and 219.

21. Regarding the *Krikkhṛa* penance, see below, XI, 212.

22. Vas. XIV, 15.

sumption) may be slain by Brâhmanas for sacrifices, and in order to feed those whom they are bound to maintain; for Agastya did this of old.

23. For in ancient (times) the sacrificial cakes were (made of the flesh) of eatable beasts and birds at the sacrifices offered by Brâhmanas and Kshatriyas.

24. All lawful hard or soft food may be eaten, though stale, (after having been) mixed with fatty (substances), and so may the remains of sacrificial viands.

25. But all preparations of barley and wheat, as well as preparations of milk, may be eaten by twice-born men without being mixed with fatty (substances), though they may have stood for a long time.

26. Thus has the food, allowed and forbidden to twice-born men, been fully described; I will now propound the rules for eating and avoiding meat.

27. One may eat meat when it has been sprinkled with water, while Mantras were recited, when Brâhmanas desire (one's doing it), when one is engaged (in the performance of a rite) according to the law, and when one's life is in danger.

28. The Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) created this whole (world to be) the sustenance of the vital spirit; both the immovable and the movable (creation is) the food of the vital spirit.

29. What is destitute of motion is the food of those endowed with locomotion; (animals) without fangs (are the food) of those with fangs, those without hands of those who possess hands, and the timid of the bold.

30. The eater who daily even devours those

27-56. Vas. IV, 5-8; Vi. LI, 59-78; Yâgñ. I, 178-181.

27. Meat is sprinkled with water at the Srauta sacrifices.

destined to be his food, commits no sin; for the creator himself created both the eaters and those who are to be eaten (for those special purposes).

31. 'The consumption of meat (is befitting) for sacrifices,' that is declared to be a rule made by the gods; but to persist (in using it) on other (occasions) is said to be a proceeding worthy of Rākshasas.

32. He who eats meat, when he honours the gods and manes, commits no sin, whether he has bought it, or himself has killed (the animal), or has received it as a present from others.

33. A twice-born man who knows the law, must not eat meat except in conformity with the law; for if he has eaten it unlawfully, he will, unable to save himself, be eaten after death by his (victims).

34. After death the guilt of one who slays deer for gain is not as (great) as that of him who eats meat for no (sacred) purpose.

35. But a man who, being duly, engaged (to officiate or to dine at a sacred rite), refuses to eat meat, becomes after death an animal during twenty-one existences.

36. A Brāhmaṇa must never eat (the flesh of) animals unhallowed by Mantras; but, obedient to the primeval law, he may eat it, consecrated with Vedic texts.

37. If he has a strong desire (for meat) he may make an animal of clarified butter or one of flour, (and eat that); but let him never seek to destroy an animal without a (lawful) reason.

34. 'Of one who slays deer for gain,' i. e. of a professional hunter of the Sabara or other low castes.

35. Vas. XI, 34.

37. Saṅge, 'if (he has) a strong desire (for meat),' (Kull., Rāgh.),

38. As many hairs as the slain beast has, so often indeed will he who killed it without a (lawful) reason suffer a violent death in future births.

39. Svayambhû (the Self-existent) himself created animals for the sake of sacrifices; sacrifices (have been instituted) for the good of this whole (world); hence the slaughtering (of beasts) for sacrifices is not slaughtering (in the ordinary sense of the word).

40. Herbs, trees, cattle, birds, and (other) animals that have been destroyed for sacrifices, receive (being reborn) higher existences.

41. On offering the honey-mixture (to a guest), at a sacrifice and at the rites in honour of the manes, but on these occasions only, may an animal be slain; that (rule) Manu proclaimed.

42. A twice-born man who, knowing the true meaning of the Veda, slays an animal for these purposes, causes both himself and the animal to enter a most blessed state.

43. A twice-born man of virtuous disposition, whether he dwells in (his own) house, with a teacher, or in the forest, must never, even in times of distress, cause an injury (to any creature) which is not sanctioned by the Veda.

44. Know that the injury to moving creatures and to those destitute of motion, which the Veda has

means according to Medh. and K. 'if an occasion (arises to slay an animal at a non-Vedic rite),' according to Gov. 'in case (one suffers from) an attack by evil spirits (Bhûtas and the like),' and according to Nand. 'on the occasion of social meetings.' Râgh. mentions Medh.'s view as an optional explanation, and Nâr. objects to Gov.'s interpretation. His own explanation saṅge-tyantekâyâm is corrupt, but is probably intended for atyantekâ-~~h~~âyâm, and thus agrees with Kull.'s.

prescribed for certain occasions, is no injury at all ; for the sacred law shone forth from the Veda.

45. He who injures innoxious beings from a wish to (give) himself pleasure, never finds happiness, neither living nor dead.

46. He who does not seek to cause the sufferings of bonds and death to living creatures, (but) desires the good of all (beings), obtains endless bliss.

47. He who does not injure any (creature), attains without an effort what he thinks of, what he undertakes, and what he fixes his mind on.

48. Meat can never be obtained without injury to living creatures, and injury to sentient beings is detrimental to (the attainment of) heavenly bliss ; let him therefore shun (the use of) meat.

49. Having well considered the (disgusting) origin of flesh and the (cruelty of) fettering and slaying corporeal beings, let him entirely abstain from eating flesh.

50. He who, disregarding the rule (given above), does not eat meat like a *Pisâka*, becomes dear to men, and will not be tormented by diseases.

51. He who permits (the slaughter of an animal), he who cuts it up, he who kills it, he who buys or sells (meat), he who cooks it, he who serves it up, and he who eats it, (must all be considered as) the slayers (of the animal).

52. There is no greater sinner than that (man) who, though not worshipping the gods or the manes, seeks to increase (the bulk of) his own flesh by the flesh of other (beings).

46. The latter part of the verse may also be translated 'will obtain endless bliss, because he is a man who desires the good of all creatures' (Gov.).

53. He who during a hundred years annually offers a horse-sacrifice, and he who entirely abstains from meat, obtain the same reward for their meritorious (conduct).

54. By subsisting on pure fruit and roots, and by eating food fit for ascetics (in the forest), one does not gain (so great) a reward as by entirely avoiding (the use of) flesh.

55. 'Me he (*mâm sah*)' will devour in the next (world), whose flesh I eat in this (life); the wise declare this (to be) the real meaning of the word 'flesh' (*mâmsah*).

56. There is no sin in eating meat, in (drinking) spirituous liquor, and in carnal intercourse, for that is the natural way of created beings, but abstention brings great rewards.

57. I will now in due order explain the purification for the dead and the purification of things as they are prescribed for the four castes (*varṇa*).

58. When (a child) dies that has teethed, or that before teething has received (the sacrament of) the tonsure (*Kûdâkarana*) or (of the initiation), all relatives (become) impure, and on the birth (of a child) the same (rule) is prescribed.

54. Munyannâni, 'food fit for ascetics (in the forest),' i.e. 'wild rice and other produce of the forest.'

56. 'There is no sin,' i.e. in doing these things when they are permitted by law.

58-104. Âp. I, 15, 18; II, 15, 2-11; Gaut. XIV; Vas. IV, 16-37; Baudh. I, 11, 1-8, 17-23, 27-32; Vi. XXII; Yâgñ. III, 1-30.

58. Medh. and Gov. explain anugâte, translated freely by 'before teething,' as the conventional designation of 'a child that is younger than one that has teethed' (*gâtadantâd bâlâtara iti smaranti*), and Nâr. and Râgh. agree to this interpretation. Kull., however, seems to take it in the sense of 'after teething,' and Nand. explains it as 'one who has been born again, i.e. has been initiated.' Gov.,

59. It is ordained (that) among *Sapindas* the impurity on account of a death (shall last) ten days, (or) until the bones have been collected, (or) three days or one day only.

60. But the *Sapinda*-relationship ceases with the seventh person (in the ascending and descending lines), the *Samānodaka*-relationship when the (common) origin and the (existence of a common family)-name are no (longer) known.

61. As this impurity on account of a death is prescribed for (all) *Sapindas*, even so it shall be (held) on a birth by those who desire to be absolutely pure.

62. (Or while) the impurity on account of a death is common to all (*Sapindas*), that caused by a birth (falls) on the parents alone; (or) it shall fall on the mother alone, and the father shall become pure by bathing;

Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. think that on account of the second *kā*, 'or,' the words 'of the initiation' must be understood.

59. The bones of a *Brâhmaṇa* are collected on the fourth day; see Vi. XIX, 10. The commentators are of opinion that the length of the period of impurity depends, in accordance with the express teaching of other *Smṛitis*, on the status of the mourner, and that a man who knows the Mantras only of one *Sâkhâ* shall be impure during four days, one who knows a whole *Sâkhâ* (or two Vedas) during three days, one who knows the Veda (or three Vedas) and keeps three or five sacred fires, during one day. Medh., however, mentions another interpretation, according to which the four periods correspond to the four ages of the deceased, which have been mentioned in the preceding verse. According to this view the *Sapindas* shall mourn for an initiated person ten days, for one who had received the tonsure four days, &c. But see verse 67.

61-62. Medh. and Gov. have only one verse instead of the two: *ganane 'py evaṃ syân mâtâpitros tu sûtakam | sûtakam mâtur eva syâd upasprîsya pitâ sukih ||* 'Even thus it shall be (held) on a birth, or the impurity shall fall on the parents alone,

63. But a man, having spent his strength, is purified merely by bathing ; after begetting a child (on a remarried female), he shall retain the impurity during three days.

64. Those who have touched a corpse are purified after one day and night (added to) three periods of three days ; those who give libations of water, after three days.

65. A pupil who performs the *Pitr̥medha* for his deceased teacher, becomes also pure after ten days, just like those who carry the corpse out (to the burial-ground).

66. (A woman) is purified on a miscarriage in as many (days and) nights as months (elapsed after conception), and a menstruating female becomes pure by bathing after the menstrual secretion has ceased (to flow).

or it shall fall on the mother alone, and the father (shall become) pure by bathing.' Nand. leaves out the first half of verse 61, and combines the second half of 61 with the first half of 62. He continues in this manner down to 65, the second half of which he takes by itself. Hence his interpretation of the following verses is perfectly useless.

63. The translation given above follows Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. differs.

64. According to Gov. and Nâr. the rule refers to such *Brâhmanas* who for money carry a dead body to the cemetery ; according to Kull. and Râgh. to *Sapindas* who in any way touch a corpse out of affection. Medh. thinks that it applies to all who touch or carry out a dead body, be it for love or for money. Râgh. thinks that the text mentions three alternative periods of impurity, one day, three days, and ten days.

65. The *Pitr̥medha*, i.e. the *Antyeshî* (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'the whole of the obsequies' ('others,' Medh.).

66. Thus according to Kull. ; Nâr. and Râgh. think that this rule refers to miscarriages which happen during the first six months of pregnancy ; and that from the seventh month, whether the child

67. (On the death) of children whose tonsure (*Kû-dâkarman*) has not been performed, the (*Sapindas*) are declared to become pure in one (day and) night; (on the death) of those who have received the tonsure (but not the initiation, the law) ordains (that) the purification (takes place) after three days.

68. A child that has died before the completion of its second year, the relatives shall carry out (of the village), decked (with flowers, and bury it) in pure ground, without collecting the bones (afterwards).

69. Such (a child) shall not be burnt with fire, and no libations of water shall be offered to it; leaving it like a (log of) wood in the forest, (the relatives) shall remain impure during three days only.

70. The relatives shall not offer libations to (a child) that has not reached the third year; but if it had teeth, or the ceremony of naming it (*Nâmakarman*) had been performed, (the offering of water is) optional.

71. If a fellow-student has died, the *Smṛiti* prescribes an impurity of one day; on a birth the purification of the *Samânodakas* is declared (to take place) after three (days and) nights.

72. (On the death) of females (betrothed but) not married (the bridegroom and his) relatives are purified after three days, and the paternal relatives become pure according to the same rule.

lives or not, the full period of impurity must be kept. *Nâr.*, moreover, asserts that in the first and second months the impurity shall last three days. *Sâdhvî*, 'becomes pure,' i.e. 'fit to perform sacred rites' (*Gov.*). *Nâr.* takes the word in the sense of 'chaste.'

67. *Nand.* inserts verse 78 immediately after verse 66.

72. 'According to the same rule,' i.e. 'according to that given in verse 67' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nand.*), or 'just as the husband's relatives, i.e. after three days' (*Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*).

73. Let (mourners) eat food without factitious salt, bathe during three days, abstain from meat, and sleep separate on the ground.

74. The above rule regarding impurity on account of a death has been prescribed (for cases where the kinsmen live) near (the deceased); (*Sapinda*) kinsmen and (*Samânodaka*) relatives must know the following rule (to refer to cases where deceased lived) at a distance (from them).

75. He who may hear that (a relative) residing in a distant country has died, before ten (days after his death have elapsed), shall be impure for the remainder of the period of ten (days and) nights only.

76. If the ten days have passed, he shall be impure during three (days and) nights; but if a year has elapsed (since the occurrence of the death), he becomes pure merely by bathing.

77. A man who hears of a (*Sapinda*) relative's death, or of the birth of a son after the ten days (of impurity have passed), becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his garments.

78. If an infant (that has not teethed), or a (grown-up relative who is) not a *Sapinda*, die in a distant country, one becomes at once pure after bathing in one's clothes.

79. If within the ten days (of impurity) another birth or death happens, a *Brâhmaṇa* shall remain impure only until the (first) period of ten days has expired.

80. They declare that, when the teacher (*âçârya*) has died, the impurity (lasts) three days; if the

73. Nand. reads *anvaham*, (bathe) 'daily' instead of 'during three days.'

(teacher's) son or wife (is dead, it lasts) a day and a night; that is a settled (rule).

81. For a Srotriya who resides with (him out of affection), a man shall be impure for three days; for a maternal uncle, a pupil, an officiating priest, or a maternal relative, for one night together with the preceding and following days.

82. If the king in whose realm he resides is dead, (he shall be impure) as long as the light (of the sun or stars shines), but for (an intimate friend) who is not a Srotriya (the impurity lasts) for a whole day, likewise for a Guru who knows the Veda and the Āṅgas.

83. A Brāhmaṇa shall be pure after ten days, a Kshatriya after twelve, a Vaisya after fifteen, and a Sūdra is purified after a month.

84. Let him not (unnecessarily) lengthen the period of impurity, nor interrupt the rites to be performed with the sacred fires; for he who performs that (Agnihotra) rite will not be impure, though (he be) a (Sapinda) relative.

81. Upasampanne, 'who resides with (him out of affection),' may according to Medh. also mean 'who is virtuous.' According to Nār. it means 'who is a neighbour.'

82. Anûkâṇe tathâ gurau, 'likewise for a Guru who knows the Veda and Āṅgas,' i.e. 'such a one who is mentioned above, II, 149' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nār. takes the two words separately. Medh. connects anûkâṇe with asrottriye, and thinks that a man is meant who does not know the Veda, but the Āṅgas. He also mentions the explanation adopted above. Nand. finally reads anûkâṇe tathâ 'gurau, 'likewise for one who knows the Veda and the Āṅgas, but is not a Guru.'

84. According to Medh. the meaning of the first clause is that, if there is an option between shorter or longer periods of impurity, the mourner is not to choose the longer one in order to escape the performance of his sacred duties. He adds, that others think

85. When he has touched a *Kandâla*, a menstruating woman, an outcast, a woman in childbed, a corpse, or one who has touched a (corpse), he becomes pure by bathing.

86. He who has purified himself by sipping water shall, on seeing any impure (thing or person), always mutter the sacred texts, addressed to *Sûrya*, and the *Pâvamânî* (verses).

87. A *Brâhmana* who has touched a human bone to which fat adheres, becomes pure by bathing; if it be free from fat, by sipping water and by touching (afterwards) a cow or looking at the sun.

88. He who has undertaken the performance of a vow shall not pour out libations (to the dead) until the vow has been completed; but when he has

it to be an exhortation not to delay the bath which must be taken at the expiration of the period of impurity. The other commentators mention the first explanation only. The second clause, which refers to the continued offering of the *Srauta Agnihotra*, means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand., that an *Agnihotrin* who is in mourning shall not perform the offerings in person, but make others, who may even be his near relatives, do it for him. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. think that the performer himself may also offer them. Nand. explains *sanâbhyaḥ*, 'a *Sapinda*' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by *sahodaraḥ*, 'a full brother.'

85. *Tatsprishnam*, 'one who has touched a (corpse),' (Medh., 'others;' Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Nâr., and Nand. 'one who has touched any of those enumerated before, a *Kandâla* and so forth.'

86. 'He who has purified himself,' i. e. 'before he begins to worship the gods or manes' (Medh., 'others;' Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). 'An impure (thing or person),' i. e. 'those mentioned above.' Medh. and Gov. take the verse differently, 'On seeing one of those impure persons mentioned above, let him sip water and, thus purified, recite, &c.' The texts addressed to *Sûrya* are found *Rig-veda* I, 50, 1 seq.; the *Pâvamânîs* in *Mandâla* IX.

88. The rule refers to a student, who must not during his studentship perform the last rites for any deceased relative except

offered water after its completion, he becomes pure in three days only.

89. Libations of water shall not be offered to those who (neglect the prescribed rites and may be said to) have been born in vain, to those born in consequence of an illegal mixture of the castes, to those who are ascetics (of heretical sects), and to those who have committed suicide,

90. To women who have joined a heretical sect, who through lust live (with many men), who have caused an abortion, have killed their husbands, or drink spirituous liquor.

91. A student does not break his vow by carrying out (to the place of cremation) his own dead teacher (âkârya), sub-teacher (upâdhyâya), father, mother, or Guru.

92. Let him carry out a dead Sûdra by the southern gate of the town, but (the corpses of)

his mother (Medh.), or except his mother and father (Gov.), or except his parents and his teacher; see below, verse 91 (Kull., Râgh.). According to K. 'others' think that the rule refers to those performing a lunar penance or other vows.

89. 'To those who (neglect the prescribed rites and may be said to) have been born in vain' (Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.), i.e. 'to those who for a year belonged to no order' (Medh.), or 'to eunuchs' (Nâr.). The term *saṃkaragâh*, 'born in consequence of an illegal mixture of the castes,' includes besides those sprung from mothers of a higher and fathers of a lower caste, sons of widows not appointed and of adulteresses (Medh., Gov., Nand.). 'Ascetics (of heretical sects),' i.e. Kâpâlikas, those wearing red garments, &c. (Medh.). Nâr. and Râgh. refer the term to orthodox ascetics.

90. *Pâshandam*, 'a heretical sect,' i.e. the Kâpâlikas, those wearing red garments' (Medh.), or 'Bauddhas and so forth' (Nâr.).

91. 'Guru,' i.e. 'one who explains the Veda' (Nâr., Kull.), or 'him who is mentioned above, II, 149' (Medh., Gov.).

92. I.e. a Vaisya by the western gate, a Kshatriya by the

twice-born men, as is proper, by the western, northern, or eastern (gates).

93. The taint of impurity does not fall on kings, and those engaged in the performance of a vow, or of a *Sattra*; for the (first are) seated on the throne of Indra, and the (last two are) ever pure like Brahman.

94. For a king, on the throne of magnanimity, immediate purification is prescribed, and the reason for that is that he is seated (there) for the protection of (his) subjects.

95. (The same rule applies to the kinsmen) of those who have fallen in a riot or a battle, (of those who have been killed) by lightning or by the king, and (of those who perished fighting) for cows and *Brāhmaṇas*, and to those whom the king wishes (to be pure).

96. A king is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world, the Moon, the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, Indra, the Lords of wealth and water (*Kubera* and *Varuṇa*), and Yama.

97. Because the king is pervaded by (those)

northern, and a *Brāhmaṇa* by the eastern (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., Râgh.).

93. 'A vow,' i.e. 'the studentship (*Nâr.*), also a lunar penance and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.); 'a *Sattra*,' i.e. 'a long sacrifice such as the *Gavāmayana*.' *Brahmabhûtaḥ*, 'pure like Brahman' (Kull., *Nâr.*, Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'they have reached Brahmahood.'

95. Nand. and K. explain *śimbha*, 'in a riot,' to mean 'by infants.' 'Whom the king wishes (to be pure),' i.e. 'his servants and ministers whom he wants for his affairs.' *Nâr.* inserts another class, '(the kinsmen of those who have been killed) by *Brāhmaṇas*, i.e. by incantations.' But I do not understand how the word could be made to suit the verse.

96. See below, VII, 4.

97. Medh. reads *lokesaprabhavâpyayau*, and the second half

lords of the world, no impurity is ordained for him ; for purity and impurity of mortals is caused and removed by (those) lords of the world.

98. By him who is slain in battle with brandished weapons according to the law of the Kshatriyas, a (Srauta) sacrifice is instantly completed, and so is the period of impurity (caused by his death) ; that is a settled rule.

99. (At the end of the period of impurity) a Brâhmaṇa who has performed the necessary rites, becomes pure by touching water, a Kshatriya by touching the animal on which he rides, and his weapons, a Vaisya by touching his goad or the nose-string (of his oxen), a Sûdra by touching his staff.

100. Thus the purification (required) on (the death of) Sapindas has been explained to you, O best of twice-born men ; hear now the manner in which men are purified on the death of any (relative who is) not a Sapinda.

101. A Brâhmaṇa, having carried out a dead

verse must then be translated 'purity and impurity affect mortals, they are caused and removed by the guardians of the world.' Nâr., Nand., and K. read *lokesaprabhavo hy ayam*, 'but he (the) king springs from the guardians of the world.' Nâr. mentions also a reading *lokesaprabhave 'pyayaḥ*, 'for him who springs from the guardians of the world, (purity and impurity) do not exist.'

98. According to Medh. some contend that this rule refers only to those who die on the battle-field, not to those who die later of their wounds. *Yagñiḥ*, 'a (Srauta) sacrifice' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'the funeral sacrifice.'

99. 'Touching water,' i.e. 'bathing' (Medh., Kull., Nâr.), 'washing his hands' (Gov.).

101. 'The relatives of his mother and (the Sagotras of his father), or connexions by marriage, are meant' (Nâr.).

Brāhmaṇa who is not a Sapinda, as (if he were) a (near) relative, or a near relative of his mother, becomes pure after three days;

102. But if he eats the food of the (Sapindas of the deceased), he is purified in ten days, (but) in one day, if he does not eat their food nor dwells in their house.

103. Having voluntarily followed a corpse, whether (that of) a paternal kinsman or (of) a stranger, he becomes pure by bathing, dressed in his clothes, by touching fire and eating clarified butter.

104. Let him not allow a dead Brāhmaṇa to be carried out by a Śūdra, while men of the same caste are at hand; for that burnt-offering which is defiled by a Śūdra's touch is detrimental to (the deceased's passage to) heaven.

105. The knowledge (of Brahman) austerities, fire, (holy) food, earth, (restraint of) the internal organ, water, smearing (with cowdung), the wind, sacred rites, the sun, and time are the purifiers of corporeal (beings).

106. Among all modes of purification, purity in (the acquisition of) wealth is declared to be the best; for he is pure who gains wealth with clean hands, not he who purifies himself with earth and water.

102. In case he stays in the house of the mourners, he becomes impure for three days (Gov., Kull., Rāgh., K.).

104. According to Nār. the rule refers exclusively to Brāhmaṇas, according to Medh. and Kull. to all Âryans. The burning of the body is euphemistically called a burnt-offering.

105. Vi. XXII, 88; Yâgñ. III, 31; Baudh. I, 8, 52. Manaḥ kshamākhyāḥ (?) niyamayuktam mano gîvasya (Nār.). The other commentators take manaḥ, 'the mind or internal organ,' in the sense of 'a sanctified heart.'

106. Vi. XXII, 89; Yâgñ. III, 32.

107. The learned are purified by a forgiving disposition, those who have committed forbidden actions by liberality, secret sinners by muttering (sacred texts), and those who best know the Veda by austerities.

108. By earth and water is purified what ought to be made pure, a river by its current, a woman whose thoughts have been impure by the menstrual secretion, a Brâhmaṇa by abandoning the world (*saṃnyâsa*).

109. The body is cleansed by water, the internal organ is purified by truthfulness, the individual soul by sacred learning and austerities, the intellect by (true) knowledge.

110. Thus the precise rules for the purification of the body have been declared to you; hear now the decision (of the law) regarding the purification of the various (inanimate) things.

111. The wise ordain that all (objects) made of metal, gems, and anything made of stone are to be cleansed with ashes, earth, and water.

112. A golden vessel which shows no stains, becomes pure with water alone, likewise what is produced in water (as shells and coral), what is made of stone, and a silver (vessel) not enchased.

107. Vi. XXII, 90; Yâgñ. III, 33.

108. Vi. XXII, 91; Vas. III, 58; Yâgñ. III, 32.

109. Vi. XXII, 92; Vas. III, 60; Yâgñ. III, 33-34.

110. Vi. XXII, 93.

111-126. Âp. I, 17, 8-13; II, 3, 9; Gaut. I, 29-34; Vas. III, 44-57, 59, 61-63; Baudh. I, 8, 32-53, 9, 1-4, 7-12, 10, 1-9; 13, 11-14, 19; Vi. XXIII, 2-46, 56; Yâgñ. I, 182-190.

112. Anupaskṛitam, 'not enchased,' may also mean according to Medh. and Nand. 'not defiled very much.' Medh. and Nâr. add

113. From the union of water and fire arose the glittering gold and silver; those two, therefore, are best purified by (the elements) from which they sprang.

114. Copper, iron, brass, pewter, tin, and lead must be cleansed, as may be suitable (for each particular case), by alkaline (substances), acids or water.

115. The purification prescribed for all (sorts of) liquids is by passing two blades of Kusa grass through them, for solid things by sprinkling (them with water), for (objects) made of wood by planing them.

116. At sacrifices the purification of (the Soma cups called) *Kamasas* and *Grahas*, and of (other) sacrificial vessels (takes place) by rubbing (them) with the hand, and (afterwards) rinsing (them with water).

117. The *Karu* and (the spoons called) *Sruk* and *Sruva* must be cleaned with hot water, likewise (the wooden sword, called) *Sphya*, the winnowing-basket (*Sûrpa*), the cart (for bringing the grain), the pestle and the mortar.

118. The manner of purifying large quantities of grain and of cloth is to sprinkle them with water;

that this last term applies to all the various objects mentioned in the verse.

113. Medh., Gov., and Kull. quote a Vedic passage which derives the origin of gold from Agni and the goddess *Varuṇāni*.

115. *Utpavanam* or *utplavanam* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'passing two blades of Kusa grass through them,' means according to Medh., 'others,' and K. 'purifying by pouring them into another vessel, filled with pure liquids of the same kind,' according to Nâr. by 'straining through a cloth.' 'Solid things,' i.e. 'a couch, a seat, and the like.'

but the purification of small quantities is prescribed (to take place) by washing them.

119. Skins and (objects) made of split cane must be cleaned like clothes; vegetables, roots, and fruit like grain;

120. Silk and woollen stuffs with alkaline earth; blankets with pounded *Arishṭa* (fruit); *Amsupattas* with *Bel* fruit; linen cloth with (a paste of) yellow mustard.

121. A man who knows (the law) must purify conch-shells, horn, bone and ivory, like linen cloth, or with a mixture of cow's urine and water.

122. Grass, wood, and straw become pure by being sprinkled (with water), a house by sweeping and smearing (it with cowdung or whitewash), an earthen (vessel) by a second burning.

123. An earthen vessel which has been defiled by spirituous liquor, urine, ordure, saliva, pus or blood cannot be purified by another burning.

124. Land is purified by (the following) five (modes, viz.) by sweeping, by smearing (it with cowdung), by sprinkling (it with cows' urine or milk), by scraping, and by cows staying (on it during a day and night).

125. (Food) which has been pecked at by birds,

119. *Vaidalânâm*, 'objects made of split cane' (Kull., K., Râgh., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'made of the bark of trees and the like.' Medh. remarks that this and other rules, where skins and so forth are mentioned, apply also to objects made of such things, e.g. shoes.

120. *Arishṭa*, i.e. *Sapindus detergens*, the soap-berry tree. *Amsupaṭṭa* means according to Gov., Nand., and Nâr. 'cloth made of thinned bark,' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'upper garments for women (*Sârîs*) made of fine cloth' (*paṭṭasârîṭṭa*, *paṭṭasârîṭṭa*).

125. 'By birds,' i.e. 'by parrots and the like, not by crows,

smelt at by cows, touched (with the foot), sneezed on, or defiled by hair or insects, becomes pure by scattering earth (over it).

126. As long as the (foul) smell does not leave an (object) defiled by impure substances, and the stain caused by them (does not disappear), so long must earth and water be applied in cleansing (in-animate) things.

127. The gods declared three things (to be) pure to Brâhmaṇas, that (on which) no (taint is) visible, what has been washed with water, and what has been commended (as pure) by the word (of a Brâhmaṇa).

128. Water, sufficient (in quantity) in order to slake the thirst of a cow, possessing the (proper) smell, colour, and taste, and unmixed with impure substances, is pure, if it is collected on (pure) ground.

129. The hand of an artisan is always pure, so is (every vendible commodity) exposed for sale in

vultures, and other impure ones' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Avadhûtam, 'touched (with the foot),' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'blown upon with the mouth,' or 'dusted with a dress,' according to Gov. 'dusted with a dress,' according to Nâr. 'moved by the wind (caused by the motion) of a cloth, the foot or the like,' according to Nand. 'defiled by the dust of a broom or of the air moved by the wings (of a bird).'

127. Vas. XIV, 24; Baudh. I, 9, 9; Vi. XXIII, 47; Yâgñ. I, 191. In conformity with the opinion of the commentators I translate pavitrâṇi by 'pure.' But the word has also the meaning of 'means of purification,' in which I have taken it in the translations of the parallel passages. The general sense remains the same.

128. Vas. III, 35-36, 47; Baudh. I, 9, 10; Vi. XXIII, 43; Yâgñ. I, 192.

129. Baudh. I, 9, 1; Vi. XXIII, 43.

the market, and food obtained by begging which a student holds (in his hand) is always fit for use; that is a settled rule.

130. The mouth of a woman is always pure, likewise a bird when he causes a fruit to fall; a calf is pure on the flowing of the milk, and a dog when he catches a deer.

131. Manu has declared that the flesh (of an animal) killed by dogs is pure, likewise (that) of a (beast) slain by carnivorous (animals) or by men of low caste (Dasyu), such as *Kandâlas*.

132. All those cavities (of the body) which lie above the navel are pure, (but) those which are below the navel are impure, as well as excretions that fall from the body.

133. Flies, drops of water, a shadow, a cow, a horse, the rays of the sun, dust, earth, the wind, and fire one must know to be pure to the touch.

134. In order to cleanse (the organs) by which urine and faeces are ejected, earth and water must be used, as they may be required, likewise in removing the (remaining ones among) twelve impurities of the body.

130. Baudh. I, 9, 2; Vi. XXIII, 49; *Yâgñ.* I, 193.

131. Vas. III, 45; Vi. XXIII, 50; *Yâgñ.* I, 192.

132. Vi. XXIII, 51; *Yâgñ.* I, 194.

133. Vi. XXIII, 51; *Yâgñ.* I, 193. 'Drops of water,' i.e. 'such as are only perceptible by the touch' (Medh., Gov.), or 'such as come from the mouth, i.e. of saliva' (Kull., Râgh., Nâr.). Râgh. adds, 'and a continuous stream of water.'

134. Âp. I, 16, 15; Gaut. I, 43; Vas. VI, 14; *Yâgñ.* I, 17. 'As they may be required,' i.e. 'for removing the first six kinds of impurities enumerated in the next verse, as much water and earth as may be required, and for the last six water only' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

135. Oily exudations, semen, blood, (the fatty substance of the) brain, urine, faeces, the mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears, the rheum of the eyes, and sweat are the twelve impurities of human (bodies).

136. He who desires to be pure, must clean the organ by one (application of) earth, the anus by (applying earth) three (times), the (left) hand alone by (applying it) ten (times), and both (hands) by (applying it) seven (times).

137. Such is the purification ordained for householders; (it shall be) double for students, treble for hermits, but quadruple for ascetics.

138. When he has voided urine or faeces, let him, after sipping water, sprinkle the cavities, likewise when he is going to recite the Veda, and always before he takes food.

139. Let him who desires bodily purity first sip water three times, and then twice wipe his mouth; but a woman and a Śūdra (shall perform each act) once (only).

140. Śūdras who live according to the law, shall each month shave (their heads); their mode of purification (shall be) the same as that of Vaisyas, and their food the fragments of an Āryan's meal.

136. Vas. VI, 18; Vi. LX, 25.

137. Vas. VI, 19; Vi. LX, 26.

138. Gaut. I, 36; Baudh. I, 8, 26; Vi. LXII, 8. 'The cavities,' i. e. of the head (Gov.), and also the navel, the heart, and the crown of the head (Nār., Kull.).

139. Âp. I, 16, 3-8; Gaut. I, 36; Vas. III, 27-28; Baudh. I, 8, 20-22; Vi. LXII, 6-8; Yâgñ. I, 20.

140. Âp. II, 3, 4-6. 'Who live according to the law,' i. e. 'who serve Āryans' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. thinks that *mâsikam vapanam kâryam*, 'shall shave each month,' means 'shall offer the monthly Srâddha.'

141. Drops (of water) from the mouth which do not fall on a limb, do not make (a man) impure, nor the hair of the moustache entering the mouth, nor what adheres to the teeth.

142. Drops which trickle on the feet of him who offers water for sipping to others, must be considered as equal to (water) collected on the ground ; they render him not impure.

143. He who, while carrying anything in any manner, is touched by an impure (person or thing), shall become pure, if he performs an ablution, without putting down that object.

144. He who has vomited or purged shall bathe, and afterwards eat clarified butter ; but if (the attack comes on) after he has eaten, let him only sip water ; bathing is prescribed for him who has had intercourse with a woman.

145. Though he may be (already) pure, let him sip water after sleeping, sneezing, eating, spitting, telling untruths, and drinking water, likewise when he is going to study the Veda.

146. Thus the rules of personal purification for men of all castes, and those for cleaning (inanimate) things, have been fully declared to you : hear now the duties of women.

141. Âp. I, 16, 13; Gaut. I, 38-41; Vas. III, 37, 40-41; Baudh. I, 8, 23-25; Vi. XXIII, 53; Yâgñ. I, 195. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., *aṅgam na yanti yâh*, instead of *aṅge patanti*, 'which fall on a limb,' the reading of Kull. and Râgh.

142. Vas. III, 42; Vi. XXIII, 54.

143. Gaut. I, 28; Vas. III, 43; Baudh. I, 8, 27-29; Vi. XXIII, 55.

145. Âp. I, 16, 14; Gaut. I, 37; Vi. XXII, 75; Yâgñ. I, 196. According to Medh., some refer this verse to a repeated sipping of water.

147. By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house.

148. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

149. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible.

150. She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

151. Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory).

152. For the sake of procuring good fortune to (brides), the recitation of benedictory texts (svastyayana), and the sacrifice to the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) are used at weddings; (but) the betrothal (by the father or guardian) is the cause of (the husband's) dominion (over his wife).

147-149. See below, IX, 2-3; Vi. XXVI, 12-13; Yâgñ. I, 85-86.

150. Vi. XXVI, 4-6; Yâgñ. I, 83.

151. Vi. XXVI, 14; Yâgñ. I, 63.

152. Svastyayanam, 'the recitation of benedictory texts,' i.e. 'of those intended for averting evil omens' (Gov., Kull.); or 'the *Puṇyâhavâkṣa* and the rest' (Nâr.); or 'the recitation of the texts which precede the nuptial burnt-oblation' (Râgh., Nand.). Medh. connects the word with *yagñāḥ*, and explains it by 'that whereby welfare is obtained.' Medh. explains the expression 'the sacrifice to Pragâpati' by stating that 'some' prescribe at a wedding an oblation with the verse *Pragâpate na tvad evānyaḥ* (? *tvadetāny*, Rîg-veda X, 121, 10), and that the offerings to the other gods are

153. The husband who wedded her with sacred texts, always gives happiness to his wife, both in season and out of season, in this world and in the next.

154. Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure (elsewhere), or devoid of good qualities, (yet) a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

155. No sacrifice, no vow, no fast must be performed by women apart (from their husbands); if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that (reason alone) be exalted in heaven.

156. A faithful wife, who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead.

157. At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruit; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died.

158. Until death let her be patient (of hardships), self-controlled, and chaste, and strive (to fulfil) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only.

159. Many thousands of Brâhmanas who were chaste from their youth, have gone to heaven without continuing their race.

implied by this expression. Nâr. thinks that the Pragâpati called Manu is the guardian deity of the bride, and hence the nuptial oblations are called 'the sacrifice to Pragâpati.'

155. Vi. XXVI, 15; Yâgñ. I, 77.

156-166. See below, IX, 64-68; Yâgñ. I, 75, 87.

157. Medh. takes this opportunity to strongly object to the practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' corpses.

159. Gov. and Kull. think that the verse refers to the Vâlahhilya Rishis.

160. A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men.

161. But a woman who from a desire to have offspring violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world, and loses her place with her husband (in heaven).

162. Offspring begotten by another man is here not (considered lawful), nor (does offspring begotten) on another man's wife (belong to the begetter), nor is a second husband anywhere prescribed for virtuous women.

163. She who cohabits with a man of higher caste, forsaking her own husband who belongs to a lower one, will become contemptible in this world, and is called a remarried woman (parapûrvâ).

164. By violating her duty towards her husband, a wife is disgraced in this world, (after death) she enters the womb of a jackal, and is tormented by diseases (the punishment of) her sin.

165. She who, controlling her thoughts, words, and deeds, never slights her lord, resides (after death) with her husband (in heaven), and is called a virtuous (wife).

166. In reward of such conduct, a female who controls her thoughts, speech, and actions, gains in this (life) highest renown, and in the next (world) a place near her husband.

160. Vi. XXVI, 17.

162. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. take the first part of the verse differently: 'Offspring begotten by another man does not belong (to the mother).' The other explanation is given by Gov. and Kull.

165. Medh. omits verses 165-166.

167. A twice-born man, versed in the sacred law, shall burn a wife of equal caste who conducts herself thus and dies before him, with (the sacred fires used for) the Agnihotra, and with the sacrificial implements.

168. Having thus, at the funeral, given the sacred fires to his wife who dies before him, he may marry again, and again kindle (the fires).

169. (Living) according to the (preceding) rules, he must never neglect the five (great) sacrifices, and, having taken a wife, he must dwell in (his own) house during the second period of his life.

CHAPTER VI.

1. A twice-born Snâtaka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

2. When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

167-168. *Yâgñ.* I, 88.

VI. 1-32. Âp. II, 21, 18-23, 2; Gaut. III, 26-35; Vas. VI, 19-20; IX; Baudh. II, 11, 14-15; III, 18-4, 22; Vi. XCIV-XCV; *Yâgñ.* III, 45-55.

1. Niyatah, 'taking a firm resolution' (Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'devoted to the restrictive duties, austerities, reciting the Veda, and so forth.' Kull. connects yathâvad, 'duly observing,' &c. (Gov., Nâr.), with 'keeping his organs in subjection.'

2. Medh. notes particularly that the Sishâs insist on the necessity that he who takes to forest-life must have sons and sons' sons, and that hence apatya, 'offspring,' is to be taken in this restricted sense. Nâr. holds that the verse gives three separate grounds for entering the third order, each of which is sufficient by itself, while

3. Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her.

4. Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices), he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses.

5. Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit.

6. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning; and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped).

7. Let him perform the Bali-offering with such food as he eats, and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water, roots, and fruit.

8. Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal

Medh. thinks that the three conditions must exist together. Others, however, mentioned by Medh., took the verse to give a description of the approach of old age, which entitles the householder to turn hermit.

3. 'If his wife desires to accompany him, she may do so. But others say that he is to leave his wife behind if she is young, but shall take her with him if she is aged' (Medh.).

6. *Āṭram*, 'a tattered garment' (*vastrakhaṇḍam*, Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean 'a dress made of bark, Kura grass, or the like' (Gov., Nār., Rāgh.).

8. *Dāntaḥ*, 'patient of hardships,' means according to Medh. and Nār. 'free from pride.' Gov. reads in the beginning of the second

and never a receiver of gifts, and compassionate towards all living creatures.

9. Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time.

10. Let him also offer the Nakshatreshśī, the Āgrayana, and the Kâturmâsya (sacrifices), as well as the Turâyana and likewise the Dâkshâyana, in due order.

11. With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring and in autumn, and which he himself has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (purodâsa) and the boiled messes (kâru), as the law directs.

12. Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself, (mixed with) salt prepared by himself.

half-verse, tyaktadvandvo 'nisam dâtâ, 'let him not care for the pairs of opposites, let him be ever liberal and compassionate towards all creatures.'

9. Yogatah, 'at the proper time' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'as required by law;' according to Nâr. 'diligently.'

10. Medh. reads Darseshśī for Rîksheshśī, 'the Nakshatreshśī.' I read with Medh., Nâr., Nand., and Râgh., Turâyana (see Sâṅkh. Srauta-sûtra IV, 11) instead of Uttarâyana, 'the sacrifice at the winter-solstice,' which Gov., Kull., and K. give. The first reads also more consistently than Kull. and K.: Dakshinâyanam, 'the sacrifice at the summer-solstice,' for Dakshasyâyanam, 'the Dâkshâyana.' The Nakshatreshśī is a Srauta sacrifice offered to the lunar mansions. Regarding the variety of the Darsapaurṇamâsa, called Dâkshâyana, see Âsv. Srauta-sûtra II, 14.

12. According to Kull., the hermit is to collect the salt from ūsharas, i.e. salt-marshes; according to Nâr., he is to prepare it from the kshâra, 'salt or alkaline elements' of trees and the like.

13. Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots, and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest-fruits.

14. Let him avoid honey, flesh, and mushrooms growing on the ground (or elsewhere, the vegetables called) *Bhûstrîna*, and *Sigruka*, and the *Sleshmân-taka* fruit.

15. Let him throw away in the month of *Âsvina* the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots, and fruit.

16. Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger).

17. He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding, or his teeth may be his mortar.

18. He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a

14. *Bhûstrîna*, i.e. *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, *Sigruka*, according to *Nâr.*, the same as the *Sobhanâñgana*, i.e. *Moringa Pterygosperma*, the horse-radish tree, the leaves of which are said to be used as a vegetable. According to *Medh.*, these two vegetables are known among the *Bâhîkas*, in the *Panjâb*; according to *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*, the former is found in *Mâlvâ*. *Sleshmântaka*, i.e. *Cordia Myxa*. According to *Medh.*, *bhaumâni*, 'those which grow on or come from the ground,' has to be taken as a separate word, and denotes a plant, known to the woodmen, named *Gogihvikâ*, *Phlomis* or *Premna Esculenta*. *Gov.*, *Nâr.*, and *Kull.* give the construction adopted above, and the latter two declare that mushrooms growing on trees are likewise forbidden.

16. 'Though he may be in distress,' i.e. 'tormented by hunger' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), or 'sick' (*Nâr.*).

18. 'He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his

store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year.

19. Having collected food according to his ability, he may either eat at night (only), or in the day-time (only), or at every fourth meal-time, or at every eighth.

20. Or he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (*Kândrâyana*, daily diminishing the quantity of his food) in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it) in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight, once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel.

21. Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.

22. Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).

23. In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities.

vessel for collecting food),’ (Nâr.), means ‘he may either gather only as much as suffices for one day.’ This mode of subsistence is apparently the same as that called *Samprakshâlanî vr̥iti* by Baudhâya, III, 2, 11.

21. All the commentators except Nâr. expressly state that the text refers to a particular set of Sûtras, ascribed to the *R̥ishi* Vikhanas, which contained rules for hermits. Medh. adds that the hermit is to learn other practices also from that work.

23. ‘Five fires,’ i.e. ‘four fires and the sun from above.’

24. When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday, and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame.

25. Having repositied the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit,

26. Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees.

27. From Brâhmanas (who live as) ascetics, let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twice-born (castes) who reside in the forest.

28. Or (the hermit) who dwells in the forest may bring (food) from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls.

29. These and other observances must a Brâhmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) Soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads,

24. Gov. says that these harsher austerities are those prescribed in the Vaikhâṇasa Sâstra. Medh. gives as instances, standing with uplifted arms, fasting for a month, and the Dvâḍasarâtra.

25. 'According to the rule,' i.e. 'by swallowing ashes and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), which mode has to be learned from the Srâvanaka [Srâmanaka Sûtra] (Medh.), or by reciting the text 'Yâ te agne yagnîyâ,' Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 8, 8 (Nâr.).

29. Âtmasamsiddhaye, 'in order to attain complete (union with the (supreme) Soul,' may also mean 'in order to make himself or his soul perfect.' Nâr. gives the correct etymology of Upanishad, explaining upanishannâ yokyata ity upanishat, 'Upanishad means (a text) which is recited (while the pupils are) seated near (the teacher).'

30. (As well as those rites and texts) which have been practised and studied by the sages (*R̥ṣhis*), and by *Brāhmaṇa* householders, in order to increase their knowledge (of Brahman), and their austerity, and in order to sanctify their bodies ;

31. Or let him walk, fully determined and going straight on, in a north-easterly direction, subsisting on water and air, until his body sinks to rest.

32. A *Brāhmaṇa*, having got rid of his body by one of those modes practised by the great sages, is exalted in the world of Brahman, free from sorrow and fear.

33. But having thus passed the third part of (a

30. Gov. and Kull. separate the two words '*Brāhmaṇa* householders.' The former explains *Brāhmaṇa* by 'hermit,' and the latter by 'acquainted with the Brahman, i. e. ascetic.' By 'householders' Kull. understands 'hermits in the forest.' *Rāgh.* explains *Brāhmaṇa* by 'those who know Brahman.'

31. Gov. and Kull. take *yukta*, 'firmly resolved' (*Nār.*, *Rāgh.*), in the sense of 'intent on the practice of Yoga.' Gov. and Kull. (see also *Medh.* on the next verse) say that a man may undertake the *Mahāprasthāna*, or 'Great Departure,' on a journey which ends in death, when he is incurably diseased or meets with a great misfortune, and that, because it is taught in the *Sāstras*, it is not opposed to the Vedic rules which forbid suicide. From the parallel passage of *Āp.* II, 23, 2, it is, however, evident that a voluntary death by starvation was considered the befitting conclusion of a hermit's life. The antiquity and general prevalence of the practice may be inferred from the fact that the *Gaina* ascetics, too, consider it particularly meritorious.

32. 'By one of those modes,' i. e. 'drowning oneself in a river, precipitating oneself from a mount, burning oneself or starving oneself to death' (*Medh.*); or 'by one of those modes of practising austerities, mentioned above, verse 23' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nār.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* adds a long discussion, trying to prove that 'the world of Brahman,' which the ascetic thus gains, is not the real complete liberation.

33-85. *Āp.* II, 21, 2-17; *Gaut.* III, 11-25; *Vas.* VI, 19-20; X;

man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects. ✓

34. He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes, tired with (giving) alms and offerings of food, an ascetic, gains bliss after death.

35. When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards.

36. Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begat sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation.

37. A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons, and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards.

38. Having performed the *Ishāi*, sacred to the Lord of creatures (*Pragâpati*), where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposed the sacred fires in himself, a *Brâhmaṇa* may depart from his house (as an ascetic).

39. Worlds, radiant in brilliancy, become (the portion) of him who recites (the texts regarding) Brahman and departs from his house (as an ascetic), after giving a promise of safety to all created beings.

Baudh. II, 11, 16-26; 17, 1-18, 27; Vi. XCVI-XCVII; Yâgñ. III, 56-65.

33. *Nâr.* takes *âsaṅga*, 'attachment' (Gov., Kull.), in the sense of 'possessions.'

38. The description of the rites to be performed on entering the order of ascetics is given in detail in Baudh. II, 17.

40. For that twice-born man, by whom not the smallest danger even is caused to created beings, there will be no danger from any (quarter), after he is freed from his body.

41. Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him).

42. Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

43. He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman.

44. A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments,

41. Pavitropakītaḥ, 'provided with the means of purification,' i. e. 'his staff, his water-pot, and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh. either 'applying himself to the recitation of purificatory texts and provided with the means of purifications, i. e. a staff, &c.,' or 'performing penances which purify.' Nâr. takes it to mean, 'having been made most eminent during his life as a householder by acts which purify, i. e. austerities and recitals of the Veda and so forth;' and Râgh., 'possessing a rich store of sanctifying knowledge taught in the Upanishads.' Nâr. takes muniḥ, 'wholly silent' (Gov., Kull.), in the sense of 'intent on meditation.' Nand. explains samupodheshu, 'which may be offered to him' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), by 'which he collected in his house;' and Nâr. by 'which he has duly enjoyed.'

43. Medh. explains muniḥ, 'meditating' (Gov., Kull.), by 'wholly silent.' Instead of asaṃkasukaḥ or aṣaṃkasukaḥ, 'firm of purpose' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr., Nand., and K. prima manu read asaṃkayikaḥ, 'destitute of any store of provisions,' and Râgh. aṣaṃkasūkaḥ, 'free from doubts.' Medh., whose text now reads asaṃkasukaḥ, gives this word as the var. lect. of others, and probably originally read, like Nâr. and Nand., asaṃkayikaḥ.

life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation.

45. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live; let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.

46. Let him put down his foot purified by his sight, let him drink water purified by (straining with) a cloth, let him utter speech purified by truth, let him keep his heart pure.

47. Let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this (perishable) body.

48. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless when he is cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates.

49. Delighting in what refers to the Soul, sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help), entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation).

45. The correct reading is *nirvesam* (Medh., Nâr., var. lect., Nand.) instead of *nirdesam* (Gov., K.) or *nidesam* (Kull., Râgh.). The latter reading can, as Nâr. remarks, only mean 'command.'

46. I.e. 'let him look before he puts down his foot, lest he injure any small animal, see ver. 68' (Gov., Medh., Râgh.), or 'lest he step on something impure' (Kull.).

48. 'The seven gates' are, according to Medh. and Gov., 'Dharma, Artha, and Kâma separately, Dharma and Artha, Dharma and Kâma, Artha and Kâma, and finally Dharmârthakâma conjointly; according to Kull. and Medh., 'mind, intellect, and the five senses;' and according to Nâr., 'the five senses, mind, and Aham-kâra, or egoism.' Kull. mentions another explanation, 'the seven worlds,' and Medh. gives as a third meaning, 'the seven vital airs located in the head.' The general sense, 'what refers to worldly matters,' remains always the same.

50. Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry, nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the *Sâstras*), let him ever seek to obtain alms.

51. Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, *Brâhmanas*, birds, dogs, or other mendicants.

52. His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander about, controlling himself and not hurting any creature.

53. His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures; it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups, called) *Kamasa*, at a sacrifice.

54. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish), or one made of split cane, Manu, the son of *Sva-yambhu*, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic.

55. Let him go to beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments.

50. According to *Nâr.* and *Râgh.*, *aṅgavidyâ*, 'palmistry' (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Nand.*), means 'the science of grammar and the other five *Âṅgas* of the *Veda*.' Gov. takes *nakshatrâṅgavidyâ* as a determinative compound, meaning 'astrology.' *Anusâsana*, 'giving advice' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* and *Nând.* 'teaching the *Veda*.' *Vâda*, 'the exposition (of the *Sâstras*)', (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), means according to *Medh.* and *Nâr.* 'disputations'; according to *Nand.* and *Râgh.* 'the science of dialectics.' This verse, which occurs also in *Vas. X, 21*, is historically important, as it shows that in ancient as in modern times, ascetics followed worldly pursuits and were the teachers or advisers of the people.

55. 'Let him not go oftener to beg' is Gov.'s explanation, instead of 'let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity of alms.'

56. When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen), when the pestle lies motionless, when the embers have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to beg.

57. Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.

58. Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the *Samsâra*) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations.

59. By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects.

60. By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

61. Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their falling into hell, and on the torments in the world of Yama,

62. On the separation from their dear ones, on their union with hated men, on their being overpowered by age and being tormented with diseases,

63. On the departure of the individual soul from this body and its new birth in (another) womb, and

57. *Mâtrâ*, 'utensils,' i.e. his staff, water-pot, &c. (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* and *Nand.* 'a portion, e.g. a mouthful' (*kavalâdiḥ*, *Nâr.*), or 'a portion, i.e. enough to fill his stomach' (*udarapûraṇâvadhîr mâtrâ*).

on its wanderings through ten thousand millions of existences,

64. On the infliction of pain on embodied (spirits), which is caused by demerit, and the gain of eternal bliss, which is caused by the attainment of their highest aim, (gained through) spiritual merit.

65. By deep meditation let him recognise the subtle nature of the supreme Soul, and its presence in all organisms, both the highest and the lowest.

66. To whatever order he may be attached, let him, though blemished (by a want of the external marks), fulfil his duty, equal-minded towards all creatures; (for) the external mark (of the order) is not the cause of (the acquisition of) merit.

67. Though the fruit of the Kataka tree (the clearing-nut) makes water clear, yet the (latter) does not become limpid in consequence of the mention of the (fruit's) name.

68. In order to preserve living creatures, let him always by day and by night, even with pain to his body, walk, carefully scanning the ground.

69. In order to expiate (the death) of those creatures which he unintentionally injures by day or by night, an ascetic shall bathe and perform six suppressions of the breath.

65. Nand. omits this verse. 'The highest aim' is 'the recognition of the Brahman' (Kull.), and the good fortune of attaining that falls only to the lot of those who have accumulated a rich store of merit.

66. Instead of *dûshito 'pi*, 'though blemished (by a want of the external marks of the order),' (Kull., Nand., Râgh.), Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. read *bhûshito 'pi*, 'though adorned (with garlands and the like).'

69. Regarding the term 'suppression of the breath,' see Vas. XXV, 13, and Wilson, *Vishṇupurâṇa*, V, p. 231 (ed. Hall).

70. Three suppressions of the breath even, performed according to the rule, and accompanied with the (recitation of the) Vyâhr̥itis and of the syllable Om, one must know to be the highest (form of) austerity for every Brâhmaṇa.

71. For as the impurities of metallic ores, melted in the blast (of a furnace), are consumed, even so the taints of the organs are destroyed through the suppression of the breath.

72. Let him destroy the taints through suppressions of the breath, (the production of) sin by fixed attention, all sensual attachments by restraining (his senses and organs), and all qualities that are not lordly by meditation.

73. Let him recognise by the practice of meditation the progress of the individual soul through beings of various kinds, (a progress) hard to understand for unregenerate men.

74. He who possesses the true insight (into the

71. Vas. XXV, 6; Baudh. IV, 1, 24.

72. Regarding the term dhâraṇâ, 'fixed attention,' see Wilson, *Vishṇupurâṇa*, V, p. 237 (ed. Hall), and Jacob, *Vedântasâra*, p. 109.

Anîsvarân gunân, 'all qualities that are not lordly.' Medh. explains the qualities by 'goodness, passion, and darkness,' and the epithet 'not lordly' by 'depending upon another,' and adds that 'the conceit (abhimâna) of the soul (purusha) that it possesses qualities and is affected by pleasure or pain and the like must be destroyed.' Gov. and K. assert that the qualities opposed to 'virtue, knowledge, absence of passion and power' (Davies, *Sâṃkhya*, p. 81) are to be destroyed by 'meditation,' as defined in the *Yogaśâstra*. Similarly Nâr., who (as also Nand.) reads anaisvarân, says that the qualities that are opposed to true knowledge and power, and are modifications of passion and darkness, must be destroyed by meditating on the formless. Kull. and Râgh., on the other hand, interpret the passage on Vedânta principles, and explain the qualities as 'such which do not belong to the lord, Brahman, i.e. anger, greed, envy, and so forth.'

nature of the world), is not fettered by his deeds ; but he who is destitute of that insight, is drawn into the circle of births and deaths.

75. By not injuring any creatures, by detaching the senses (from objects of enjoyment), by the rites prescribed in the Veda, and by rigorously practising austerities, (men) gain that state (even) in this (world).

76-77. Let him quit this dwelling, composed of the five elements, where the bones are the beams, which is held together by tendons (instead of cords), where the flesh and the blood are the mortar, which is thatched with the skin, which is foul-smelling, filled with urine and ordure, infested by old age and sorrow, the seat of disease, harassed by pain, gloomy with passion, and perishable.

78. He who leaves this body, (be it by necessity) as a tree (that is torn from) the river-bank, or (freely) like a bird (that) quits a tree, is freed from the misery (of this world, dreadful like) a shark.

79. Making over (the merit of his own) good actions to his friends and (the guilt of) his evil deeds to his enemies, he attains the eternal Brahman by the practice of meditation.

80. When by the disposition (of his heart) he

75. 'By the rites prescribed in the Veda,' i.e. the daily rites (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'the daily rites and those prescribed for certain occasions' (Nâr., Nand.). 'That state,' i.e. 'the union with Brahman' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'that place, i.e. the world of Brahman.' Nâr. and Nand. read tatparam, 'that highest (Brahman).'

76-77. Maitr. Up. III, 4.

79. 'Making over (the merit of his own) good actions' means according to Gov. and Medh. '(the merit of anybody's) good actions.'

80. 'In this world,' i.e. he becomes a *Gīvanmukta*, one liberated during this life (Nâr.).

becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death.

81. He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone.

82. All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.

83. Let him constantly recite (those texts of) the Veda which refer to the sacrifice, (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedânta).

84. That is the refuge of the ignorant, and even

81. 'The pairs of opposites,' i.e. hunger and satiety and so forth (Gov.), or honour and dishonour (Kull.).

82. I follow Gov., Nâr., and Nand., who explain the verse to mean that all the teaching of the preceding chapters with respect to the four orders depends, as far as its ultimate result is concerned, on meditation, because, however well a man may fulfil the prescribed rites, he cannot reap the full reward without knowing and meditating on the Brahman. Kull. refers the phrase 'All that has been declared' to the contents of the last verse, and says that 'the complete freedom from all attachments and the repose in Brahman' depend on the recognition of the unity of the individual soul and of Brahman. He understands by *kriyâphalam*, 'the reward for the act of meditating.' Medh. begins with an explanation similar to that of Kull., but he takes finally *kriyâphalam* in the same sense as Gov., Nâr., and Nand. Râgh. explains *yad etad abhisabdhitam* by 'what can be expressed by words.'

83. 'Which refer to the sacrifice,' i.e. 'the *Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Gov., Nand.), or 'the *Brahmaveda*' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'the *Karmakânda*,' e.g. *ishe tvâ ūrge tvâ* (*Vâg. Samh.* I, 1), Râgh. 'Those referring to the deities,' i.e. 'Mantras describing the various deities' (Medh., Gov.), e.g. *Rig-veda* VIII, 44, 16 (Gov.). The third class of texts mentioned is that of the Upanishads; but see also Goldstücker, *Sansk. Dict.*, s. v. *adhyâtma*.

that (the refuge) of those who know (the meaning of the Veda); that is (the protection) of those who seek (bliss in) heaven and of those who seek endless (beatitude).

85. A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic, after the successive performance of the above-mentioned acts, shakes off sin here below and reaches the highest Brahman.

86. Thus the law (valid) for self-restrained ascetics has been explained to you ; now listen to the (particular) duties of those who give up (the rites prescribed by) the Veda.

87. The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders.

88. But all (or) even (any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brâhmaṇa who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state.

89. And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smṛiti, the housekeeper is declared

86. Gov. is of opinion that the persons named above, IV, 22, are here intended. But from what follows, verses 94, 95, it appears that those Brâhmaṇas are meant who, though solely intent on the acquisition of supreme knowledge, and retired from all worldly affairs, continue to reside in their houses ; see also IV, 257. Gov. and Nâr. assume that they remain householders, while Kull. counts them among the ascetics.

87-93. Âp. II, 23-24 ; Gaut. III, 36 ; Vas. VIII, 14-16 ; X, 30 ; Baudh. II, 11, 9-34 ; Vi. LIX, 27-29.

According to the commentators, the following discussion is introduced in order to show, (1) that there are four orders only, and that the Vedasannyâsika belongs to these, and does not form a fifth order, or stand outside the orders ; (2) that as the order of the householders is the most distinguished, it is proper that a man may continue to live in his house under the protection of his son.

to be superior to all of them; for he supports the other three.

90. As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders.

91. By twice-born men belonging to (any of) these four orders, the tenfold law must be ever carefully obeyed.

92. Contentment, forgiveness, self-control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, (obedience to the rules of) purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom, knowledge (of the supreme Soul), truthfulness, and abstention from anger, (form) the tenfold law.

93. Those Brâhmaṇas who thoroughly study the tenfold law, and after studying obey it, enter the highest state.

94. A twice-born man who, with collected mind, follows the tenfold law and has paid his (three) debts, may, after learning the Vedānta according to the prescribed rule, become an ascetic.

95. Having given up (the performance of) all rites, throwing off the guilt of his (sinful) acts, subduing his organs and having studied the Veda, he may live at his ease under the protection of his son.

92. *Dhṛtīḥ*, 'contentment,' means according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. 'firmness of purpose or in the discharge of duties.' *Damaḥ*, 'self-control,' means according to Medh. and Nand. 'humility;' according to Gov. and Nâr. 'patience under sufferings;' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'the subjugation of the internal organ.' *Dhîḥ*, 'wisdom,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'freedom from doubts and errors;' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'knowledge of the true meaning of the Sâstras.' Nâr. and Nand. read *hrîḥ*, 'modesty or shame.'

94. Vas. X, 26.

95. 'Having studied the Veda,' i.e. 'the Upanishads' (Kull.).

96. He who has thus given up (the performance of) all rites, who is solely intent on his own (particular) object, (and) free from desires, destroys his guilt by his renunciation and obtains the highest state.

97. Thus the fourfold holy law of Brâhmaṇas, which after death (yields) imperishable rewards, has been declared to you ; now learn the duty of kings.

CHAPTER VII.

1. I will declare the duties of kings, (and) show how a king should conduct himself, how he was created, and how (he can obtain) highest success.

2. A Kshatriya, who has received according to the rule the sacrament prescribed by the Veda, must duly protect this whole (world).

3. For, when these creatures, being without a king, through fear dispersed in all directions, the Lord created a king for the protection of this whole (creation),

4. Taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the Lord of wealth (Kubera).

Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., and K. read *abhyasyan*, 'studying the Veda,' and the same reading is mentioned by Medh. as a var. lect.

96. 'His own object,' i. e. 'final liberation.'

97. According to Medh. the word 'Brâhmaṇa' is not intended to exclude other Âryans ; but according to Gov., Kull., and Nâr. it is meant to prescribe that asceticism is permissible for Brâhmaṇas alone.

VII. 2. 'The sacrament,' i. e. 'the initiation' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull.), or 'the initiation and the rest' (Râgh.), or 'the sacrament of the coronation' (Nand.). The last opinion seems the correct one.

5. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre ;

6. And, like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts ; nor can anybody on earth even gaze on him.

7. Through his (supernatural) power he is Fire and Wind, he Sun and Moon, he the Lord of justice (Yama), he Kubera, he Varuna, he great Indra.

8. Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal ; for he is a great deity in human form.

9. Fire burns one man only, if he carelessly approaches it, the fire of a king's (anger) consumes the (whole) family, together with its cattle and its hoard of property.

10. Having fully considered the purpose, (his) power, and the place and the time, he assumes by turns many (different) shapes for the complete attainment of justice.

11. He, in whose favour resides Padmâ, the goddess of fortune, in whose valour dwells victory, in whose anger abides death, is formed of the lustre of all (gods).

12. The (man), who in his exceeding folly hates him, will doubtlessly perish ; for the king quickly makes up his mind to destroy such (a man).

5. The commentators explain *tegas*, 'lustre,' by 'prowess or valour' (*vîrya*). The next verse, however, shows that at least a play on the word is intended.

10. According to the commentators, the verse is meant as a warning to those who are too confident of possessing a king's favour.

11. 'Padmâ, the goddess of fortune,' must be taken according to Nâr. and Nand. as 'who carries a lotus in her hand,' and according to Râgh. 'whose dwelling is the lotus.' According to Medh., Gov., and Kull., the epithet is added in order to give the idea of greatness.

13. Let no (man), therefore, transgress that law which the king decrees with respect to his favourites, nor (his orders) which inflict pain on those in disfavour.

14. For the (king's) sake the Lord formerly created his own son, Punishment, the protector of all creatures, (an incarnation of) the law, formed of Brahman's glory.

15. Through fear of him all created beings, both the immovable and the movable, allow themselves to be enjoyed and swerve not from their duties.

16. Having fully considered the time and the place (of the offence), the strength and the knowledge (of the offender), let him justly inflict that (punishment) on men who act unjustly.

13. Medh. gives the following instances. If a king orders that during the celebration of a wedding in the house of a minister or other favourite, a public festival is to be held in the town, that everybody is to appear on the occasion, or that during so and so many days no animals are to be killed, no birds to be snared, and no debtors to be imprisoned by their creditors, everybody must obey. The same shall be the case if the king orders with respect to persons in disfavour that they are to be shunned by everybody, that nobody is to enter their houses. Gov., Kull., and Râgh. give the same explanation, and they as well as Medh. add, that this rule refers to lawful orders in worldly matters only. Nâr. seems to have taken the verse differently, in a sense similar to that contained in Sir W. Jones' translation.

14. Yâgñ. I, 353.

15. Bhogâya kalpante, 'allow themselves to be enjoyed' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'are able to enjoy their own.' Gov. says, *kādanādibhayena vṛkṣhādīsthāvarāṇy api phalapushpādīdvāreṇopabhogārtham sampadyante niyatakālam pushpādīdānavyavasthām nātikrāmanti*, 'through fear of being cut down and the like immovable things such as trees become fit to be enjoyed by means of their fruit, flowers, and so forth, (i. e.) they transgress not the law according to which they must give flowers, &c. at the appointed time;' see also below, verse 23.

16. Gaut. XII, 51; Vas. XIX, 9; Vi. III, 91; Yâgñ. I, 367.

17. Punishment is (in reality) the king (and) the male, that the manager of affairs, that the ruler, and that is called the surety for the four orders' obedience to the law.

18. Punishment alone governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them while they sleep; the wise declare punishment (to be identical with) the law.

19. If (punishment) is properly inflicted after (due) consideration, it makes all people happy; but inflicted without consideration, it destroys everything.

20. If the king did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit;

21. The crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would (usurp the place of) the higher ones.

22. The whole world is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to find; through fear of punishment the whole world yields the enjoyments (which it owes).

23. The gods, the Dānavas, the Gandharvas, the Rākshasas, the bird and snake deities even give the enjoyments (due from them) only, if they are tormented by (the fear of) punishment.

24. All castes (*varṇa*) would be corrupted (by intermixture), all barriers would be broken through,

17. 'That is the male,' i. e. 'compared with him all others are (weak) women' (Kull.).

19. Yāgñ. I, 355.

23. The commentators quote in explanation of this verse a passage from the Yagur-veda, 'Through fear the fire warms, through fear the sun shines, through fear move Indra, the Wind, and Death, as the fifth.'

and all men would rage (against each other) in consequence of mistakes with respect to punishment.

25. But where Punishment with a black hue and red eyes stalks about, destroying sinners, there the subjects are not disturbed, provided that he who inflicts it discerns well.

26. They declare that king to be a just inflicter of punishment, who is truthful, who acts after due consideration, who is wise, and who knows (the respective value of) virtue, pleasure, and wealth.

27. A king who properly inflicts (punishment), prospers with respect to (those) three (means of happiness); but he who is voluptuous, partial, and deceitful will be destroyed, even through the (unjust) punishment (which he inflicts).

28. Punishment (possesses) a very bright lustre, and is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds; it strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives.

29. Next it will afflict his castles, his territories, the whole world together with the movable and immovable (creation), likewise the sages and the gods, who (on the failure of offerings) ascend to the sky.

30. (Punishment) cannot be inflicted justly by one who has no assistant, (nor) by a fool, (nor) by a covetous man, (nor) by one whose mind is unimproved, (nor) by one addicted to sensual pleasures.

25. Vi. III, 96.

26. Gaut. XI, 2.

27. Vishamaḥ, 'partial' (Nār.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'wrathful.'

28. 'By men with unimproved minds,' i. e. 'who have not learnt the Sâstras' (Gov., Kull.).

30-31. Gaut. XI, 4; Yâgñ. I, 308-309, 354.

31. By him who is pure (and) faithful to his promise, who acts according to the Institutes (of the sacred law), who has good assistants and is wise, punishment can be (justly) inflicted.

32. Let him act with justice in his own domain, with rigour chastise his enemies, behave without duplicity towards his friends, and be lenient towards Brâhmaṇas.

33. The fame of a king who behaves thus, even though he subsist by gleanings, is spread in the world, like a drop of oil on water.

34. But the fame of a king who acts in a contrary manner and who does not subdue himself, diminishes in extent among men like a drop of clarified butter in water.

35. The king has been created (to be) the protector of the castes (*varṇa*) and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.

36. Whatever must be done by him and by his servants for the protection of his people, that I will fully declare to you in due order.

37. Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship Brâhmaṇas who are well versed in the threefold sacred science and learned (in polity), and follow their advice.

38. Let him daily worship aged Brâhmaṇas who know the Veda and are pure; for he who always worships aged men, is honoured even by Rākshasas.

31. Pure, i. e. 'with respect to the acquisition of wealth,' or 'not covetous' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Satyasamdhya, 'faithful to his promise' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'who cares for truth alone.'

32. Vi. III, 96; Yâgñ. I, 333.

33. Vi. III, 97.

37-38. Vi. III, 76-77.

39. Let him, though he may already be modest, constantly learn modesty from them; for a king who is modest never perishes.

40. Through a want of modesty many kings have perished, together with their belongings; through modesty even hermits in the forest have gained kingdoms.

41. Through a want of humility Vena perished, likewise king Nahusha, Sudâs, the son of Pigavana, Sumukha, and Nemi.

42. But by humility Prithu and Manu gained sovereignty, Kubera the position of the Lord of wealth, and the son of Gâdhi the rank of a Brâhmaṇa.

43. From those versed in the three Vedas let him learn the threefold (sacred science), the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul; from the people (the theory of) the (various) trades and professions.

44. Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses; for he (alone) who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience.

45. Let him carefully shun the ten vices, springing

41. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K., Sudâh paigavanas kaiva, instead of Sudâso yavanas kaiva (Kull.). Nand. has Vaigavana, a mere clerical mistake. As Medh. remarks, the legends regarding the worthies mentioned here occur in the Mahâbhârata.

42. The son of Gâdhi, i.e. Visvâmitra; see Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, I, p. 83 seqq.

43. Gaut. XI, 3; Yâgyñ. I, 310. Nâr. takes ânvîkshikîṃ kâtmavidyâṃ to mean 'and the science of dialectics, i.e. the Nyâya, Sâmkhya, and so forth, which is useful for obtaining final liberation.' Medh. too is not certain if ânvîkshikî is to be taken by itself, but proposes 'the science of dialectics which will be useful to him.'

45-48. Vi. III, 50-51.

from love of pleasure, and the eight, proceeding from wrath, which (all) end in misery.

46. For a king who is attached to the vices springing from love of pleasure, loses his wealth and his virtue, but (he who is given) to those arising from anger, (loses) even his life.

47. Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, censoriousness, (excess with) women, drunkenness, (an inordinate love for) dancing, singing, and music, and useless travel are the tenfold set (of vices) springing from love of pleasure.

48. Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, (unjust) seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set (of vices) produced by wrath.

49. That greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these (sets), let him carefully conquer; both sets (of vices) are produced by that.

50. Drinking, dice, women, and hunting, these four (which have been enumerated) in succession, he must know to be the most pernicious in the set that springs from love of pleasure.

51. Doing bodily injury, reviling, and the seizure of property, these three he must know to be the most pernicious in the set produced by wrath.

52. A self-controlled (king) should know that in this set of seven, which prevails everywhere, each

49. 'Greediness (lobha) is the root of all (these vices), because (the king) acts in some (of these cases) from a desire for money, and in others from a greediness of sensual pleasures' (Gov.).

52. Medh., Nand., and K. read *âtmanaḥ* instead of *âtmavân*, and in that case the translation must be, 'Let him know that in this set . . . each earlier-named vice is more pernicious for him (than . . .).'

earlier-named vice is more abominable (than those named later).

53. (On a comparison) between vice and death, vice is declared to be more pernicious; a vicious man sinks to the nethermost (hell), he who dies, free from vice, ascends to heaven.

54. Let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from (noble) families and who have been tried.

55. Even an undertaking easy (in itself) is (sometimes) hard to be accomplished by a single man; how much (harder is it for a king), especially (if he has) no assistant, (to govern) a kingdom which yields great revenues.

56. Let him daily consider with them the ordinary (business, referring to) peace and war, (the four subjects called) sthâna, the revenue, the (manner of) protecting (himself and his kingdom), and the sanctification of his gains (by pious gifts).

54. Vi. III, 71; Yâgñ. I, 311. Labdhalakshân, 'skilled in the use of weapons' (Kull., Nâr.), means according to Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. 'who fail not in their undertakings.' Parîkshitân (Gov., Kull., and K.), or suparîkshitân (Medh., Nâr.), 'who have been tried,' i. e. by tempting them in various ways (Medh.), or 'if they are incorruptible' (Nâr.), or 'who have been examined by spies' (Gov.), or 'who have been bound to fidelity by touching images of the gods, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.). Nand. reads parîkshakân, 'who examine (the state-affairs).'

55. The correct reading is kimu, 'how much harder' (Medh., Gov., sec. manu, Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K.), instead of the kim tu, 'but,' of the editions.

56. Yâgñ. I, 311. Sthâna means according to Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh. 'the army, the treasury, the town, and the kingdom;' according to Medh. either that or 'the loss of his kingdom;' according to Nand. 'halting' (âsana).

57. Having (first) ascertained the opinion of each (minister) separately and (then the views) of all together, let him do what is (most) beneficial for him in his affairs.

58. But with the most distinguished among them all, a learned Brâhmaṇa, let the king deliberate on the most important affairs which relate to the six measures of royal policy.

59. Let him, full of confidence, always entrust to that (official) all business; having taken his final resolution with him, let him afterwards begin to act.

60. He must also appoint other officials, (men) of integrity, (who are) wise, firm, well able to collect money, and well tried.

61. As many persons as the due performance of his business requires, so many skilful and clever (men), free from sloth, let him appoint.

62. Among them let him employ the brave, the skilful, the high-born, and the honest in (offices for the collection of) revenue, (e.g.) in mines, manufactures, and storehouses, (but) the timid in the interior of his palace.

63. Let him also appoint an ambassador who is versed in all sciences, who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, who is honest, skilful, and of (noble) family.

58. Yâgñ. I, 311.

60. Nâr. mentions kulodgatân, 'of noble families,' as a var. lect. for avasthitân, 'firm.'

62. Vi. III, 18, 21. Medh. refers karmânta, literally 'management,' to 'sugar-mills, distilleries, and so forth;' Gov. and Kul'. add 'storehouses of grain;' Nâr. explains it by 'manufactories of ornaments and weapons and so forth.' It is, however, not impossible that the compound âkarakarmânta may mean 'for superintending mines and manufactories.' Âkara has very frequently that double meaning.

64. (Such) an ambassador is commended to a king (who is) loyal, honest, skilful, possessing a good memory, who knows the (proper) place and time (for action, who is) handsome, fearless, and eloquent.

65. The army depends on the official (placed in charge of it), the due control (of the subjects) on the army, the treasury and the (government of) the realm on the king, peace and its opposite (war) on the ambassador.

66. For the ambassador alone makes (kings') allies and separates allies; the ambassador transacts that business by which (kings) are disunited or not.

67. With respect to the affairs let the (ambassador) explore the expression of the countenance, the gestures and actions of the (foreign king) through the gestures and actions of his confidential (advisers), and (discover) his designs among his servants.

68. Having learnt exactly (from his ambassador) the designs of the foreign king, let (the king) take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself.

64. Anuraktaḥ, 'loyal' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'who is beloved among the people.'

66. Instead of bhidyante yena vâ na vâ, 'by which (kings) are disunited or not' (Kull., Râgh.), Medh., Nand., and K. read bhidyante yena mânavâḥ, and Gov. bhidyante yena bândhavâḥ, 'by which men or relatives are disunited.'

67. Nigûdheṅgitakeshaitaiḥ, 'through the gestures and actions of his confidential (advisers),' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. and Gov. 'by his own hidden gestures and actions,' or perhaps 'while suppressing all significant gestures and actions on his own part;' according to Nand. 'through men who hide their own gestures and actions.'

68. Medh., Gov., Nand., and Râgh. take the verse differently. 'Having learnt exactly the designs of the foreign king, (the ambassador) shall take such measures that he does not bring evil on himself (and his master).'

69. Let him settle in a country which is open and has a dry climate, where grain is abundant, which is chiefly (inhabited) by Âryans, not subject to epidemic diseases (or similar troubles), and pleasant, where the vassals are obedient and his own (people easily) find their livelihood.

70. Let him build (there) a town, making for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or a fortress built of (stone and) earth, or one protected by water or trees, or one (formed by an encampment of armed) men or a hill-fort.

71. Let him make every effort to secure a hill-fort, for amongst all those (fortresses mentioned) a hill-fort is distinguished by many superior qualities.

72. The first three of those (various kinds of fortresses) are inhabited by wild beasts, animals living in holes and aquatic animals, the last three by monkeys, men, and gods respectively.

73. As enemies do not hurt these (beings, when they are) sheltered by (their) fortresses, even so foes (can)not injure a king who has taken refuge in his fort.

74. One bowman, placed on a rampart, is a match in battle for one hundred (foes), one hundred for ten

69. Vi. III, 4-5; Yâgñ. I, 320. The full definition of *gângalāḥ*, 'which is open and has a dry climate,' is, according to a verse quoted by Gov., Râgh., and Kull., 'That country is called *gângalā*, which has little water and grass, where strong breezes prevail, the heat is great, where grain and the like are abundant.' Anâvila, 'not subject to epidemic diseases (or similar troubles),' (Kull. and Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'where the people are not quarrelsome;' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'free from defilement such as a mixture of the castes.'

70. Vi. III, 6.

thousand; hence it is prescribed (in the *Sâstras* that a king shall possess) a fortress.

75. Let that (fort) be well supplied with weapons, money, grain and beasts of burden, with *Brâhmaṇas*, with artisans, with engines, with fodder, and with water.

76. Let him cause to be built for himself, in the centre of it, a spacious palace, (well) protected, habitable in every season, resplendent (with white-wash), supplied with water and trees.

77. Inhabiting that, let him wed a consort of equal caste (*varṇa*), who possesses auspicious marks (on her body), and is born in a great family, who is charming and possesses beauty and excellent qualities.

78. Let him appoint a domestic priest (*purohita*) and choose officiating priests (*ṛitvigaḥ*); they shall perform his domestic rites and the (sacrifices) for which three fires are required.

79. A king shall offer various (*Srauta*) sacrifices at which liberal fees (are distributed), and in order

75. *Yantraiḥ*, 'with engines,' i. e. 'with catapults and so forth' (*kshepyâdibhiḥ*, *Nâr.*), or 'made of iron and so forth' (*Râgh.*).

76. *Âp.* II, 25, 2-3. *Sarvartukam*, 'habitable in every season' (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, and *Râgh.* 'supplied with the produce of every season.'

78. *Gaut.* XI, 12-18; *Vas.* XIX, 3-6; *Baudh.* I, 18, 7-8; *Vi.* III, 70; *Yâgñ.* I, 312-313. *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Râgh.*, and *K.* read, as the sense requires, *ṛitvigaḥ*, 'officiating priests,' while *Kull.* alone gives the singular.

79. *Âp.* II, 26, 1; *Vi.* III, 81, 84; *Yâgñ.* I, 314. 'Enjoyments,' i. e. 'garlands, perfumes, unguents, and so forth' (*Medh.*), or 'houses, couches, and so forth' (*Gov.*, *Râgh.*), or 'gold, clothes, &c.' (*Kull.*), or 'wives, houses, clothes, and so forth' (*Nâr.*), or 'cows and buffalos' (*Nand.*).

to acquire merit, he shall give to Brāhmanas enjoyments and wealth.

80. Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trusty (officials), let him obey the sacred law in (his transactions with) the people, and behave like a father towards all men.

81. For the various (branches of business) let him appoint intelligent supervisors; they shall inspect all (the acts) of those men who transact his business.

82. Let him honour those Brāhmanas who have returned from their teacher's house (after studying the Veda); for that (money which is given) to Brāhmanas is declared to be an imperishable treasure for kings.

83. Neither thieves nor foes can take it, nor can it be lost; hence an imperishable store must be deposited by kings with Brāhmanas.

84. The offering made through the mouth of a Brāhmaṇa, which is neither spilt, nor falls (on the ground), nor ever perishes, is far more excellent than Agnihotras.

85. A gift to one who is not a Brāhmaṇa (yields) the ordinary (reward; a gift) to one who calls himself a Brāhmaṇa, a double (reward); a gift to a well-

80. *Yāgñ.* I, 321. 'Let him obey the sacred law in (his transactions with his) people,' i. e. 'let him not take higher taxes and duties than the law permits.'

83. *Yāgñ.* I, 314.

84. *Vas.* XXX, 7; *Yāgñ.* I, 315. *Na vyathate*, 'nor falls (on the ground),' (*Gov.*, *Nâr.*), means according to *Kull.* 'nor is dried up.' *Medh.* reads *kyavate*, 'falls (on the ground),' and *Nâr.* prefers that reading. *Nand.* explains *na vyadhate* (sic) by 'is not spoilt by hairs or insects falling into it.' *Râgh.* takes it, like *Kṛishṇapandita* in his comm. on *Vas.* XXX, 7, in the sense of 'nor causes pain.'

85. *Gaut.* V, 20; *Vi.* XCIII, 1-4. *Samam phalam*, 'the ordinary

read Brāhmaṇa, a hundred-thousandfold (reward); (a gift) to one who knows the Veda and the Aṅgas (Vedapāraṅga, a reward) without end.

86. For according to the particular qualities of the recipient and according to the faith (of the giver) a small or a great reward will be obtained for a gift in the next world.

87. A king who, while he protects his people, is defied by (foes), be they equal in strength, or stronger, or weaker, must not shrink from battle, remembering the duty of Kshatriyas.

88. Not to turn back in battle, to protect the people, to honour the Brāhmaṇas, is the best means for a king to secure happiness.

89. Those kings who, seeking to slay each other in battle, fight with the utmost exertion and do not turn back, go to heaven.

90. When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood), nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire.

91. Let him not strike one who (in flight) has

reward,' i.e. 'just as much as the Veda promises for the object given' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Medh. takes samam in the sense of 'middling,' and Nār. explains it by 'a reward equal to the kindness shown.' Instead of prādhīte, 'to a well-read Brāhmaṇa,' Medh., Gov., Nār., and K. read ātārye, 'to the teacher,' and Nand. srotiye, 'to a Srotiya.' Moreover, Gov., K., and Nand. have sahasra-gunam or sahasraṃ . . . dānam, 'a thousandfold reward.'

87-89. Âp. II, 26, 2; Gaut. X, 16; Baudh. I, 18, 9; Vi. III, 43-45; Yâgñ. I, 322-323.

90. Baudh. I, 18, 10. Kâṭaiḥ, 'concealed (in wood),' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.), means according to Nand. 'treacherous.'

91-93. Âp. II, 10, 11; Gaut. X, 18; Baudh. I, 18, 11; Yâgñ. I, 325.

91. Sthalârûdham, 'one who (in flight) has climbed on an eminence' (Nār.), means according to Medh., Kull., and Rāgh. 'one

climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands (in supplication), nor one who (flees) with flying hair, nor one who sits down, nor one who says 'I am thine;'

92. Nor one who sleeps, nor one who has lost his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one who is disarmed, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another (foe);

93. Nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one afflicted (with sorrow), nor one who has been grievously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flight; (but in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors).

94. But the (Kshatriya) who is slain in battle, while he turns back in fear, takes upon himself all the sin of his master, whatever (it may be);

95. And whatever merit (a man) who is slain in flight may have gained for the next (world), all that his master takes.

96. Chariots and horses, elephants, parasols, money, grain, cattle, women, all sorts of (marketable) goods and valueless metals belong to him who takes them (singly) conquering (the possessor).

97. A text of the Veda (declares) that (the soldiers) shall present a choice portion (of the booty) to the king; what has not been taken singly, must be distributed by the king among all the soldiers.

who has alighted on the ground,' i. e. 'while the assailant stands on his chariot.'

92. Medh. mentions a var. lect. bhagnam, 'who is broken' (?), for nagnam, 'who is naked.'

94-95. Yâgñ. I, 324.

96-97. Gaut. X, 20-23. •

97. According to the commentators the Vedic text alluded to is Aitareya-brâhmaṇa III, 21.

98. Thus has been declared the blameless, primeval law for warriors ; from this law a Kshatriya must not depart, when he strikes his foes in battle.

99. Let him strive to gain what he has not yet gained ; what he has gained let him carefully preserve ; let him augment what he preserves, and what he has augmented let him bestow on worthy men.

100. Let him know that these are the four means for securing the aims of human (existence) ; let him, without ever tiring, properly employ them.

101. What he has not (yet) gained, let him seek (to gain) by (his) army ; what he has gained, let him protect by careful attention ; what he has protected, let him augment by (various modes of) increasing it ; and what he has augmented, let him liberally bestow (on worthy men).

102. Let him be ever ready to strike, his prowess constantly displayed, and his secrets constantly concealed, and let him constantly explore the weaknesses of his foe.

103. Of him who is always ready to strike, the whole world stands in awe ; let him therefore make all creatures subject to himself even by the employment of force.

104. Let him ever act without guile, and on no

99. *Yâgñ. I, 316 ; Vas. XVI, 6.*

101. Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. read at the end of the verse *pâtreshu nikshipet*, 'let him bestow on worthy recipients,' and this may have been Kull.'s reading too.

102. *Nityam udyatadandaḥ syât*, 'let him be always ready to strike' (Nâr., Nand.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Kull. 'let him keep his army always ready or exercised.'

104. I read with Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., and K., *susamvritaḥ*, 'carefully guarding himself.' Medh. reads *atandritaḥ*, 'untired.'

account treacherously; carefully guarding himself, let him always fathom the treachery which his foes employ.

105. His enemy must not know his weaknesses, but he must know the weaknesses of his enemy; as the tortoise (hides its limbs), even so let him secure the members (of his government against treachery), let him protect his own weak points.

106. Let him plan his undertakings (patiently meditating) like a heron; like a lion, let him put forth his strength; like a wolf, let him snatch (his prey); like a hare, let him double in retreat.

107. When he is thus engaged in conquest, let him subdue all the opponents whom he may find, by the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest.

108. If they cannot be stopped by the three first expedients, then let him, overcoming them by force alone, gradually bring them to subjection.

109. Among the four expedients, conciliation and the rest, the learned always recommend conciliation and (the employment of) force for the prosperity of kingdoms.

110. As the weeder plucks up the weeds and preserves the corn, even so let the king protect his kingdom and destroy his opponents.

111. That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom, (will), together with his relatives, ere long be deprived of his life and of his kingdom.

112. As the lives of living creatures are destroyed by tormenting their bodies, even so the lives of kings are destroyed by their oppressing their kingdoms.

106. The position of the second and fourth clauses is interchanged according to Medh., Gov., Nand.

113. In governing his kingdom let him always observe the (following) rules; for a king who governs his kingdom well, easily prospers.

114. Let him place a company of soldiers, commanded (by a trusty officer), in the midst of two, three, five or hundreds of villages, (to be) a protection of the kingdom.

115. Let him appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, lords of a hundred, and lords of a thousand.

116. The lord of one village himself shall inform the lord of ten villages of the crimes committed in his village, and the ruler of ten (shall make his report) to the ruler of twenty.

117. But the ruler of twenty shall report all such (matters) to the lord of a hundred, and the lord of a hundred shall himself give information to the lord of a thousand.

118. Those (articles) which the villagers ought to furnish daily to the king, such as food, drink, and fuel, the lord of one village shall obtain.

114. Kull. says, 'in the midst of two, three, or five hundred villages.' Nâr. remarks that the plural 'hundreds' is used in order to leave the number doubtful. It is, however, not impossible that here, as elsewhere in ancient Sanskrit, *satânâm* means 'a hundred.' Medh. explains *saṃgraha*, 'protection,' by 'an official,' or 'a royal granary.' Gov. states correctly that the pickets mentioned are the so-called *Sthânakas*, the *Thânâs* of modern India.

115-124. Âp. II, 26, 4-5; Vi. III, 7-15; Yâgyñ. I, 337.

116. The rule refers, as Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. remark, to offences with which the persons who report them, are unable to deal. Nâr. thinks that chiefly refusals to pay the revenue or disputes on such matters are meant.

118. The lord of one village is apparently the modern *Pâñil*, the *Pañakñla* or *Grâmakñla* of the inscriptions, and the articles to be furnished to him the so-called 'haks.' The other officials correspond

119. The ruler of ten (villages) shall enjoy one kula (as much land as suffices for one family), the ruler of twenty five kulas, the superintendent of a hundred villages (the revenues of) one village, the lord of a thousand (the revenues of) a town.

120. The affairs of these (officials), which are connected with (their) villages and their separate business, another minister of the king shall inspect, (who must be) loyal and never remiss;

121. And in each town let him appoint one superintendent of all affairs, elevated in rank, formidable, (resembling) a planet among the stars.

122. Let that (man) always personally visit by turns all those (other officials); let him properly explore their behaviour in their districts through spies (appointed to) each.

123. For the servants of the king, who are appointed to protect (the people), generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such (men).

124. Let the king confiscate the whole property of

to the modern Naib-sûbâs, Sûbâs, or Mahâlkarîs, Mâmlatdârs, and so forth, and to the Vishayapatis, Râshtrapatis, Râgasthâniyas, &c. of the inscriptions.

119. Kulam, '(as much land as suffices for one) family,' is really a technical term which Medh. explains by *ghanta*, a term known 'in some districts.' Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. state that it is the double of a 'middling plough,' i.e. as much as can be cultivated with twelve oxen, while Nand. interprets it by 'the share of one cultivator.'

120. Nâr. explains *prithakkâryâni*, 'separate affairs,' by 'quarrels among each other;' Nand. by 'the separate affairs of the villagers.' Snigdha, 'loyal' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'impartial.'

121. Graham, 'a planet' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'the planet Mars' (Medh.), or 'the sun' (Gov.), or 'the moon' (Nâr.).

those (officials) who, evil-minded, may take money from suitors, and banish them.

125. For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him fix a daily maintenance, in proportion to their position and to their work.

126. One *pana* must be given (daily) as wages to the lowest, six to the highest, likewise clothing every six months and one *drona* of grain every month.

127. Having well considered (the rates of) purchase and (of) sale, (the length of) the road, (the expense for) food and condiments, the charges of securing the goods, let the king make the traders pay duty.

128. After (due) consideration the king shall always fix in his realm the duties and taxes in such a manner that both he himself and the man who does the work receive (their due) reward.

129. As the leech, the calf, and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes.

130. A fiftieth part of (the increments on) cattle

126. 'One *pana*;' see below, VIII, 136. 'A *drona*,' i.e. 'four *âdhakas*' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.), or '512 *palas*' (Gov.); see below, VIII, 135. Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. state that the highest servants shall receive six times as much grain and clothes as the lowest, and they add that the middle-class servants, of course, receive three times as much as the lowest.

127. 'The food and condiments,' i.e. 'what is consumed by the people employed by the merchants.' According to Kull. and Nâr., *yoga* means 'the net profits,' and *kshema* 'the charges for securing the goods against robbers and so forth.' According to Medh., Gov., and Râgh., the whole compound denotes the latter charges alone.

130-132. Âp. II, 26, 9; Gaut. X, 24-27; Vas. XIX, 26-27; Baudh. I, 18, 1, 13, 15; Vi. III, 22-25, 29-30.

and gold may be taken by the king, and the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops.

131. He may also take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruit ;

132. Of leaves, pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone.

133. Though dying (with want), a king must not levy a tax on Srotriyas, and no Srotriya, residing in his kingdom, must perish from hunger.

134. The kingdom of that king, in whose dominions a Srotriya pines with hunger, will even, ere long, be afflicted by famine.

135. Having ascertained his learning in the Veda and (the purity of) his conduct, the king shall provide for him means of subsistence in accordance with the sacred law, and shall protect him in every way, as a father (protects) the lawful son of his body.

136. Whatever meritorious acts (such a Brâhmana) performs under the full protection of the king, thereby the king's length of life, wealth, and kingdom increase.

137. Let the king make the common inhabitants of his realm who live by traffic, pay annually some trifle, which is called a tax.

132. Medh. and Kull. add 'from the profits (made on the seventeen articles enumerated).'

133. Âp. II, 26, 10 ; 25, 11 ; Gaut. X, 9 ; Vas. XIX, 23 ; Vi. III, 26, 79.

135-136. Yâgñ. III, 44.

137. Prâthaggaṇam, 'the common inhabitants,' i.e. small dealers in vegetables, leaves, and so forth (Kull., Râgh.), or in cakes (Gov.).

138. Mechanics and artisans, as well as *Sûdras* who subsist by manual labour, he may cause to work (for himself) one (day) in each month.

139. Let him not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes), nor the root of other (men) by excessive greed; for by cutting up his own root (or theirs), he makes himself or them wretched.

140. Let the king, having carefully considered (each) affair, be both sharp and gentle; for a king who is both sharp and gentle is highly respected.

141. When he is tired with the inspection of the business of men, let him place on that seat (of justice) his chief minister, (who must be) acquainted with the law, wise, self-controlled, and descended from a (noble) family.

142. Having thus arranged all the affairs (of) his (government), he shall zealously and carefully protect his subjects.

143. That (monarch) whose subjects are carried off by robbers (*Dasyu*) from his kingdom, while they loudly call (for help), and he and his servants are (quietly) looking on, is a dead and not a living (king).

144. The highest duty of a *Kshatriya* is to protect his subjects, for the king who enjoys the rewards, just mentioned, is bound to (discharge that) duty.

145. Having risen in the last watch of the night, having performed (the rite of) personal purification,

138. Gaut. X, 31; Vas. XIX, 28; Vi. III, 32.

141. Vi. III, 73-74; *Yâgñ.* II, 1-3. Medh. reads *sântam*, 'of a tranquil disposition,' for *prâgñam*, 'wise.'

142-144. *Âp.* II, 10, 6; Gaut. X, 7-8; Vas. XIX, 1; Baudh. I, 18, 1; Vi. III, 1; *Yâgñ.* I, 334-335.

having, with a collected mind, offered oblations in the fire, and having worshipped Bráhmaṇas, he shall enter the hall of audience which must possess the marks (considered) auspicious (for a dwelling).

146. Tarrying there, he shall gratify all subjects (who come to see him by a kind reception) and afterwards dismiss them; having dismissed his subjects, he shall take counsel with his ministers.

147. Ascending the back of a hill or a terrace, (and) retiring (there) in a lonely place, or in a solitary forest, let him consult with them unobserved.

148. That king whose secret plans other people, (though) assembled (for the purpose), do not discover, (will) enjoy the whole earth, though he be poor in treasure.

149. At the time of consultation let him cause to be removed idiots, the dumb, the blind, and the deaf, animals, very aged men, women, barbarians, the sick, and those deficient in limbs.

150. (Such) despicable (persons), likewise animals, and particularly women betray secret council; for that reason he must be careful with respect to them.

151. At midday or at midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself alone or with his (ministers), on virtue, pleasure, and wealth,

152. On (reconciling) the attainment of these

147-148. Yâgñ. I, 343.

147. Niśalâke, 'solitary' (Nâr., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'free from grass and so forth.'

149. 'Animals,' i.e. 'parrots, starlings, and other talking birds' (Kull., Gov., Râgh., Nand.), 'for such creatures divulge secret plans' (Medh.).

(aims) which are opposed to each other, on bestowing his daughters in marriage, and on keeping his sons (from harm),

153. On sending ambassadors, on the completion of undertakings (already begun), on the behaviour of (the women in) his harem, and on the doings of his spies.

154. On the whole eightfold business and the five classes (of spies), on the goodwill or enmity and the conduct of the circle (of neighbours he must) carefully (reflect).

155. On the conduct of the middlemost (prince), on the doings of him who seeks conquest, on the behaviour of the neutral (king), and (on that) of the foe (let him) sedulously (meditate).

154. 'The eightfold business' consists according to Medh. either of 'conciliation, division, employment of force, gifts,' or 'of agriculture, trade, building bridges and embankments, building fortresses or repairing them, catching elephants, digging mines, settling desert districts, cutting down forests,' or 'of collecting revenue, expenditure, dismissing bad servants, prohibiting bad conduct on the part of the castes and orders, deciding difficult points in one's own affairs, deciding legal cases, punishing, and imposing penances.' The second explanation, which is said to belong to Antaka (Yama), is adopted by Nand.; the third, which is taken from the *Nītisāstra* of Uśanas, by Gov., Kull., Nār., and Rāgh. 'The five classes (of spies),' i. e. 'kārpaṣika, a pilgrim or a rogue, an ascetic who has violated his vows, a distressed agriculturist, a decayed merchant, and a fictitious devotee' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. and Nand. explain *pañṭavarga* by 'the collection of the five (requisites for an undertaking).' Regarding 'the circle,' see the following verses.

155-159. Vi. III, 38; *Yāgñ.* I, 344.

155. 'The middlemost prince' is he whose territory lies between that of the king seeking conquest and that of his foe, and who, though unable to resist both, may become dangerous to them when they are at war with each other; see *Kāmandaki*, *Nītisāra* VIII, 18, which passage the commentators quote. 'The foe' may be of three

156. These (four) constituents (*prakṛiti*, form), briefly (speaking), the foundation of the circle (of neighbours); besides, eight others are enumerated (in the Institutes of Polity) and (thus) the (total) is declared to be twelve.

157. The minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the treasury, and the army are five other (constituent elements of the circle); for, these are mentioned in connexion with each (of the first twelve; thus the whole circle consists), briefly (speaking, of) seventy-two (constituent parts).

158. Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour and the partisan of (such a) foe, as friendly the immediate neighbour of his foe, and as neutral (the king) beyond those two.

159. Let him overcome all of them by means of the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest, (employed) either singly or conjointly, (or) by bravery and policy (alone).

160. Let him constantly think of the six measures of royal policy (*guṇa*, viz.) alliance, war, marching, halting, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

161. Having carefully considered the business (in hand), let him resort to sitting quiet or marching,

kinds, 'natural,' 'artificial' (i. e. one who has a particular reason for his enmity), and 'an immediate neighbour' (see below, verse 158).

156. 'The eight other constituents' are according to Kāmandaki VIII, 16-17, (a) in front beyond the foe's territory, 1. a friend, 2. the foe's friend, 3. the friend's friend, 4. the foe's friend's friend; (b) in the rear, 1. he who attacks in the rear (*pārshnigrāha*), 2. he who restrains the latter (*ākṛanda*), 3, 4. the supporters of these two. All the commentators except Medh. quote Kāmandaki more or less correctly. Kāmandaki VIII, 24 states that this doctrine, with respect to the constituent parts of the system of states which requires the attention of each king, is peculiar to the Mānavas.

160-161. Vi. III, 39; Yāgñ. I, 345-346.

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alliance or war, dividing his forces or seeking protection (as the case may require).

162. But the king must know that there are two kinds of alliances and of wars, (likewise two) of both marching and sitting quiet, and two (occasions for) seeking protection.

163. An alliance which yields present and future advantages, one must know to be of two descriptions, (viz.) that when one marches together (with an ally) and the contrary (when the allies act separately).

164. War is declared to be of two kinds, (viz.) that which is undertaken in season or out of season, by oneself and for one's own purposes, and (that waged to avenge) an injury done to a friend.

165. Marching (to attack) is said to be twofold, (viz. that undertaken) by one alone when an urgent matter has suddenly arisen, and (that undertaken) by one allied with a friend.

163. Medh. proposes besides the explanation given above another, 'An alliance one must know to be of two kinds, (viz.) that where (the allies) share the danger and the fruits of the expedition and the contrary' (yânaphalasahitau *gakkhâvaḥ* samânaphalabhâgitayâ na ka tvayâham uttambhanîyo yatnato lipsite tatas tava bhâgo bhavishyati). Nâr. thinks that the adjective tadâtvyâtisamyuktaḥ, too, refers to two different cases, and means 'which yields either immediate or future advantages.' Nand. adopts the latter view as well as Medh.'s second explanation of the first part of the verse.

164. Regarding the expression 'in season,' see below, verse 182. Medh. takes 'out of season' with the second clause, 'and (that waged) out of season (in order to avenge) an injury done to a friend.' He also mentions a var. lect. mitrenâpakrîte (which Gov. has adopted), with the following explanation, 'and that waged out of season when the enemy has been weakened by an ally.' Gov. agrees with this latter view except that he takes akâle with the first clause. The other commentators give the explanation adopted in the translation.

166. Sitting quiet is stated to be of two kinds, (viz. that incumbent) on one who has gradually been weakened by fate or in consequence of former acts, and (that) in favour of a friend.

167. If the army stops (in one place) and its master (in another) in order to effect some purpose, that is called by those acquainted with the virtues of the measures of royal policy, the twofold division of the forces.

168. Seeking refuge is declared to be of two kinds, (first) for the purpose of attaining an advantage when one is harassed by enemies, (secondly) in order to become known among the virtuous (as the protégé of a powerful king).

169. When (the king) knows (that) at some future time his superiority (is) certain, and (that) at the time present (he will suffer) little injury, then let him have recourse to peaceful measures.

170. But when he thinks all his subjects to be

166. *Pûrvakṛiteṇa*, 'in consequence of former acts,' i.e. 'in consequence of acts committed in a former existence, or in consequence of former imprudence' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Nand. and Râgh. give only the second explanation; Nâr. says 'by an enemy whom he formerly made.'

167. The text really mentions only one method of 'division.' Hence Medh. thinks that, in order to obtain the two kinds required, it must be understood that the measure may be resorted to either for one's own sake or for the sake of somebody else. Nâr. makes the two methods out by supposing that in the one case the army stops in front of the enemy under the command of a general, while the king marches with a portion of his forces, and that in the other case the contrary takes place. Gov., after giving the explanation adopted in the translation, quotes Kâmandaki, Nitisâra XI, 24, where a different meaning, 'duplicity,' is attributed to the term *dvaidhîbhâva*. Nand.'s whole explanation consists of this quotation.

170. I read with all the commentators and K., *prahrîshâ* instead of *prakṛîshâ* (editions).

exceedingly contented, and (that he) himself (is) most exalted (in power), then let him make war.

171. When he knows his own army to be cheerful in disposition and strong, and (that) of his enemy the reverse, then let him march against his foe.

172. But if he is very weak in chariots and beasts of burden and in troops, then let him carefully sit quiet, gradually conciliating his foes.

173. When the king knows the enemy to be stronger in every respect, then let him divide his army and thus achieve his purpose.

174. But when he is very easily assailable by the forces of the enemy, then let him quickly seek refuge with a righteous, powerful king.

175. That (prince) who will coerce both his (disloyal) subjects and the army of the foe, let him ever serve with every effort like a Guru.

176. When, even in that (condition), he sees (that) evil is caused by (such) protection, let him without hesitation have recourse to war.

177. By all (the four) expedients a politic prince must arrange (matters so) that neither friends, nor neutrals, nor foes are superior to himself.

178. Let him fully consider the future and the immediate results of all undertakings, and the good and bad sides of all past (actions).

179. He who knows the good and the evil (which will result from his acts) in the future, is quick in forming resolutions for the present, and understands the consequences of past (actions), will not be conquered.

176. I read with Gov. and K. *sa yuddham* instead of *suyuddham* (Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), 'let him fight bravely.'

180. Let him arrange everything in such a manner that no ally, no neutral or foe may injure him; that is the sum of political wisdom.

181. But if the king undertakes an expedition against a hostile kingdom, then let him gradually advance, in the following manner, against his foe's capital.

182. Let the king undertake his march in the fine month *Mārgaśīrsha*, or towards the months of *Phālguna* and *Kāitra*, according to the (condition of his) army.

183. Even at other times, when he has a certain prospect of victory, or when a disaster has befallen his foe, he may advance to attack him.

184. But having duly arranged (all affairs) in his original (kingdom) and what relates to the expedition, having secured a basis (for his operations) and having duly dispatched his spies;

185. Having cleared the three kinds of roads, and (having made) his sixfold army (efficient), let him leisurely proceed in the manner prescribed for warfare against the enemy's capital.

182. Vi. III, 40; *Yāgñ.* I, 347. 'Fine,' i. e. 'when fodder and grain are abundant and the roads dry' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). *Mārgaśīrsha*, i. e. November–December; *Phālguna*, i. e. February–March; *Kāitra*, i. e. March–April.

184. 'Having secured a basis (for his operations),' i. e. 'having won over the servants of his foe who may be at enmity with their master' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'having established a camp in the country which he intends to attack' (Nār.).

185. 'The three kinds of roads,' i. e. 'through the open country, through marshy ground or such as is cut by watercourses, and through forests' (*gāṅgalānūpāṇavika*), (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh., Nand.). Nār. gives the same explanation, but adds that the proper interpretation is 'through villages, forests, and hills.' 'The sixfold army,' i. e. consisting of 'elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, the

186. Let him be very much on his guard against a friend who secretly serves the enemy and against (deserters) who return (from the enemy's camp); for such (men are) the most dangerous foes.

187. Let him march on his road, arraying (his troops) like a staff (i.e. in an oblong), or like a waggon (i.e. in a wedge), or like a boar (i.e. in a rhombus), or like a Makara (i.e. in two triangles, with the apices joined), or like a pin (i.e. in a long line), or like a Garuḍa (i.e. in a rhomboid with far-extended wings).

188. From whatever (side) he apprehends danger, in that (direction) let him extend his troops, and let him always himself encamp in an array, shaped like a lotus.

189. Let him allot to the commander-in-chief, to the (subordinate) general, (and to the superior officers) places in all directions, and let him turn his front in that direction whence he fears danger.

general, and workmen' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. adds that some name as the fifth component 'the treasury,' and that others explain the term by 'the sixfold division, mentioned by Kâmandi,' Nītisâra XVI, 6. The latter view is adopted by Nand. Nâr. enumerates besides elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry, the riders on elephants and sâstropānâyakas (?).

187. The details regarding the various ways of arranging the troops are found in the Kâmandaki, Nītisâra XIX.

188. My translation of the last clause follows Gov., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. says that the king shall leave the town with his army in the lotus-array, and Kull. speaks of a 'feigned encampment' (kapaṭanivesanaṁ kuryât). The lotus-array is stated to be 'equally extended on all sides and perfectly circular, the centre being occupied by the king.'

189. Medh. remarks that, as the subordinate general and the commander-in-chief are only two persons, they cannot possibly be stationed 'in all directions,' as the text prescribes, and that hence their servants (i.e. the superior officers) must also be intended.

190. On all sides let him place troops of soldiers, on whom he can rely, with whom signals have been arranged, who are expert both in sustaining a charge and in charging, fearless and loyal.

191. Let him make a small number of soldiers fight in close order, at his pleasure let him extend a large number in loose ranks; or let him make them fight, arranging (a small number) in the needle-array, (and a large number) in the thunderbolt-array.

192. On even ground let him fight with chariots and horses, in water-bound places with boats and elephants, on (ground) covered with trees and shrubs with bows, on hilly ground with swords, targets, (and other) weapons.

193. (Men born in) Kurukshetra, Matsyas, Pañ-
~~āl~~ālas, and those born in Sūrasena, let him cause to fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light.

194. After arranging his troops, he should encourage them (by an address) and carefully inspect them; he should also mark the behaviour (of the soldiers) when they engage the enemy.

195. When he has shut up his foe (in a town), let him sit encamped, harass his kingdom, and continually spoil his grass, food, fuel, and water.

190. Nār. explains *gulgman*, 'troops of soldiers,' by *gulgma*-*rasthān*, '(soldiers) standing in thickets' (?).

192. *Sthale*, 'on hilly ground' (*nimnonnate*, *Rāgh.*), means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Kull.* 'on ground free from stones, trees, creepers, thorns, pits, and the like.'

193. *Kurukshetra*, i. e. the neighbourhood of Delhi; *Matsyas*, i. e. the inhabitants of *Bairāṭa* or *Vairāṭa*, north of *Jepur* (*Bhogapure*, *Medh.*); *Pañālās*, i. e. the inhabitants of *Kānyakubga* (*Kanog*); *Sūrasenas*, i. e. the inhabitants of the country near *Mathurā* (*Ahiṭātra*, *Gov.*).

196. Likewise let him destroy the tanks, ramparts, and ditches, and let him assail the (foe unawares) and alarm him at night.

197. Let him instigate to rebellion those who are open to such instigations, let him be informed of his (foe's) doings, and, when fate is propitious, let him fight without fear, trying to conquer.

198. He should (however) try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by (well-applied) gifts, and by creating dissension, used either separately or conjointly, never by fighting, (if it can be avoided.)

199. For when two (princes) fight, victory and defeat in the battle are, as experience teaches, uncertain; let him therefore avoid an engagement.

200. (But) if even those three before-mentioned expedients fail, then let him, duly exerting himself, fight in such a manner that he may completely conquer his enemies.

201. When he has gained victory, let him duly worship the gods and honour righteous Brâhmanas, let him grant exemptions, and let him cause promises of safety to be proclaimed.

201-205. Vi. III, 47-49; Yâgñ. I, 342, 348-351.

201. 'The gods,' i.e. of the conquered country. Parihârân, 'exemptions,' i.e. 'from taxes and dues for a year or two' (Medh., Nand.), means according to Gov. 'gifts to Srotriyas and others' (srotriyâdigatâvasyadâneshu mayaitad anugñâtam ity evam); according to Kull. 'gifts to gods and Brâhmanas;' according to Nâr. 'Agrahâras or villages presented to Brâhmanas;' according to Râgh. 'gifts of clothes and ornaments to the inhabitants.' The term parihâra occurs very frequently in the inscriptions (see e.g. Arch. Reports of Western India, vol. iv, p. 104 seq.), and means, as the details adduced there show, 'exemption from taxes and payments as well as other immunities.' These parihâras were regularly attached to all grants to Brâhmanas or temples. In our passage a general temporary remission of the taxes is probably intended.

202. But having fully ascertained the wishes of all the (conquered), let him place there a relative of the (vanquished ruler on the throne), and let him impose his conditions.

203. Let him make authoritative the lawful (customs) of the (inhabitants), just as they are stated (to be), and let him honour the (new king) and his chief servants with precious gifts.

204. The seizure of desirable property which causes displeasure, and its distribution which causes pleasure, are both recommendable, (if they are) resorted to at the proper time.

205. All undertakings (in) this (world) depend both on the ordering of fate and on human exertion ; but among these two (the ways of) fate are unfathomable ; in the case of man's work action is possible.

206. Or (the king, bent on conquest), considering a friend, gold, and land (to be) the triple result (of an expedition), may, using diligent care, make peace with (his foe) and return (to his realm).

207. Having paid due attention to any king in the circle (of neighbouring states) who might attack him in the rear, and to his supporter who opposes

205. *Yâgñ. I, 348.* 'Action,' i. e. 'careful investigation,' hence one should strive to attain one's ends by exertion (Gov., Kull.), or 'remedial action' (*pratikriyâ*, *Nâr.*), or 'an effort' (*purushakâra*, *Râgh.*). Nand. takes the last clause differently, 'if there is a human effort, the action of fate takes place' (*mânushe purushakâre sati daivasya kriyâ vidyate*).

206. According to Gov., Kull., and *Nâr.* the meaning is that, if the foe is willing to make an alliance, to pay tribute, and to cede some territory, the king, bent on conquest, may also make peace with him without actually fighting and return home. In the MSS. of Medh. this and the next verses down to verse 211 are wanting, and the commentary on verse 211 is partly given.

207. The meaning of the verse is according to Gov., Kull., and

the latter, let (the conqueror) secure the fruit of the expedition from (the prince whom he attacks), whether (he may have become) friendly or (remained) hostile.

208. By gaining gold and land a king grows not so much in strength as by obtaining a firm friend, (who), though weak, (may become) powerful in the future.

209. A weak friend (even) is greatly commended, who is righteous (and) grateful, whose people are contented, who is attached and persevering in his undertakings.

210. The wise declare him (to be) a most dangerous foe, who is wise, of noble race, brave, clever, liberal, grateful, and firm.

211. Behaviour worthy of an Âryan, knowledge of men, bravery, a compassionate disposition, and great liberality are the virtues of a neutral (who may be courted).

212. Let the king, without hesitation, quit for his own sake even a country (which is) salubrious, fertile, and causing an increase of cattle.

Râgh. that the king, bent on conquest, shall secure his back before he undertakes an expedition. The prince immediately in his rear, who in the terms of the Nîti is called the *pârshnigrâha*, 'the heel-catcher,' may be supposed to be hostile to him and may be expected to invade his territory during his absence. It is, therefore, essential for the conqueror either to settle matters with him beforehand, or to secure the support of the next neighbour of the *pârshnigrâha*, who is technically called the *âkranda* and may be supposed to be inclined to check the *pârshnigrâha*.

208. *Yâgñ.* I, 351.

211. *Sthaulalakshyam*, 'great liberality' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.), is explained, as Kull. asserts, by Medh. and Gov. 'being not sharp-sighted.' The Government copy of Gov. has, however, just the contrary, *sûkshmadarsitvam*. Medh.'s explanation is not decipherable.

213. For times of need let him preserve his wealth; at the expense of his wealth let him preserve his wife; let him at all events preserve himself even by (giving up) his wife and his wealth.

214. A wise (king), seeing that all kinds of misfortunes violently assail him at the same time, should try all (the four) expedients, be it together or separately, (in order to save himself.)

215. On the person who employs the expedients, on the business to be accomplished, and on all the expedients collectively, on these three let him ponder and strive to accomplish his ends.

216. Having thus consulted with his ministers on all these (matters), having taken exercise, and having bathed afterwards, the king may enter the harem at midday in order to dine.

217. There he may eat food, (which has been prepared) by faithful, incorruptible (servants) who know the (proper) time (for dining), which has been well examined (and hallowed) by sacred texts that destroy poison.

218. Let him mix all his food with medicines (that are) antidotes against poison, and let him always be careful to wear gems which destroy poison.

215. 'The person who employs the expedients,' i.e. 'himself' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.); 'his minister or the like' (Nand.). Âsritya, 'let him ponder on' (manasâ balâbalâdîdvârâ nîskitya, Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., Kull. 'let him depend on.'

217-220. Vi. III, 85, 87-88; Yâgñ. I, 326.

218. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read negayet, and Râgh. so-dhayet, 'let him purify,' instead of yogayet (Kull., K.), 'let him mix.' Nâr. explains niyataḥ (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.) or prayataḥ, 'careful' (yatnavân, Gov., Kull., Râgh.), by 'being pure.'

219. Well-trying females whose toilet and ornaments have been examined, shall attentively serve him with fans, water, and perfumes.

220. In like manner let him be careful about his carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and all his ornaments.

221. When he has dined, he may divert himself with his wives in the harem; but when he has diverted himself, he must, in due time, again think of the affairs of state.

222. Adorned (with his robes of state), let him again inspect his fighting men, all his chariots and beasts of burden, the weapons and accoutrements.

223. Having performed his twilight-devotions, let him, well armed, hear in an inner apartment the doings of those who make secret reports and of his spies.

224. But going to another secret apartment and dismissing those people, he may enter the harem, surrounded by female (servants), in order to dine again.

225. Having eaten there something for the second time, and having been recreated by the sound of music, let him go to rest and rise at the proper time free from fatigue.

226. A king who is in good health must observe these rules; but, if he is indisposed, he may entrust all this (business) to his servants.

223. Yâgñ. I, 329. 'Of those who make secret reports,' i. e. 'of the ministers and the rest' (Nâr.), or 'of citizens who may have come' (Medh.).

225. Yâgñ. I, 330. 'Something,' i. e. 'not too much.'

CHAPTER VIII.

1. A king, desirous of investigating law cases, must enter his court of justice, preserving a dignified demeanour, together with Brâhmaṇas and with experienced councillors.

2. There, either seated or standing, raising his right arm, without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the business of suitors,

3. Daily (deciding) one after another (all cases) which fall under the eighteen titles (of the law) according to principles drawn from local usages and from the Institutes of the sacred law.

4. Of those (titles) the first is the non-payment of debts, (then follow), (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, and (5) resumption of gifts,

5. (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants,

6. (10) Disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault and (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery,

VIII. 1. Vi. III, 72; Yâgñ. I, 359; II, 1; Gaut. XIII, 26; Vas. XVI, 2.

2. 'Standing,' i.e. 'in important cases' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). 'Raising his right arm,' i.e. 'keeping it uncovered' (Nâr., Nand., Râgh., Gov.). Regarding the meaning of the action, see above, IV, 58.

3. Gaut. XI, 19-24; Vas. XVI, 4-5. 'Local usages,' i.e. 'the law of custom which is not opposed to the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

4. 'Non-payment of debts' (*rinasya adânam*, Nâr., Nand.) may also be translated 'recovery of debts' (*rinasya âdânam*).

7. (16) Duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), (18) gambling and betting; these are in this world the eighteen topics which give rise to lawsuits.

8. Depending on the eternal law, let him decide the suits of men who mostly contend on the titles just mentioned.

9. But if the king does not personally investigate the suits, then let him appoint a learned Brāhmaṇa to try them.

10. That (man) shall enter that most excellent court, accompanied by three assessors, and fully consider (all) causes (brought) before the (king), either sitting down or standing.

11. Where three Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas and the learned (judge) appointed by the king sit down, they call that the court of (four-faced) Brahman.

12. But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by that dart of injustice).

13. Either the court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing or speaks falsely, becomes sinful.

7. Vyavahârasthitau, 'which give rise to lawsuits' (Gov.), means according to Nâr. 'in deciding lawsuits.'

8. The word 'mostly' is intended to show that there are other titles besides, as Nârada declared (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Nand. omits this verse.

9. Vi. III, 73; Yâgyñ. II, 3; Gaut. XIII, 26; Vas. XVI, 2.

10. Medh. says 'by (at least) three assessors.'

13. 'Must not be entered,' i.e. 'for the purpose of deciding causes' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). But the further details show that the verse is intended as a general maxim, applicable to witnesses also.

14. Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed.

15. 'Justice, being violated, destroys; justice, being preserved, preserves: therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice destroy us.'

16. For divine justice (is said to be) a bull (*vrisha*); that (man) who violates it (*kurute 'lam*) the gods consider to be (a man despicable like) a *Sûdra* (*vrishala*); let him, therefore, beware of violating justice.

17. The only friend who follows men even after death is justice; for everything else is lost at the same time when the body (perishes).

18. One quarter of (the guilt of) an unjust (decision) falls on him who committed (the crime), one quarter on the (false) witness, one quarter on all the judges, one quarter on the king.

19. But where he who is worthy of condemnation is condemned, the king is free from guilt, and the judges are saved (from sin); the guilt falls on the perpetrator (of the crime alone).

20. A *Brâhmana* who subsists only by the name of his caste (*gâti*), or one who merely calls himself a *Brâhmana* (though his origin be uncertain), may, at the king's pleasure, interpret the law to him, but never a *Sûdra*.

15. This admonition must be addressed by the assessors to a judge who acts against the law (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. reads *vañ*, 'you,' instead of *nañ*, 'us.'

18. Gaut. XIII, 11; Baudh. I, 19, 8. *Sabhâsadañ*, 'the judges,' means according to Gov. 'all those in court who look on.' The judge and his assessors are, however, the persons really intended.

20. 'One who subsists only by the name of his caste,' i.e. 'a man of *Brâhmana* descent, who neither studies nor performs any other

21. The kingdom of that monarch, who looks on while a Sûdra settles the law, will sink (low), like a cow in a morass.

22. That kingdom where Sûdras are very numerous, which is infested by atheists and destitute of twice-born (inhabitants), soon entirely perishes, afflicted by famine and disease.

23. Having occupied the seat of justice, having covered his body, and having worshipped the guardian deities of the world, let him, with a collected mind, begin the trial of causes.

24. Knowing what is expedient or inexpedient, what is pure justice or injustice, let him examine the causes of suitors according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

act required by the sacred law' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'one who has not been initiated' (Nâr.). *Brâhmaṇabruvâḥ*, 'one who merely calls himself a Brâhmaṇa (though his origin be doubtful,' Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'an initiated Brâhmaṇa who does not study the Veda.' Medh. and Gov. take the two terms as referring to one person only, 'Even a despicable Brâhmaṇa, who subsists merely by the name of his race,' i. e. neither studies the Veda, nor performs the rites, &c. The commentators point out that, as the employment of a Sûdra is emphatically forbidden, Kshatriyas and Vairyas may be employed in cases of necessity.

22. *Sûdrabhûyishāṁ*, 'where Sûdras are very numerous' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'where Sûdras mostly decide the law-cases,' according to Nand. 'where Sûdras are mostly employed in high offices.' Nâr. adds that each of the blemishes enumerated is sufficient to cause destruction.

24. Medh. and Râgh. give another optional explanation of the participial clause, 'Understanding that pure justice secures advantages and mere injustice disadvantages.' According to Kull. it means 'Knowing what is expedient and what inexpedient, but paying attention to justice and injustice alone.' Nâr. and Nand. give still more unacceptable interpretations. Gov., who considers the explanation adopted above the only correct one, explains 'what is expedient' by 'what will please the people,' and 'what is inex-

25. By external signs let him discover the internal disposition of men, by their voice, their colour, their motions, their aspect, their eyes, and their gestures.

26. The internal (working of the) mind is perceived through the aspect, the motions, the gait, the gestures, the speech, and the changes in the eye and of the face.

27. The king shall protect the inherited (and other) property of a minor, until he has returned (from his teacher's house) or until he has passed his minority.

28. In like manner care must be taken of barren women, of those who have no sons, of those whose family is extinct, of wives and widows faithful to their lords, and of women afflicted with diseases.

pedient' by 'what will make them angry;' Kull. and Râgh. by 'what will protect the people' and 'what will destroy them.'

25-26. Yâgyñ. II, 15.

25. Gov. omits *svara*, 'voice,' and writes *mukha*, 'by the colour of the face.' *Îṅgita*, 'motions,' i. e. 'trembling, horripilation, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'looking down, &c.' (Kull.), or 'unintentionally moving the arms, &c.' (Nâr.). *Âkâra*, 'aspect,' i. e. 'pallor, &c.' (Gov.), or 'sweating, horripilation, &c.' (Kull., Nâr.). Medh. and Râgh. take *âkâra* to mean 'the manner' of the voice, &c., not as a separate class of signs. *Keshîta*, 'gestures,' i. e. 'moving, wringing the hands, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'intentional movements' (Nâr.).

27-29. Gaut. X, 48; Vas. XVI, 8; Vi. III, 65.

27. 'The minority ends with the sixteenth year' (Kull., Nâr.); see Nârada III, 37. The second term is intended to provide for the case of those who finish their Veda-study before the sixteenth year (Medh., Kull.), or of *Sûdras* (Medh.).

28. 'Those whose family is extinct,' i. e. 'maidens in that condition' (Gov.), or 'those who have quitted their families and become harlots' (Medh. 'others'). 'Wives faithful to their lords,' i. e. 'those whose husbands are absent' (Gov., Râgh.). The conditions

29. A righteous king must punish like thieves those relatives who appropriate the property of such females during their lifetime.

30. Property, the owner of which has disappeared, the king shall cause to be kept as a deposit during three years; within the period of three years the owner may claim it, after (that term) the king may take it.

31. He who says, 'This belongs to me,' must be examined according to the rule; if he accurately describes the shape, and the number (of the articles found) and so forth, (he is) the owner, (and) ought (to receive) that property.

32. But if he does not really know the time and the place (where it was) lost, its colour, shape, and size, he is worthy of a fine equal (in value) to the (object claimed).

33. Now the king, remembering the duty of good men, may take one-sixth part of property lost and afterwards found, or one-tenth, or at least one-twelfth.

of the king's protection are in every case that the relatives are either dead or unable to provide for the females or try to oppress them.

30-34. Âp. II, 28, 7-9; Gaut. X, 36-38; Vas. XVI, 20; Yâgñ. II, 33.

30. 'Property the owner of which has disappeared' means according to the commentators, 'property, found by the royal servants (in a forest or elsewhere, Medh.), the owner of which is not known.' Such property shall be proclaimed by beat of drum (Gov., Kull.). 'Others,' quoted by Medh., think that after three years the king may use it as his own, but has still to restore it, if the owner appears. Nand. points out that the rule does not refer to Brâhmanical property (see Gaut. loc. cit.).

33. The amount to be taken by the king depends according to Medh. on the length of time for which it has been kept (so also

34. Property lost and afterwards found (by the king's servants) shall remain in the keeping of (special) officials; those whom the king may convict of stealing it, he shall cause to be slain by an elephant.

35. From that man who shall truly say with respect to treasure-trove, 'This belongs to me,' the king may take one-sixth or one-twelfth part.

36. But he who falsely says (so), shall be fined in one-eighth of his property, or, a calculation of (the value of) the treasure having been made, in some smaller portion (of that).

37. When a learned Brâhmaṇa has found treasure, deposited in former (times), he may take even the whole (of it); for he is master of everything.

38. When the king finds treasure of old concealed in the ground, let him give one half to Brâhmaṇas and place the (other) half in his treasury.

39. The king obtains one half of ancient hoards and metals (found) in the ground, by reason of

Râgh.), or on the trouble which it gave (so also Gov.) and the king's compassion; according to Kull. and Nâr., on the virtues of the owner. Medh. places this verse after verse 34.

35-39. Gaut. X, 43-45; Vas. III, 13-14; Vi. III, 56-64; Yâgñ. II, 34-35.

35. 'Treasure-trove,' i.e. 'valuables secretly buried in the ground' (Medh.). The amount to be taken depends on the 'virtues' of the finder (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or on his caste (Nâr.), or on the place and time, the caste, &c. (Gov.).

36. The amount of the fine depends on the circumstances of the case or the 'virtues' of the offender (Medh.), or on the 'virtues' of the offender alone (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

37. Medh., Gov., Nâr. take, as Kull. points out, most improperly *pûrvopanīhitam*, 'deposited in former times,' to mean 'deposited by his ancestors.' The parallel passages of Vishṇu and others are perfectly clear on the point.

39. I take the last clause, which might also be translated '(and)

(his giving) protection, (and) because he is the lord of the soil.

40. Property stolen by thieves must be restored by the king to (men of) all castes (*varṇa*); a king who uses such (property) for himself incurs the guilt of a thief.

41. (A king) who knows the sacred law, must inquire into the laws of castes (*gâti*), of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each.

42. For men who follow their particular occupations and abide by their particular duty, become dear to people, though they may live at a distance.

43. Neither the king nor any servant of his shall

because he is the lord of the earth,' as a distinct recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king. Medh. says, 'he is the lord of the soil (*bhûmi*); it is just that a share should be given to him of that which is found in the soil belonging to him (*tadiyâyâ bhuvo yallabdham*).'

40. Âp. II, 26, 8; Gaut. X, 46-47; Vi. III, 66-67; Yâgñ. II, 36. I.e. 'if he recovers it' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). Medh. reads *kaurîhrîtam*, and mentions another reading, *kaurahrîtam*, which Râgh. has, and thinks that it may mean that the king must make good stolen property which is not recovered.

41. Âp. II, 15, 1; Gaut. XI, 20; Vas. XIX, 7; Baudh. I, 2, 1-8; Vi. III, 3; Yâgñ. I, 360. *Gâti*, 'castes,' i.e. 'Brâhmanas and so forth' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). *Gânâpada*, 'the laws of districts, e.g. of the Kuru, Kâsi or Kâsmîra countries' (Medh.), or 'of certain districts' (*dera*, Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'of the inhabitants of one and the same village' (Nâr.). Medh. gives also other explanations of the compound *gâtigânâpadân*, 'of local castes' or 'natives of different countries.' *Srenî*, 'guilds,' i.e. 'of merchants, &c.' (Medh. Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or 'of merchants and husbandmen, &c.' (Gov.), or 'of merchants and actors, &c.' (Nand.). Râgh. reads *paripâlayet*, 'and protect the peculiar law of each.' It must, of course, be understood that the customs are not opposed to the sacred law (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

43. Gaut. XIII, 27. '(Some) other (man),' i.e. 'the plaintiff'

themselves cause a lawsuit to be begun, or hush up one that has been brought (before them) by (some) other (man).

44. As a hunter traces the lair of a (wounded) deer by the drops of blood, even so the king shall discover on which side the right lies, by inferences (from the facts).

45. When engaged in judicial proceedings he must pay full attention to the truth, to the object (of the dispute), (and) to himself, next to the witnesses, to the place, to the time, and to the aspect.

46. What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born men as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not

(Medh.), or 'the plaintiff or the defendant' (Kull.), or 'any suitor.' 'Others' explain the second half of the verse according to Medh., as follows, 'and let him not appropriate money brought to him in any other manner than for the suit.'

44. Thus Kull. and Râgh. But Medh. and Gov. take the verse a little differently, 'As the hunter tracks the steps of (a wounded) deer,' &c.

45. 'The truth,' i. e. 'removing all fraud' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'what portion (of this suit) is based on truth' (Nâr., Nand.). Artham, 'the object of the dispute,' i. e. 'if it be not too insignificant, in which case the plaint must not be accepted' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Nâr. explains artha by 'the money realised by a fine and the like,' Nand. by 'the aim.' 'Himself,' i. e. 'that he will obtain heaven by a just decision' (Kull., Râgh.). 'The place and the time,' i. e. 'what is befitting the place and the time' (Kull.), or 'the place, e. g. Banâras, and the time (e. g. of a famine) where and when the offence has been committed, and which may make the case lighter or heavier' (Medh., Râgh.), or 'the customs of the country and what is befitting the time' (Nâr.), or 'the place where the offence was committed and the age of the offender' (Gov.). Rûpam, 'the aspect,' i. e. 'the nature of the object' (Medh., Nand.), or 'the nature of the case' (Kull.), or 'the looks of the parties' (Medh. 'others,' Gov., Nâr., Râgh.).

46. Thus Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and Nand. But Medh. takes the verse differently, 'What has been practised by the virtuous and by

opposed to the (customs of) countries, families, and castes (*gâti*).

47. When a creditor sues (before the king) for the recovery of money from a debtor, let him make the debtor pay the sum which the creditor proves (to be due).

48. By whatever means a creditor may be able to obtain possession of his property, even by those means may he force the debtor and make him pay.

49. By moral suasion, by suit of law, by artful management, or by the customary proceeding, a creditor may recover property lent; and fifthly, by force.

50. A creditor who himself recovers his property from his debtor, must not be blamed by the king for retaking what is his own.

51. But him who denies a debt which is proved by good evidence, he shall order to pay that debt

twice-born men . . . that he shall establish as law for countries, families, and castes, if it is not opposed (to texts of the *Sruti* and *Smṛiti*).’ Gov. reads *anurûpam*, ‘conform with,’ instead of *avirud-dham*, ‘not opposed,’ and seems to agree with Medh. He says, ‘And thus let him punish in lawsuits the litigant who acts in a contrary manner; and as here the phrase “what is practised by the virtuous” is used, this (rule) must refer to good conduct.’ But the rule, given in verse 41, must refer to laws other than ‘(those relating to) good conduct.’

49. *Vyavahâreṇa*, ‘by suit of law’ (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or ‘by threatening a lawsuit’ (Nand.), or ‘by forced labour’ (Medh.), or ‘by a forcible sale of property’ (Râgh.). *Âkârita*, ‘the customary proceeding,’ i. e. ‘by killing one’s wife, children, and cattle, and sitting at the debtor’s door.’ *Bṛihaspati*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., or ‘by fasting’ (Gov.), or ‘by the creditor’s starving himself to death’ (Nâr.). This custom corresponds to the so-called *prâyopavesana*, or *Dharma*, and to the *Traga* of the bards.

50. Vi. VI, 19; *Yâgyñ.* II, 40.

51. ‘In this case self-help must not be used’ (Medh.). Regarding the amount of the fine, see below, verse 139.

to the creditor and a small fine according to his circumstances.

52. On the denial (of a debt) by a debtor who has been required in court to pay it, the complainant must call (a witness) who was present (when the loan was made), or adduce other evidence.

53. (The plaintiff) who calls a witness not present at the transaction, who retracts his statements, or does not perceive that his statements (are) confused or contradictory ;

54. Or who having stated what he means to prove afterwards varies (his case), or who being questioned on a fact duly stated by himself does not abide by it ;

55. Or who converses with the witnesses in a place improper for such conversation ; or who declines to answer a question, properly put, or leaves (the court) ;

56. Or who, being ordered to speak, does not answer, or does not prove what he has alleged ; or who does not know what is the first (point), and what the second, fails in his suit.

57. Him also who says 'I have witnesses,' and,

52. Instead of *desyam*, '(a witness) who was present (when the loan was made,' K., Râgh., Kull.), Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read *desam*, '(must point out) the place.'

53-56. Yâgñ. II, 16.

53. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read *apadesam*, 'a wrong or impossible place,' instead of *adesyam*, 'a witness not present.' Kull. reads according to the editions, '*adesyam*,' but his explanation agrees with the other reading.

54. *Pravîhitam*, 'duly stated (by himself),' (Kull., Nand.), i. e. 'in the plaint' (Gov.), means according to Râgh. and Nâr. 'duly ascertained.'

56. 'Who does not know what is the first (point) and what is the second,' i. e. 'what is the proof and what the matter to be proved' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'what ought to be said first and what later' (Nâr., Nand.).

being ordered to produce them, produces them not, the judge must on these (same) grounds declare to be non-suited.

58. If a plaintiff does not speak, he may be punished corporally or fined according to the law; if (a defendant) does not plead within three fortnights, he has lost his cause.

59. In the double of that sum which (a defendant) falsely denies or on which (the plaintiff) falsely declares, shall those two (men) offending against justice be fined by the king.

60. (A defendant) who, being brought (into court) by the creditor, (and) being questioned, denies (the debt), shall be convicted (of his falsehood) by at least three witnesses (who must depose) in the presence of the Brāhmaṇa (appointed by) the king.

61. I will fully declare what kind of men may be made witnesses in suits by creditors, and in what manner those (witnesses) must give true (evidence).

62. Householders, men with male issue, and indigenous (inhabitants of the country, be they) Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, or Sūdras, are competent, when called by a suitor, to give evidence, not any persons whatever (their condition may be) except in cases of urgency.

58. 'If a plaintiff does not speak,' i.e. 'after bringing a suit' (Kull.). Corporal punishment is for heavy cases (Kull.).

59. Yâgñ. II, 59.

60. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., but the last words may also mean 'in the presence of the king and of the Brāhmaṇas.'

61-72. Âp. II, 29, 7; Gaut. XIII, 1-4; Vas. XVI, 28-30; Baudh. I, 19, 13; Vi. VIII, 7-9; Yâgñ. II, 68-72.

62. Medh. and Nâr. refer the expression 'not any person whatever (their condition may be),' to such as volunteer to give evidence without being summoned. The 'cases of urgency' are those mentioned below, verse 69.

63. Trustworthy men of all the (four) castes (*varṇa*) may be made witnesses in lawsuits, (men) who know (their) whole duty, and are free from covetousness; but let him reject those (of an) opposite (character).

64. Those must not be made (witnesses) who have an interest in the suit, nor familiar (friends), companions, and enemies (of the parties), nor (men) formerly convicted (of perjury), nor (persons) suffering under (severe) illness, nor (those) tainted (by mortal sin).

✓ 65. The king cannot be made a witness, nor mechanics and actors, nor a *Srotriya*, nor a student of the *Veda*, nor (an ascetic) who has given up (all) connexion (with the world),

66. Nor one wholly dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor a *Dasyu*, nor one who follows forbidden

64. 'Who have an interest in the suit' (*Nâr.*) means according to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, and *Râgh.* 'connected by money, i. e. creditors or debtors of the parties,' or according to *Nand.* 'men who have received benefits from one of the parties.' *Sahâya*, 'companions,' i. e. 'sureties and the like' (*Medh.*), or 'servants' (*Kull.*, *Nâr.*). *Drîṣhadosha*, 'men formerly convicted (of perjury),' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, *Nand.*), may according to *Medh.* also mean 'men who have been convicted (of any serious offence).' Men afflicted with serious illnesses must not be made witnesses, because such men are liable to become angry or to forget and thus to give false evidence (*Medh.*). *Dûṣhita*, 'tainted,' i. e. by mortal crimes or numerous smaller offences (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* and *Nand.* *Abhirastas*, 'those accused of such crimes.'

65. *Kuṣṭhava*, 'actors' (*Nâr.*), or 'dancers, musicians, and singers' (*Medh.*), or 'actors and so forth' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), or 'singers' (*Nand.*). A *Srotriya*, or *Brâhmaṇa* learned in the *Vedas*, cannot be made a witness, because he has to attend to his studies and to the *Agnihotra* (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, *Gov.*, *Nand.*). The same remark applies to the last two classes. *Lîṅgastha*, 'a student,' includes according to *Nâr.*, *Gov.*, *Nand.*, *Medh.* also 'ascetics.'

66. 'One wholly dependent,' i. e. 'a slave by birth' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*,

occupations, nor an aged (man), nor an infant, nor one (man alone), nor a man of the lowest castes, nor one deficient in organs of sense,

67. Nor one extremely grieved, nor one intoxicated, nor a madman, nor one tormented by hunger or thirst, nor one oppressed by fatigue, nor one tormented by desire, nor a wrathful man, nor a thief.

68. Women should give evidence for women, and for twice-born men twice-born men (of the) same (kind), virtuous Sûdras for Sûdras, and men of the lowest castes for the lowest.

69. But any person whatsoever, who has personal knowledge (of an act committed) in the interior apartments (of a house), or in a forest, or of (a crime causing) loss of life, may give evidence between the parties.

70. On failure (of qualified witnesses, evidence)

Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Vaktavya, 'one of bad fame,' may according to Medh. also mean 'one afflicted with leprosy or some other bad disease.' Dasyu, i. e. 'a servant for wages' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.), or 'a hard-hearted man' (Medh.), or 'an angry man' (Kull.), or 'a murderer' (Râgh.), or 'a low-caste man' (Nand.). The term denotes, however, properly the aboriginal robber-tribes, and probably includes all those resembling them. 'One who follows forbidden occupations,' i. e. 'a Brâhmaṇa who has become a warrior or a trader and the like' (Medh.), or 'a butcher and the like' (Nâr.).

68. Vas. XVI, 30. 'Women should give evidence for women only in cases between women or in matters concerning the female sex, which they alone may be supposed to know' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). 'Twice-born men of the same kind,' i. e. 'of the same caste' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.), or 'of the same caste and equally virtuous' (Gov.), or 'of the same place,' or 'of the same caste, occupations, &c.' (Medh.).

69. 'Of (a crime causing) loss of life,' i. e. 'of robberies, murders, and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

70. The rule refers to the cases mentioned in verse 69 (Gov., Kull.), or to the last only (Nâr.).

may be given (in such cases) by a woman, by an infant, by an aged man, by a pupil, by a relative, by a slave, or by a hired servant.

71. But the (judge) should consider the evidence of infants, aged and diseased men, who (are apt to) speak untruly, as untrustworthy, likewise that of men with disordered minds.

72. In all cases of violence, of theft and adultery, of defamation and assault, he must not examine the (competence of) witnesses (too strictly).

73. On a conflict of the witnesses the king shall accept (as true) the (evidence of the) majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born.

74. Evidence in accordance with what has actually been seen or heard, is admissible; a witness who speaks truth in those (cases), neither loses spiritual merit nor wealth.

75. A witness who deposes in an assembly of honourable men (Ārya) anything else but what he has seen or heard, falls after death headlong into hell and loses heaven.

73. Vi. VIII, 39; Yāgñ. II, 78, 80. 'The best of the twice-born,' i.e. 'Brāhmaṇas' (Gov., Nār.), or 'particularly distinguished Brāhmaṇas, who fulfil their sacred duties' (Kull., Rāgh.).

74-75. Āp. II, 29, 9-10; Gaut. XIII, 7; Baudh. I, 19, 14-15; Vas. XVI, 36; Vi. VIII, 13-14.

74. 'Nor wealth,' i.e. 'he will not be fined.'

75. 'In an assembly of honourable men,' i.e. in court (Medh.), or 'in an assembly of Brāhmaṇas' (Gov.). 'And loses heaven,' i.e. which he may have earned by good works (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'even after passing through hell, he cannot get into heaven, because his merit is extinct' (Nār.).

76. When a man (originally) not appointed to be a witness sees or hears anything and is (afterwards) examined regarding it, he must declare it (exactly) as he saw or heard it.

77. One man who is free from covetousness may be (accepted as) witness; but not even many pure women, because the understanding of females is apt to waver, nor even many other men, who are tainted with sin.

78. What witnesses declare quite naturally, that must be received on trials; (depositions) differing from that, which they make improperly, are worthless for (the purposes of) justice.

79. The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:

80. 'What ye know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this (cause).

81. 'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence, gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman (himself).

76. '(Originally) not appointed (to be a witness),' i.e. 'not entered as a witness in the document' (Medh.), 'but accidentally present at the transaction' (Kull., Nâr., Nand.).

78. 'Quite naturally,' i.e. 'not out of compassion, in the belief of gaining merit, or depending on women' (Medh.), or 'not out of fear and the like' (Kull.), or 'without hesitation, quickly' (Nâr.). Gov. and Nand. explain it 'in accordance with the truth.'

79. Gaut. XIII, 5.

80-101. Âp. II, 29, 9-10; Gaut. XIII, 14-22; Vas. XVI, 32-34; Bauddh. I, 19, 9-12; Vi. VIII, 19-37; Yâgñ. II, 73-75.

82. 'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuṇa's fetters, helpless during one hundred existences; let (men therefore) give true evidence.

83. 'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of all castes (*varṇa*).

84. 'The Soul itself is the witness of the Soul, and the Soul is the refuge of the Soul; despise not thy own Soul, the supreme witness of men.

85. 'The wicked, indeed, say in their hearts, "Nobody sees us;" but the gods distinctly see them and the male within their own breasts.

86. 'The sky, the earth, the waters, (the male in) the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporeal beings.'

87. The (judge), being purified, shall ask in the forenoon the twice-born (witnesses) who (also have been) purified, (and stand) facing the north or the east, to give true evidence in the presence of (images of) the gods and of Brāhmaṇas.

88. Let him examine a Brāhmaṇa (beginning with) 'Speak,' a Kshatriya (beginning with) 'Speak the truth,' a Vaisya (admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, and gold, a Sūdra (threatening

82. 'Varuṇa's fetters,' i. e. 'terrible snake-bonds or dropsy' (Medh., Kull.). Gov. mentions the snake-bonds alone, and Rāgh. says that the verse threatens the punishment of hell. Dropsy is a disease specially attributed to Varuṇa, see Rig-veda VII, 89, 1, and the story of Sunaśsepha, Ait. Brāhm. VII, 15. The fetters of Varuṇa are mentioned as the punishment of liars, Atharva-veda IV, 16, 6.

86. '(The male in) the heart,' i. e. 'the male or spirit (*puruṣa*) who resides in the human heart, clothed with a rudimentary body' (Medh.), and similarly the other commentators.

88. '(Admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, or gold,' i. e. 'threatening him with the guilt of all offences committed against

him) with (the guilt of) every crime that causes loss of caste;

89. (Saying), 'Whatever places (of torment) are assigned (by the sages) to the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, to the murderer of women and children, to him who betrays a friend, and to an ungrateful man, those shall be thy (portion), if thou speakest falsely.

90. '(The reward) of all meritorious deeds which thou, good man, hast done since thy birth, shall become the share of the dogs, if in thy speech thou departest from the truth.

91. 'If thou thinkest, O friend of virtue, with respect to thyself, "I am alone," (know that) that sage who witnesses all virtuous acts and all crimes, ever resides in thy heart.

92. 'If thou art not at variance with that divine Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who dwells in thy heart, thou needest neither visit the Ganges nor the (land of the) Kurus.

93. 'Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence, go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

94. 'Headlong, in utter darkness shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who being interrogated in a judicial inquiry answers one question falsely.

95. 'That man who in a court (of justice) gives an untrue account of a transaction (or asserts a fact) of which he was not an eye-witness, resembles a blind man who swallows fish with the bones.

96. 'The gods are acquainted with no better man

kine, &c.' (Medh.), or 'with the guilt of the theft of kine, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'with the loss of his kine, &c.' (Nâr.), or 'by making him touch a cow, &c.' (Nand.).

in this world than him, of whom his conscious Soul has no distrust, when he gives evidence.

97. 'Learn now, O friend, from an enumeration in due order, how many relatives he destroys who gives false evidence in several particular cases.

98. 'He kills five by false testimony regarding (small) cattle, he kills ten by false testimony regarding kine, he kills a hundred by false evidence concerning horses, and a thousand by false evidence concerning men.

99. 'By speaking falsely in a cause regarding gold, he kills the born and the unborn; by false evidence concerning land, he kills everything; beware, therefore, of false evidence concerning land.

100. 'They declare (false evidence) concerning water, concerning the carnal enjoyment of women, and concerning all gems, produced in water, or consisting of stones (to be) equally (wicked) as a lie concerning land.

101. 'Marking well all the evils (which are pro-

97. Hanti, 'destroys or kills,' i. e. 'causes to fall into hell' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or 'causes to fall from heaven and to be reborn in the wombs of animals' (Râgh.). Medh. and Kull. (verse 99) give another explanation of this expression, viz. 'incurs a guilt as great as if he had killed them.'

98. 'Men,' i. e. 'slaves.'

99. 'Everything,' i. e. 'everything animated' (Gov., Kull.), or 'even more than a thousand' (Nâr., Râgh.).

100. 'Water,' i. e. 'wells, tanks, &c.' 'Gems produced in water,' i. e. 'pearls, coral, &c.'

Verse 99 is placed by Nand. before verse 100, and some others are inserted between and after them, but the confusion is probably owing merely to clerical errors, as no commentary is given.

101. Añgasâ, 'openly,' means according to Gov. and Kull. 'truly,' according to Nâr. 'quickly.'

duced) by perjury, declare thou openly everything as (thou hast) heard or seen (it).'

102. Brâhmaṇas who tend cattle, who trade, who are mechanics, actors (or singers), menial servants or usurers, the (judge) shall treat like Sûdras.

103. In (some) cases a man who, though knowing (the facts to be) different, gives such (false evidence) from a pious motive, does not lose heaven; such (evidence) they call the speech of the gods.

104. Whenever the death of a Sûdra, of a Vaisya, of a Kshatriya, or of a Brâhmaṇa would be (caused) by a declaration of the truth, a falsehood may be spoken; for such (falsehood) is preferable to the truth.

105. Such (witnesses) must offer to Sarasvatî oblations of boiled rice (*karu*) which are sacred to the goddess of speech, (thus) performing the best penance in order to expiate the guilt of that falsehood.

106. Or such (a witness) may offer according to the rule clarified butter in the fire, reciting the Kûshmânda texts, or the *Rik*, sacred to Varuna, 'Untie, O Varuna, the uppermost fetter,' or the three verses addressed to the Waters.

107. A man who, without being ill, does not give evidence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become respon-

102. Vas. III, 1.

103-104. Gaut. XIII, 24-25; Vas. XVI, 36; Vi. VIII, 15; Yâgñ. II, 83.

103. Nand. omits this verse.

105-106. Baudh. I, 19, 16; Vi. VIII, 16; Yâgñ. II, 83.

106. The Kûshmânda texts are found Taitt. Âr. X, 3-5; the verse addressed to Varuna, Rig-veda I, 24, 15; and the three verses addressed to the Waters, Rig-veda X, 9, 1-3.

107. Yâgñ. II, 76.

sible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king).

108. The witness to whom, within seven days after he has given evidence, happens (a misfortune through) sickness, a fire, or the death of a relative, shall be made to pay the debt and a fine.

109. If two (parties) dispute about matters for which no witnesses are available, and the (judge) is unable to really ascertain the truth, he may cause it to be discovered even by an oath.

110. Both by the great sages and the gods oaths have been taken for the purpose of (deciding doubtful) matters; and Vasishtha even swore an oath before king (Sudâs), the son of Pigavana.

111. Let no wise man swear an oath falsely, even in a trifling matter; for he who swears an oath falsely is lost in this (world) and after death.

112. No crime, causing loss of caste, is committed by swearing (falsely) to women, the objects of one's desire, at marriages, for the sake of fodder for a cow, or of fuel, and in (order to show) favour to a Brâhmana.

108. Yâgñ. II, 113.

109. Gaut. XIII, 12-13; Vi. IX, 2-9. According to Medh. sapatha, 'oath,' is used for the whole daiva anumâna, 'divine proof,' and thus includes the ordeals.

110. Medh. and Gov. point out that the seven sages purified themselves by oaths when they mutually accused each other of a theft of lotus-fibres (Mah. XIII, 93, 13 seqq.), and that Indra swore an oath when he was accused of an intrigue with Ahalyâ, the wife of Gautama. Vasishtha finally cleared himself of the accusation which Visvâmitra brought against him before king Sudâs, that he was a Râkshasa and had devoured his hundred sons (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). See Sâyana on Rig-veda VII, 104, and especially on verse 15, which is considered to contain the oath sworn.

112. Gaut. XXIII, 29; Vas. XVI, 35. 'Fuel,' i.e. 'for a burnt-

113. Let the (judge) cause a Brâhmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain, and gold, and a Sûdra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences (pâtaka).

114. Or the (judge) may cause the (party) to carry fire or to dive under water, or severally to touch the heads of his wives and children.

115. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come (quickly) up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on (the strength of) his oath.

116. For formerly when Vatsa was accused by his younger brother, the fire, the spy of the world, burned not even a hair (of his) by reason of his veracity.

117. Whenever false evidence has been given in any suit, let the (judge) reverse the judgment, and whatever has been done must be (considered as) undone.

oblation' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). In the last cases the sacredness of the purpose excuses the crime.

113. The Kshatriya and Vaisya must touch the things mentioned, and say, 'May they become useless to me!' (Medh., Gov., Kull.)

114. This verse refers, as the commentators assert, to the two ordeals described by Vi. XI-XII, and Yâgñ. II, 103-109. Medh., Gov., and Kull. assert that ordeals are to be used in particularly important cases only; see also Vi. IX, 10-14.

116. Maitreya, the step-brother of Vatsa, accused the latter of being the offspring of a Sûdra woman. In order to prove the falseness of this allegation, Vatsa passed through a fire (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). I read *sparah* instead of *sprisah*.

117. Vi. VIII, 40. 'Fines imposed must be remitted' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

118. Evidence (given) from covetousness, distraction, terror, friendship, lust, wrath, ignorance, and childishness is declared (to be) invalid.

119. I will propound in (due) order the particular punishments for him who gives false evidence from any one of these motives.

120. (He who commits perjury) through covetousness shall be fined one thousand (*panas*), (he who does it) through distraction, in the lowest amercement; (if a man does it) through fear, two middling amercements shall be paid as a fine, (if he does it) through friendship, four times the amount of the lowest (amercement).

121. (He who does it) through lust, (shall pay) ten times the lowest amercement, but (he who does it) through wrath, three times the next (or second amercement); (he who does it) through ignorance, two full hundreds, but (he who does it) through childishness, one hundred (*panas*).

122. They declare that the wise have prescribed these fines for perjury, in order to prevent a failure of justice, and in order to restrain injustice.

123. But a just king shall fine and banish (men of) the three (lower) castes (*varna*) who have given false evidence, but a Brâhmana he shall (only) banish.

124. Manu, the son of the Self-existent (*Svayambhu*), has named ten places on which punishment

119-123. Yâgñ. II, 81.

120. Regarding the three amercements, see below, verse 138.

123. Vivâsayet, 'he shall (only) banish' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. 'he shall deprive him of his clothes or of his house.' Gov. gives Medh.'s first explanation only.

124. Âp. II, 27; 8, 17-19; Gaut. XII, 46-47; Vi. V, 2-8.

may be (made to fall) in the cases of the three (lower) castes (*varṇa*); but a Brāhmaṇa shall depart unhurt (from the country).

125. (These are) the organ, the belly, the tongue, the two hands, and fifthly the two feet, the eye, the nose, the two ears, likewise the (whole) body.

126. Let the (king), having fully ascertained the motive, the time and place (of the offence), and having considered the ability (of the criminal to suffer) and the (nature of the) crime, cause punishment to fall on those who deserve it.

127. Unjust punishment destroys reputation among men, and fame (after death), and causes even in the next world the loss of heaven; let him, therefore, beware of (inflicting) it.

128. A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, and punishes not those who deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and (after death) sinks into hell.

129. Let him punish first by (gentle) admonition, afterwards by (harsh) reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement.

130. But when he cannot restrain such (offenders) even by corporal punishment, then let him apply to them even all the four (modes conjointly).

131. Those technical names of (certain quantities of) copper, silver, and gold, which are generally used

126. Gaut. XII, 51; Yâgñ. I, 367. Anubandham, 'the motive,' includes according to Gov. and Kull. also 'the frequency of the offence.' Nâr. gives the latter meaning alone. Nand. reads aparâdham, 'the offence.' Instead of sârâparâdhau Nand. reads sârâsâram, 'the strength or weakness (of the offender).'

127-128. Yâgñ. I, 356; Vi. XIX, 43.

129-130. Yâgñ. I, 366.

131-138. Vi. IV, 1-14; Yâgñ. I, 361-365.

on earth for the purpose of business transactions among men, I will fully declare.

132. The very small mote which is seen when the sun shines through a lattice, they declare (to be) the least of (all) quantities and (to be called) a *trasareṇu* (a floating particle of dust).

133. Know (that) eight *trasareṇus* (are equal) in bulk (to) a *likshâ* (the egg of a louse), three of those to one grain of black mustard (*râgasarshapa*), and three of the latter to a white mustard-seed.

134. Six grains of white mustard are one middle-sized barley-corn, and three barley-corns one *kṛishṇala* (*raktikâ*, or *guṇḍa*-berry); five *kṛishṇalas* are one *mâsha* (bean), and sixteen of those one *suvarṇa*.

135. Four *suvarṇas* are one *pala*, and ten *palas* one *dharana*; two *kṛishṇalas* (of silver), weighed together, must be considered one *mâshaka* of silver.

136. Sixteen of those make a silver *dharana*, or *purâna*; but know (that) a *karsha* of copper is a *kârshâpana*, or *pana*.

137. Know (that) ten *dharanas* of silver make one *satamâna*; four *suvarṇas* must be considered (equal) in weight to a *nishka*.

138. Two hundred and fifty *panas* are declared (to be) the first (or lowest) *amercement*, five (hundred) are considered as the mean (or middlemost), but one thousand as the highest.

139. A debt being admitted as due, (the defendant)

134. The *kṛishṇala* or *raktikâ* (*ratti*) is still used by jewellers and goldsmiths. It corresponds to 0.122 grammes, or 1.875 grains.

136. A *karsha* = 16 *mâshas* = 80 *kṛishṇalas*.

139. Vi. VI, 20-21; Yâgy. II, 42. According to Nâr. 'some' only have this verse.

shall pay five in the hundred (as a fine), if it be denied (and proved) twice as much; that is the teaching of Manu.

140. A money-lender may stipulate as an increase of his capital, for the interest, allowed by *Vasishtha*, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred.

141. Or, remembering the duty of good men, he may take two in the hundred (by the month), for he who takes two in the hundred becomes not a sinner for gain.

142. Just two in the hundred, three, four, and five (and not more), he may take as monthly interest according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

143. But if a beneficial pledge (i.e. one from which profit accrues, has been given), he shall receive no interest on the loan; nor can he, after keeping (such) a pledge for a very long time, give or sell it.

140. Gaut. XII, 29; *Yâgñ.* II, 37. The rule occurs in our *Vāsishtha* *Dharmasāstra* II, 51. The amount is fifteen per cent per annum. According to Kull. (on verse 141), *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and *Nand.* this rule refers to a debt secured by a pledge, and the correctness of this view is proved by the parallel passage of *Yâgñ.*

141-142. Vas. II, 48; Vi. VI, 2; *Yâgñ.* II, 37. This rule refers, according to the same commentators, to unsecured loans. A *Brâhmana* is to pay two per cent per month, a *Kshatriya* three, a *Vaisya* four, and a *Sûdra* five. *Med.* and *Gov.* think that the rule refers to cases where the creditor is unable to live on the smaller interest.

143. Gaut. XII, 32; Vi. VI, 5. 'A beneficial pledge,' i.e. 'land, cattle, slaves, &c.' According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Nâr.*, the last clause refers to pledges which are not used. But Kull. objects that this is contrary to the common practice of the *Sishṭas*, and *Râgh.* refers to *Yâgñ.* II, 58, where it is clearly stated that beneficial pledges only are never lost, while those which are merely kept are lost when the original debt is doubled by unpaid interest.

144. A pledge (to be kept only) must not be used by force, (the creditor), so using it, shall give up his (whole) interest, or, (if it has been spoilt by use) he shall satisfy the (owner) by (paying its) original price; else he commits a theft of the pledge.

145. Neither a pledge nor a deposit can be lost by lapse of time; they are both recoverable, though they have remained long (with the bailee).

146. Things used with friendly assent, a cow, a camel, a riding-horse, and (a beast) made over for breaking in, are never lost (to the owner).

147. (But in general) whatever (chattel) an owner sees enjoyed by others during ten years, while, though present, he says nothing, that (chattel) he shall not recover.

148. If (the owner is) neither an idiot nor a minor and if (his chattel) is enjoyed (by another) before his eyes, it is lost to him by law; the adverse possessor shall retain that property.

149. A pledge, a boundary, the property of infants, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of the king and the wealth of a Srotريا are not lost in consequence of (adverse) enjoyment.

144. Vi. VI, 5; Yâgñ. II, 59. According to Medh. clothes, &c., are meant; according to Kull. and Râgh. clothes, ornaments, &c.; according to Nâr. beds and so forth. Nâr. thinks that the expression 'the value' refers to the profit made by the use of the pledge.

145. Vi. VI, 7-8; Yâgñ. II, 58. According to Medh. the pledge spoken of here is 'a pledge for keeping which is forcibly used.' Upanidhi, 'a deposit,' means according to Medh., Gov., Kull. (who however refers the term also to deposits), Râgh., and Nand. 'anything lent to another out of friendship;' according to Nâr. 'an additional pledge, given subsequently, in order to complete the security for the loan.'

147-148. Gaut. XII, 37; Vas. XVI, 16-17; Yâgñ. II, 24.

149. Vas. XVI, 18; Gaut. XII, 38-39; Yâgñ. II, 25. 'Women,'

150. The fool who uses a pledge without the permission of the owner, shall remit half of his interest, as a compensation for (such) use.

151. In money transactions interest paid at one time (not by instalments) shall never exceed the double (of the principal); on grain, fruit, wool or hair, (and) beasts of burden it must not be more than five times (the original amount).

152. Stipulated interest beyond the legal rate, being against (the law), cannot be recovered; they call that a usurious way (of lending); (the lender) is (in no case) entitled to (more than) five in the hundred.

153. Let him not take interest beyond the year, nor such as is unapproved, nor compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, and corporal interest.

i. e. 'female slaves and the like.' Râgh. adds that their offspring is not lost to the owner. Upanidhi, 'a sealed deposit' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh.).

150. According to the commentators this is the consequence, resulting from the secret unpermitted use of a pledge in ordinary cases, while the loss of the whole interest ensues in the case of a forcible use in contravention of a special prohibition.

151. Gaut. XII, 31, 36; Vi. VI, 11-15; Yâgñ. II, 39. The interest here intended is such which is not paid by instalments, but becomes due together with the principal. According to the commentators, the whole sum payable, i. e. the interest together with the principal, shall not exceed the double of the sum lent, or, in the special cases mentioned, five times that amount.

152. According to Gov. and Nâr. this verse entitles the money-lender to take five per cent from Âryans, not from Sûdras only.

153. Gaut. XII, 30, 34-35. 'A creditor may take for the term of a year interest which has been settled by the following agreement, "When one, two, or three months have passed, the interest on the (capital) shall be calculated and be paid to me at one time;" but he shall not take the interest according to the agreement after

154. He who, unable to pay a debt (at the fixed time), wishes to make a new contract, may renew the agreement, after paying the interest which is due.

155. If he cannot pay the money (due as interest), he may insert it in the renewed (agreement); he must pay as much interest as may be due.

156. He who has made a contract to carry goods by a wheeled carriage for money and has agreed to a certain place or time, shall not reap that reward, if he does not keep to the place and the time (stipulated).

a year has passed' (Kull., Râgh.). According to Gov. this clause means, 'If (the creditor) does not take the money (due) for two or three years and (the debtor) pays then, (the creditor) shall not take more interest than for one year.' Nâr. says, 'atisâmvasarim ("beyond the year") means that (interest) which after the lapse of one year only is redundant,' i. e. 'exceeds that which has been doubled' (see verse 151). Adrîshâm, 'unapproved,' i. e. 'in the law-books' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'in the law-books and in daily life' (Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov. anupañitâm, 'which has not accumulated,' i. e. 'which is taken for one, two, or three days.' Nâr. agrees with the latter view. Kâlavṛiddhiḥ, 'periodical interest,' i. e. 'monthly interest' (Gov., Nâr.), or 'interest in contravention of verse 151' (Kull., Râgh.). Kârîtâ, 'stipulated interest,' i. e. 'an illegal rate of interest, or interest which runs on after the principal has been doubled, agreed to by the debtor on account of distress' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.). Kâyikâ, 'corporal interest,' i. e. 'to be paid by bodily labour or by the use of the body of a pledged animal or slave' (Medh.). Kull., Râgh., and Nand. give the second explanation. According to 'some,' quoted by Medh. and Nâr., the last four kinds of interest are not forbidden. Medh. and Gov. think all or some of them are permissible for merchants. See also for the explanation of the terms, Gaut. XII, 34-35, notes; and Colebrooke I, Digest 35-45.

154. Karaṇa, 'the agreement,' i. e. 'the written bond' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'the written bond and so forth' (Gov., Nâr.). According to the latter two, with whom Medh. seems to agree, karaṇa may also refer to a verbal agreement before witnesses.

155. 'Pay,' i. e. promise to pay in the new agreement.

156. Thus Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. But Nâr. and Nand.

157. Whatever rate men fix, who are expert in sea-voyages and able to calculate (the profit) according to the place, the time, and the objects (carried), that (has legal force) in such cases with respect to the payment (to be made).

158. The man who becomes a surety in this (world) for the appearance of a (debtor), and produces him not, shall pay the debt out of his own property.

159. But money due by a surety, or idly promised, or lost at play, or due for spirituous liquor, or what remains unpaid of a fine and a tax or duty, the son (of the party owing it) shall not be obliged to pay.

160. This just mentioned rule shall apply to the case of a surety for appearance (only); if a surety for payment should die, the (judge) may compel even his heirs to discharge the debt.

161. On what account then is it that after the death of a surety other than for payment, whose

explain *kakravṛiddhi*, 'a contract to carry goods by a wheeled carriage,' by 'compound interest;' and Medh. on verse 157 mentions this opinion too.

157. The expression 'in sea-voyages' includes voyages by land (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or all voyages (Nâr.). The commentators, who explain the preceding verse as referring to compound interest, explain this to mean that merchants trading by sea must pay any rate of interest for money borrowed which experts may fix (see *Yâgñ.* II, 38). The others, of course, understand by 'the rate' (*vṛiddhi*) the carrier's or shipowner's wages.

158-160. Gaut. XII, 42; Vi. VI, 41; *Yâgñ.* II, 47, 53-54.

159. 'Idly promised,' i.e. 'to clowns and so forth' (Kull.), or 'to bards and the like' (Nâr.), or 'not for a religious purpose, but to singers and the like' (Nand.), or 'in jest, to bards and the like' (Râgh.), or 'a pour-boire and the like' (Gov.).

161. 'Whose affairs are fully known,' i.e. 'the cause for which

affairs are fully known, the creditor may (in some cases) afterwards demand the debt (of the heirs)?

162. If the surety had received money (from him for whom he stood bail) and had money enough (to pay), then (the heir of him) who received it, shall pay (the debt) out of his property; that is the settled rule.

163. A contract made by a person intoxicated, or insane, or grievously disordered (by disease and so forth), or wholly dependent, by an infant or very aged man, or by an unauthorised (party) is invalid.

164. That agreement which has been made contrary to the law or to the settled usage (of the virtuous), can have no legal force, though it be established (by proofs).

165. A fraudulent mortgage or sale, a fraudulent gift or acceptance, and (any transaction) where he detects fraud, the (judge) shall declare null and void.

166. If the debtor be dead and (the money borrowed) was expended for the family, it must be paid by the relatives out of their own estate even if they are divided.

he became a surety (e. g. for appearance or good behaviour) being fully known' (Nâr., Râgh.).

162. *Alamdhanah*, 'had money enough (to pay),' i. e. 'had received a sum equal to the loan contracted by him for whose appearance he stood surety' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). According to Râgh. the adjective refers to the heir, and means 'if he has money enough to pay.' Nand. reads *alakshita*, 'if a surety who received money be not found' (i. e. has died or disappeared, &c.).

163. *Yâgñ.* II, 32.

164. 'The sale of wife and children, giving away one's whole property, though one may have issue' (Medh.).

166. Vi. VI, 39; *Yâgñ.* II, 45. The meaning is, as Nand. points out, that if a debt was contracted for the benefit of a united family,

167. Should even a person wholly dependent make a contract for the behoof of the family, the master (of the house), whether (living) in his own country or abroad, shall not rescind it.

168. What is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force, and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void.

169. Three suffer for the sake of others, witnesses, a surety, and judges; but four enrich themselves (through others), a Brâhmaṇa, a money-lender, a merchant, and a king.

170. No king, however indigent, shall take anything that ought not to be taken, nor shall he,

it must be repaid by the members of the family, though they may have separated afterwards.

167. Adhyadhinaḥ, 'a person wholly dependent,' i. e. 'a servant (Nâr.), or 'a slave' (Kull.), or 'the youngest (brother) or one in a similar position' (Râgh.). Gov. reads vâ instead of api, and for viṭâlayet (Medh., Kull., Râgh.) or viṭârayet (Nand.), vilambayet; and with this reading the translation must be, 'or one wholly dependent, who makes a contract for the sake of the family, must wait for (the arrival of) the master of the house, whether he be at home or abroad.'

168. Vi. VII, 6; Yâgñi. II, 89.

169. Kulam, 'the judges' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), has, according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh., its usual meaning, 'the family.' Nâr. and Nand. say that the undivided relatives have to suffer by paying the debts of a deceased coparcener; and Râgh. explains the sufferings of a family by the ruin caused through a bad son. Medh., Gov., and Kull. state that the object of the verse is to inculcate that men must not be forced to become witnesses and so forth against their will, and that Brâhmaṇas, &c., must not force others to those transactions from which they gain advantages, e. g. to lawsuits. (Râgh. similarly.) Nâr. takes the first half as a warning not to become a witness or surety or to remain undivided.

170. Vas. XIX, 14-15.

however wealthy, decline taking that which he ought to take, be it ever so small.

171. In consequence of his taking what ought not to be taken, or of his refusing what ought to be received, a king will be accused of weakness and perish in this (world) and after death.

172. By taking his due, by preventing the confusion of the castes (*varṇa*), and by protecting the weak, the power of the king grows, and he prospers in this (world) and after death.

173. Let the prince, therefore, like Yama, not heeding his own likings and dislikings, behave exactly like Yama, suppressing his anger and controlling himself.

174. But that evil-minded king who in his folly decides causes unjustly, his enemies soon subjugate.

175. If, subduing love and hatred, he decides the causes according to the law, (the hearts of) his subjects turn towards him as the rivers (run) towards the ocean.

176. (The debtor) who complains to the king that his creditor recovers (the debt) independently (of the court), shall be compelled by the king to pay (as a fine) one quarter (of the sum) and to his (creditor) the money (due).

177. Even by (personal) labour shall the debtor make good (what he owes) to his creditor, if he be of the same caste or of a lower one; but

171. 'For if a king takes from his subjects what he ought not to take, they will say, "He fines us, because he is unable to overcome the vassals, neighbours, and the forest tribes (and to obtain money from them),"' Medh.

176. Vi. VI, 19. See above, verses 49-50.

177. The last clause refers to Brâhmanas (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

a (debtor) of a higher caste shall pay it gradually (when he earns something).

178. According to these rules let the king equitably decide between men, who dispute with each other the matters, which are proved by witnesses and (other) evidence.

179. A sensible man should make a deposit (only) with a person of (good) family, of good conduct, well acquainted with the law, veracious, having many relatives, wealthy, and honourable (ârya).

180. In whatever manner a person shall deposit anything in the hands of another, in the same manner ought the same thing to be received back (by the owner); as the delivery (was, so must be) the re-delivery.

181. He who restores not his deposit to the depositor at his request, may be tried by the judge in the depositor's absence.

182. On failure of witnesses let the (judge) actually deposit gold with that (defendant) under some pretext or other through spies of suitable age and appearance (and afterwards demand it back).

183. If the (defendant) restores it in the manner and shape in which it was bailed, there is nothing

178. Pratyaya, ' (other) evidence,' i.e. 'by inference and divine proof' (Medh.), or 'by inference, oaths, and so forth' (Gov.), or 'by oaths' (Nâr., Nand.).

180. Yâgñ. II, 65. See also below, verse 195. Nand. omits 184, and places the other verses as follows: 180, 195, 188 b, 185, 186, 189, 194, 187, 188 a, 181, 182, 183, 196, 190, 191, 192, 193.

181. The order of the verses referring to the trial of the bailee, is according to Gov. 181, 183, 184, 182, and according to Nâr. 181, 183, 182, 184.

(of that description) in his hands, for which others accuse him.

184. But if he restores not that gold, as he ought, to those (spies), then he shall be compelled by force to restore both (deposits); that is a settled rule of law.

185. An open or a sealed deposit must never be returned to a near relative (of the depositor during the latter's lifetime); for if (the recipient) dies (without delivering them), they are lost, but if he does not die, they are not lost.

186. But (a depositary) who of his own accord returns them to a near relative of a deceased (depositor), must not be harassed (about them) by the king or by the depositor's relatives.

187. And (in doubtful cases) he should try to obtain that object by friendly means, without (having recourse to) artifice, or having inquired into the (depositary's) conduct, he should settle (the matter) with gentle means.

188. Such is the rule for obtaining back all those open deposits; in the case of a sealed deposit (the depositary) shall incur no (censure), unless he has taken out something.

189. (A deposit) which has been stolen by thieves

185. Pratyantare, 'to a near relative,' i. e. 'to his son, brother, or wife' (Medh.).

187. According to Nâr., this verse refers to cases when one believes a deposit to be with another, but has not made it over oneself; according to Gov. and Kull., to cases where there may be an error. Gov. and Kull. think that the person who should act in the manner described is the king, and they explain *anvikkhet*, 'one should try to obtain,' by 'he should decide.' Nâr. and Râgh., on the other hand, think that the depositor should act thus. The former explanation is perhaps preferable.

189. Yâgñ. II, 66.

or washed away by water or burned by fire, (the bailee) shall not make it good, unless he took part of it (for himself).

190. Him who appropriates a deposit and him (who asks for it) without having made it, (the judge) shall try by all (sorts of) means, and by the oaths prescribed in the Veda.

191. He who does not return a deposit and he who demands what he never bailed shall both be punished like thieves, or be compelled to pay a fine equal (to the value of the object retained or claimed).

192. The king should compel him who does not restore an open deposit, and in like manner him who retains a sealed deposit, to pay a fine equal (to its value).

193. That man who by false pretences may possess himself of another's property, shall be publicly punished by various (modes of) corporal (or capital) chastisement, together with his accomplices.

190. 'By all (sorts of) means,' i. e. 'by the four expedients, kindness and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'by spies and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'by blows, imprisonment, and so forth' (Medh.). 'By the oaths prescribed in the Veda,' i. e. 'by the ordeals, such as carrying fire' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.). Nâr. quotes a passage of the Veda, in which it is prescribed that the accused shall take hold of a hot axe.

191. Vi. V, 169-171. The former punishment, which consists of mutilation and other corporal punishments (Medh., Nâr., Râgh.), or the highest amercement and the like (Gov.), shall be inflicted on others than Brâhmanas in particularly bad cases and for a repetition of the offence (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

192. Medh., Gov., and Kull. refer this rule to first offences. Nâr. takes *avishesha*, 'in like manner,' to mean 'without making a distinction on account of the caste of the offender.' Medh. explains *upanidhi*, 'a sealed deposit,' by 'an object lent in a friendly manner.'

193. 'By false pretences,' i. e. 'by frightening others with the

194. If a deposit of a particular description or quantity is bailed by anybody in the presence of a number (of witnesses), it must be known to be of that particular (description and quantity; the depositary) who makes a false statement (regarding it) is liable to a fine.

195. But if anything is delivered or received privately, it must be privately returned; as the bailment (was, so should be) the re-delivery.

196. Thus let the king decide (causes) concerning a deposit and a friendly loan (for use) without showing (undue) rigour to the depositary.

197. If anybody sells the property of another man, without being the owner and without the assent of the owner, the (judge) shall not admit him who is a thief, though he may not consider himself as a thief, as a witness (in any case).

198. If the (offender) is a kinsman (of the owner), he shall be fined six hundred *paṇas*; if he is not a kinsman, nor has any excuse, he shall be guilty of theft.

king's anger, by promising to obtain for them favours from the king, or the love of a maiden, and so forth' (Medh.). 'By (various) modes of corporal chastisement,' i. e. 'by cutting off his hands, feet, or his head, &c.' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'by decapitating or impaling the offender, or having him trampled to death by elephants, and so forth' (Medh.).

194. I. e. the witnesses must be examined regarding it, and their evidence is conclusive.

196. This conclusion makes it somewhat doubtful if the term *upanidhi*, which occurs verses 185 and 191, and has been translated by 'a sealed deposit' in accordance with the opinion of most commentators, has really that meaning.

198. 'Any excuse,' e. g. 'that he received it as a present, or bought it from the son or other relative of the owner, and so forth' (Gov., Kull.). *Nār.* reads *anavasare*, 'and buys at an improper (time or place).'

199. A gift or sale, made by anybody else but the owner, must be considered as null and void, according to the rule in judicial proceedings.

200. Where possession is evident, but no title is perceived, there the title (shall be) a proof (of ownership), not possession; such is the settled rule.

201. He who obtains a chattel in the market before a number (of witnesses), acquires that chattel with a clear legal title by purchase.

202. If the original (seller) be not producible, (the buyer) being exculpated by a public sale, must be dismissed by the king without punishment, but (the former owner) who lost the chattel shall receive it (back from the buyer).

203. One commodity mixed with another must not be sold (as pure), nor a bad one (as good), nor less (than the proper quantity or weight), nor anything that is not at hand or that is concealed.

199. Nand. omits this verse, and inserts instead, 'He who ignorantly makes a sale without ownership shall be punished according to the above rule (i. e. be fined); but he who does it knowingly shall be punished like a thief.' Nâr. has no trace of verse 199, but quotes the beginning of the verse just translated (anena vidhineti).

200. Nand. places this verse after 202.

201-202. Vi. V, 164-166; Yâgñ. II, 168-170.

202. Thus Medh., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. (Kull., however, taking *sodhita*, 'exculpated,' in the sense of *niskṛita*, 'determined.') But Gov. takes the first part differently. 'If the price cannot be produced by him (the seller)—because he has gone to another country—then the buyer must not be punished by the king, being held to be guiltless on account of the open sale, in accordance with the rule of the preceding verse;' similarly Nand. The difference is caused thereby that Gov. apparently objects to the explanation of *mûlam* (*mûlyam*, Nand.) by 'the original (seller).' According to Kull. the buyer receives half the value from the original owner.

203. Yâgñ. II, 245. 'Concealed,' i. e. 'in a cloth' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'in the earth' (Nand.), or 'covered with paint' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

204. If, after one damsel has been shown, another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price ; that Manu ordained.

205. He who gives (a damsel in marriage), having first openly declared her blemishes, whether she be insane, or afflicted with leprosy, or have lost her virginity, is not liable to punishment.

206. If an officiating priest, chosen to perform a sacrifice, abandons his work, a share only (of the fee) in proportion to the work (done) shall be given to him by those who work with him.

207. But he who abandons his work after the sacrificial fees have been given, shall obtain his full share and cause to be performed (what remains) by another (priest).

208. But if (specific) fees are ordained for the several parts of a rite, shall he (who performs the part) receive them, or shall they all share them?

209. The Adhvaryu priest shall take the chariot, and the Brahman at the kindling of the fires (Agnyâdhâna) a horse, the Hotri priest shall also take a horse, and the Udgâtri the cart, (used) when (the Soma) is purchased.

204. This rule is rather astonishing after what has been said, III, 51-54, regarding the sale of daughters, and it proves that, in spite of all directions to the contrary, wives were purchased in ancient India as frequently as in our days.

207. Yâgñ. II, 265. 'After the sacrificial fees have been given,' i. e. 'at the midday oblation and so forth' (Medh., Kull., Gov.). According to Medh. the sacrificer is to pay the substitute, according to the other commentators the priest who receives the fee.

208. Medh. mentions that specific fees are prescribed at the Râgasûya and similar sacrifices ; see Âsv. Srauta-sûtra IX, 3, 14-15; 4, 7-20.

209. According to Medh. and Kull. all the three first-mentioned gifts are given according to the precepts of some Sâkhâs at the Agnyâdhâna, the kindling of the fires. But Gov. says that the

210. The (four) chief priests among all (the sixteen), who are entitled to one half, shall receive a moiety (of the fee), the next (four) one half of that, the set entitled to a third share, one third, and those entitled to a fourth a quarter.

211. By the application of these principles the allotment of shares must be made among those men who here (below) perform their work conjointly.

212. Should money be given (or promised) for a pious purpose by one man to another who asks for it, the gift shall be void, if the (money is) afterwards not (used) in the manner (stated).

213. But if the (recipient) through pride or greed tries to enforce (the fulfilment of the promise), he shall be compelled by the king to pay one *suvarṇa* as an expiation for his theft.

214. Thus the lawful subtraction of a gift has

Brahman priest receives a swift horse at the Agnyâdhâna, and Nâr. adds that the Hotri receives a horse at the Gyotishṭoma.

210. The four classes of priests, regarding whose functions see Max Müller, *History Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 468 seqq., are: 1. Hotri, Adhvaryu, Brahman, Udgâtri; 2. Maitrâvaruṇa, Pratiprasthâtri, Brâhmanâkṣhamsin, Prastotri; 3. Akṣhâvâka, Neshtri, Agnidhra, Pratihartri; 4. Potri, Subrahmanyâ, Grâvashṭut, Netri. Medh. gives the total as 112, and the shares as 56, 28, 16, 12; Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. the total as 100, and the shares as 48, 24, 16, 8. But Nand. says that the total of the fee, whatever it may be, shall be divided into 25 shares, and the several classes shall receive 12, 6, 4, and 3 such shares respectively. See also Âsv. Srauta-sūtra IX, 4, 3-5. The rule, given in this verse, applies to all ordinary cases.

211. Yâgñ. II, 259, 265. I.e. each is to be paid according to the amount of work which he performs.

212. 'For a pious purpose,' i.e. 'for a sacrifice or a wedding' (Medh.).

213. Samsâdhayet, 'tries to enforce (the fulfilment of the promise),' i.e. 'by a complaint before the king' (Medh.), or 'tries to obtain the money forcibly or refuses to return it' (Kull., Râgh., Gov.).

been fully explained ; I will next propound (the law for) the non-payment of wages.

215. A hired (servant or workman) who, without being ill, out of pride fails to perform his work according to the agreement, shall be fined eight *krishṇālas* and no wages shall be paid to him.

216. But (if he is really) ill, (and) after recovery performs (his work) according to the original agreement, he shall receive his wages even after (the lapse of) a very long time.

217. But if he, whether sick or well, does not (perform or) cause to be performed (by others) his work according to his agreement, the wages for that work shall not be given to him, even (if it be only) slightly incomplete.

218. Thus the law for the non-payment of wages has been completely stated ; I will next explain the law concerning men who break an agreement.

219. If a man belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, (the king) shall banish him from his realm,

220. And having imprisoned such a breaker of an agreement, he shall compel him to pay six

215. Âp. II, 28, 2-3 ; Vi. V, 153-154 ; Yâgñ. II, 193. 'Eight *krishṇālas*,' i. e. 'of gold, silver or copper, according to the case' (Medh., Gov.), or 'of gold' (Kull.).

216. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K. *sudîrghasya* for *sa dîrghasya* (Kull., Nand.).

219. Vi. V, 168 ; Yâgñ. II, 192. By 'corporations inhabiting a village or district' are meant according to Medh., village communities and corporations of merchants, mendicants or monks, *Katurvedîs* and so forth, and he mentions regulations regarding the grazing of the cattle on a common as one of the agreements which all must observe.

220. According to others mentioned by Medh. the translation

nishkas, (each of) four suvarṇas, and one satamāna of silver.

221. A righteous king shall apply this law of fines in villages and castes (*gâti*) to those who break an agreement.

222. If anybody in this (world), after buying or selling anything, repent (of his bargain), he may return or take (back) that chattel within ten days.

223. But after (the lapse of) ten days he may neither give nor cause it to be given (back); both he who takes it (back) and he who gives it (back, except by consent) shall be fined by the king six hundred (*panas*).

224. But the king himself shall impose a fine of ninety-six *panas* on him who gives a blemished damsel (to a suitor) without informing (him of the blemish).

225. But that man who, out of malice, says of a maiden, 'She is not a maiden,' shall be fined one hundred (*panas*), if he cannot prove her blemish.

226. The nuptial texts are applied solely to virgins, (and) nowhere among men to females who have lost their virginity, for such (females) are excluded from religious ceremonies.

should be 'four suvarṇas or six nishkas or one satamāna.' Kull. and Râgh. also think it possible that three separate fines may be inflicted according to the circumstances of the case.

222. *Yâgñ.* II, 177. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., the rule refers to things which are not easily spoilt, such as land, copper, &c., not to flowers, fruit, and the like; according to Nâr., to grain and seeds, 'because in other *Smṛitis* different periods are mentioned for other objects' (see *Yâgñ.* loc. cit.).

224-225. *Yâgñ.* I, 66.

224. Regarding the blemishes, see above, verse 205.

226. K. omits this verse.

227. The nuptial texts are a certain proof (that a maiden has been made a lawful) wife ; but the learned should know that they (and the marriage-ceremony) are complete with the seventh step (of the bride around the sacred fire).

228. If anybody in this (world) repent of any completed transaction, (the king) shall keep him on the road of rectitude in accordance with the rules given above.

229. I will fully declare in accordance with the true law (the rules concerning) the disputes, (arising) from the transgressions of owners of cattle and of herdsmen.

230. During the day the responsibility for the safety (of the cattle rests) on the herdsman, during the night on the owner, (provided they are) in his house ; (if it be) otherwise, the herdsman will be responsible (for them also during the night).

231. A hired herdsman who is paid with milk, may milk with the consent of the owner the best (cow) out of ten ; such shall be his hire if no (other) wages (are paid).

232. The herdsman alone shall make good (the loss of a beast) strayed, destroyed by worms, killed by dogs or (by falling) into a pit, if he did not duly exert himself (to prevent it).

227. Nand. omits this verse and the next. After the seventh step has been made the marriage cannot be rescinded (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

228. I. e. he may be allowed to rescind a contract for wages and the like within ten days, but not later (Gov., Kull.).

231. Nand. omits this verse.

232. Vi. V, 137-138 ; Yâgñ. I, 164-165. 'By worms,' i. e. according to Medh. by a kind called Ârohakas, who enter the sexual parts of the cows and destroy them ; Râgh. says, 'by snakes and the like.' 'By dogs,' the word is according to Medh. merely intended as an instance for any wild animal.

233. But for (an animal) stolen by thieves, though he raised an alarm, the herdsman shall not pay, provided he gives notice to his master at the proper place and time.

234. If cattle die, let him carry to his master their ears, skin, tails, bladders, tendons, and the yellow concrete bile, and let him point out their particular marks.

235. But if goats or sheep are surrounded by wolves and the herdsman does not hasten (to their assistance), he shall be responsible for any (animal) which a wolf may attack and kill.

236. But if they, kept in (proper) order, graze together in the forest, and a wolf, suddenly jumping on one of them, kills it, the herdsman shall bear in that case no responsibility.

237. On all sides of a village a space, one hundred dhanus or three samyâ-throws (in breadth), shall be reserved (for pasture), and thrice (that space) round a town.

238. If the cattle do damage to unfenced crops on that (common), the king shall in that case not punish the herdsmen.

239. (The owner of the field) shall make there a hedge over which a camel cannot look, and stop

234. I read with Medh. and Gov. *āṅkāms ka*, 'their particular marks,' instead of *āṅgāni*, 'their (other) limbs' (*Râgh.*, *Nand.*, *K.*, and the editions). To judge from the commentary, Kull. must have had the same reading as Medh. and Gov.

235. *Vi. V.*, 137.

237. *Yâgñ. II.*, 167. Dhanus, literally 'a bow's length' = 4 hastas or about 6 feet. The samyâ is a short, thick piece of wood, used at sacrifices. A samyâ-throw is mentioned as a measure also by *Âp. I.*, 9, 6.

every gap through which a dog or a boar can thrust his head.

240. (If cattle do mischief) in an enclosed field near a highway or near a village, the herdsman shall be fined one hundred (*panas*); (but cattle), unattended by a herdsman, (the watchman in the field) shall drive away.

241. (For damage) in other fields (each head of) cattle shall (pay a fine of) one (*pana*) and a quarter, and in all (cases the value of) the crop (destroyed) shall be made good to the owner of the field; that is the settled rule.

242. But Manu has declared that no fine shall be paid for (damage done by) a cow within ten days after her calving, by bulls and by cattle sacred to the gods, whether they are attended by a herdsman or not.

243. If (the crops are destroyed by) the husbandman's (own) fault, the fine shall amount to ten times as much as (the king's) share; but the fine (shall be) only half that amount if (the fault lay) with the servants and the farmer had no knowledge of it.

240-242. Âp. II, 28, 5; Gaut. XII, 19-26; Vi. V, 140-150; Yâgñ. II, 161-163.

241. 'The cattle,' i.e. 'the herdsman shall pay for the cattle.' 'In all cases,' i.e. 'whether the cattle were attended by a herdsman or not' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

242. A cow is, according to Nâr., during the first days after calving utterly unmanageable. 'Bulls,' i.e. 'those set at liberty (see Vi. LXXXVI) are meant' (Nâr., Kull.), which may be met with near many Indian villages and in many towns. 'Cattle sacred to the gods,' i.e. either 'such as are set apart for sacrifices,' or 'such as are dedicated to temples' (Medh.). The other commentators prefer the second explanation.

243. Âp. II, 28, 1. 'The husbandman's (own) fault,' i.e. 'if he

244. To these rules a righteous king shall keep in (all cases of) transgressions by masters, their cattle, and herdsmen.

245. If a dispute has arisen between two villages concerning a boundary, the king shall settle the limits in the month of *Gyaishtha*, when the landmarks are most distinctly visible.

246. Let him mark the boundaries (by) trees, (e.g.) Nyagrodhas, Arvatthas, Kimsukas, cotton-trees, Sâlas, Palmyra palms, and trees with milky juice,

247. By clustering shrubs, bamboos of different kinds, Samls, creepers and raised mounds, reeds, thickets of Kubgaka; thus the boundary will not be forgotten.

248. Tanks, wells, cisterns, and fountains should be built where boundaries meet, as well as temples,

249. And as he will see that through men's ignorance of the boundaries trespasses constantly occur in the world, let him cause to be made other hidden marks for boundaries,

250. Stones, bones, cow's hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, dry cowdung, bricks, cinders, pebbles, and sand,

has allowed his crops to be eaten by cattle, or has not sown the field in proper time, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

245. *Gyaishtha*, i.e. May-June, 'when the grass has been dried up by the heat' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

246. *Yâgñ.* II, 151. Nyagrodha, Ficus Indica; Arvattha, Ficus Religiosa; Kimsuka, Butea Frondosa; Sâla, Shorea Robusta. 'Trees with milky juice,' i.e. 'Arka (Calatropis Gigantea), Udumbara (Ficus Glomerata), &c.'

247. Samî, Acacia Suma; 'mounds,' i.e. the heaps of earth are meant which now are used generally as landmarks in British districts. Instead of Kubgaka Nand. reads Kulyaka.

251. And whatever other things of a similar kind the earth does not corrode even after a long time, those he should cause to be buried where one boundary joins (the other).

252. By these signs, by long continued possession, and by constantly flowing streams of water the king shall ascertain the boundary (of the land) of two disputing parties.

253. If there be a doubt even on inspection of the marks, the settlement of a dispute regarding boundaries shall depend on witnesses.

254. The witnesses, (giving evidence) regarding a boundary, shall be examined concerning the landmarks in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants.

255. As they, being questioned, unanimously decide, even so he shall record the boundary (in writing), together with their names.

256. Let them, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets (of red flowers) and red dresses, being sworn each by (the rewards for) his meritorious deeds, settle (the boundary) in accordance with the truth.

257. If they determine (the boundary) in the

251. According to Kull., who relies on a passage of *Bṛihaspati*, these objects are to be placed in jars.

254. According to the commentators the verse refers to a dispute between two villages, and the two litigants are persons deputed by each village to conduct the case (see also below, verse 261).

255. All the commentators explain *nibadhnīyāt* by 'he shall record in writing,' and as it is specially mentioned that the names of the witnesses shall be given, it seems impossible to take the word in any other sense. Medh. says that, if the witnesses disagree, the opinion of the majority shall be taken.

256-260. *Yāgñ.* II, 150-152.

manner stated, they are guiltless (being) veracious witnesses; but if they determine it unjustly, they shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (panas).

258. On failure of witnesses (from the two villages, men of) the four neighbouring villages, who are pure, shall make (as witnesses) a decision concerning the boundary in the presence of the king.

259. On failure of neighbours (who are) original inhabitants (of the country and can be) witnesses with respect to the boundary, (the king) may hear the evidence even of the following inhabitants of the forest,

260. (Viz.) hunters, fowlers, herdsman, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other foresters.

261. As they, being examined, declare the marks for the meeting of the boundaries (to be), even so the king shall justly cause them to be fixed between the two villages.

262. The decision concerning the boundary-marks of fields, wells, tanks, of gardens and houses depends upon (the evidence of) the neighbours.

263. Should the neighbours give false evidence,

258. Men from the four surrounding villages are meant, as Kull. suggests. The correctness of this opinion is proved by the fact that the land-grants usually mention 'the four boundaries' (*ṣaturâghâ/anâni*) of the villages given away. Medh. and Nand. read *gramasâmântavâsinaḥ*, 'four men living in, &c.'

259. *Maulânâm*, 'original inhabitants,' i.e. 'whose ancestors have lived there since the settlement of the village' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

260. 'Other foresters,' i.e. 'those who collect flowers, fruit, and fuel' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'Sabaras and the rest' (Nâr.).

262. Vas. XVI, 13-15; Yâgñ. II, 154.

263. Yâgñ. I, 153.

when men dispute about a boundary-mark, the king shall make each of them pay the middlemost amercement as a fine.

264. He who by intimidation possesses himself of a house, a tank, a garden, or a field, shall be fined five hundred (*panas*); (if he trespassed) through ignorance, the fine (shall be) two hundred (*panas*).

265. If the boundary cannot be ascertained (by any evidence), let a righteous king with (the intention of) benefiting them (all), himself assign (his) land (to each); that is the settled rule.

266. Thus the law for deciding boundary (disputes) has been fully declared, I will next propound the (manner of) deciding (cases of) defamation.

267. A Kshatriya, having defamed a Brâhmana, shall be fined one hundred (*panas*); a Vaisya one hundred and fifty or two hundred; a Sûdra shall suffer corporal punishment.

268. A Brâhmana shall be fined fifty (*panas*) for defaming a Kshatriya; in (the case of) a Vaisya the fine shall be twenty-five (*panas*); in (the case of) a Sûdra twelve.

269. For offences of twice-born men against those of equal caste (*varna*, the fine shall be) also twelve (*panas*); for speeches which ought not to be uttered, that (and every fine shall be) double.

270. A once-born man (a Sûdra), who insults a

265. Yâgñ. II, 153.

267-277. Âp. II, 27, 14; Gaut. XII, 1, 8-14; Vas. IX, 9; Vi. V, 23-39; Yâgñ. II, 204-211.

269. 'Speeches that ought not to be uttered,' i.e. 'insinuations against the honour of another's female relatives, especially mothers and sisters' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), with which the Hindus, like other Orientals, are very ready.

270. The last clause refers, according to the commentators, to the

twice-born man with gross invective, shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin.

271. If he mentions the names and castes (*gâti*) of the (twice-born) with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.

272. If he arrogantly teaches *Brâhmanas* their duty, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears.

273. He who through arrogance makes false statements regarding the learning (of a caste-fellow), his country, his caste (*gâti*), or the rites by which his body was sanctified, shall be compelled to pay a fine of two hundred (*panas*).

274. He who even in accordance with the true facts (contemptuously) calls another man one-eyed, lame, or the like (names), shall be fined at least one *kârshâpana*.

275. He who defames his mother, his father, his wife, his brother, his son, or his teacher, and he who gives not the way to his preceptor, shall be compelled to pay one hundred (*panas*).

276. (For mutual abuse) by a *Brâhmana* and a

origin of the *Sûdra* from Brahman's feet; see above, I, 31. According to Medh. the expression 'once-born' includes men born from high-caste fathers and low-caste mothers.

271. I.e. if he says 're *Yagñadatta*,' or 'thou scum of the *Brâhmanas*.'

273. '(Of a caste-fellow),' (Kull., *Râgh.*), Gov. too states that the rule cannot refer to *Sûdras*, because the punishment is too light. Medh. explains karma by 'occupation,' and *sârîram* by 'bodily (deficiencies),' while the others refer karma *sârîram* to a denial of the initiation.

275. *Âkshârayati*, 'defames,' i.e. 'accuses them of a mortal sin' (Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or 'of incest' (*Nâr.*), or 'causes dissensions between them and others' (Medh.), or 'makes them angry' (Nand.).

Kshatriya a fine must be imposed by a discerning (king), on the Brâhmaṇa the lowest amercement, but on the Kshatriya the middlemost.

277. A Vaisya and a Sûdra must be punished exactly in the same manner according to their respective castes, but the tongue (of the Sûdra) shall not be cut out; that is the decision.

278. Thus the rules for punishments (applicable to cases) of defamation have been truly declared; I will next propound the decision (of cases) of assault.

279. With whatever limb a man of a low caste does hurt to (a man of the three) highest (castes), even that limb shall be cut off; that is the teaching of Manu.

280. He who raises his hand or a stick, shall have his hand cut off; he who in anger kicks with his foot, shall have his foot cut off.

281. A low-caste man who tries to place himself on the same seat with a man of a high caste, shall be branded on his hip and be banished, or (the king) shall cause his buttock to be gashed.

282. If out of arrogance he spits (on a superior), the king shall cause both his lips to be cut off; if he urines (on him), the penis; if he breaks wind (against him), the anus.

277. I.e. if a Sûdra defames a Vaisya his tongue is not cut out, but he pays the middlemost amercement.

279-280. Vi. V, 19; Yâgyñ. II, 215.

280. Praharet, 'kicks,' i.e. 'lifts his foot in order to kick' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.).

281. Âp. II, 27, 15; Gaut. XII, 7; Vi. V, 20. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., the rule refers to a Brâhmaṇa and a Sûdra; according to Râgh., to the latter and an Âryan; according to Nâr., to a Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sûdra offending against a Brâhmaṇa.

282. Vi. V, 21-22.

283. If he lays hold of the hair (of a superior), let the (king) unhesitatingly cut off his hands, likewise (if he takes him) by the feet, the beard, the neck, or the scrotum.

284. He who breaks the skin (of an equal) or fetches blood (from him) shall be fined one hundred (panas), he who cuts a muscle six nishkas, he who breaks a bone shall be banished.

285. According to the usefulness of the several (kinds of) trees a fine must be inflicted for injuring them; that is the settled rule.

286. If a blow is struck against men or animals in order to (give them) pain, (the judge) shall inflict a fine in proportion to the amount of pain (caused).

287. If a limb is injured, a wound (is caused), or blood (flows, the assailant) shall be made to pay (to the sufferer) the expenses of the cure, or the whole (both the usual amercement and the expenses of the cure as a) fine (to the king).

284. Vi. V, 66-70; Yâgñ. II, 218. '(Of an equal),' (Medh., Kull., Nand.) According to Râgh., the rule refers to Sûdras assaulting Sûdras. According to Nâr., the last offender's property shall be confiscated.

285. Vi. V, 55-59; Yâgñ. II, 227-228. The expression 'trees' includes all plants (Medh., Kull.). According to Gov., the fine for injuring trees which give shade only is to be very small; in the case of flower-bearing trees, middling; in the case of fruit-trees, high (see Vi. loc. cit.). Medh. remarks that the position of the trees, e.g. whether they are boundary-marks, or stand on a cross-road, in a hermitage, &c., has to be taken into account (see Yâgñ. loc. cit.).

286-287. Vi. V, 75-76; Yâgñ. II, 219, 222.

287. Instead of *vraṇa*, 'a wound' (Kull., Nâr.), Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *prâṇa*. Medh. explains the latter reading by 'if the vital strength is injured,' and Gov. and Râgh. by 'if the breathing power is injured by gagging.' 'Or the whole (as a) fine,' i. e. if the person injured refuses the compensation. Nâr. says, 'and shall pay the whole fine, mentioned above.'

288. He who damages the goods of another, be it intentionally or unintentionally, shall give satisfaction to the (owner) and pay to the king a fine equal to the (damage).

289. In the case of (damage done to) leather, or to utensils of leather, of wood, or of clay, the fine (shall be) five times their value; likewise in the case of (damage to) flowers, roots, and fruit.

290. They declare with respect to a carriage, its driver and its owner, (that there are) ten cases in which no punishment (for damage done) can be inflicted; in other cases a fine is prescribed.

291. When the nose-string is snapped, when the yoke is broken, when the carriage turns sideways or back, when the axle or a wheel is broken,

292. When the leather-thongs, the rope around the neck or the bridle are broken, and when (the driver) has loudly called out, 'Make way,' Manu has declared (that in all these cases) no punishment (shall be inflicted).

293. But if the cart turns off (the road) through the driver's want of skill, the owner shall be fined, if damage (is done), two hundred (paṇas).

294. If the driver is skilful (but negligent), he alone shall be fined; if the driver is unskilful, the occupants of the carriage (also) shall be each fined one hundred (paṇas).

295. But if he is stopped on his way by cattle or

288. 'The goods,' i.e. 'such objects as are not mentioned specially' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

291-295. Yāgñ. II, 298-299.

291. 'When the carriage turns sideways or backwards,' i.e. 'off the road owing to its badness, to the animals taking fright, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

295. There are two readings, *aviṭāritaḥ*, 'without doubt' (lit. 'not

by (another) carriage, and he causes the death of any living being, a fine shall without doubt be imposed.

296. If a man is killed, his guilt will be at once the same as (that of) a thief; for large animals such as cows, elephants, camels or horses, half of that.

297. For injuring small cattle the fine (shall be) two hundred (*panas*); the fine for beautiful wild quadrupeds and birds shall amount to fifty (*panas*).

298. For donkeys, sheep, and goats the fine shall be five *māshas*; but the punishment for killing a dog or a pig shall be one *māsha*.

299. A wife, a son, a slave, a pupil, and a (younger) brother of the full blood, who have committed faults, may be beaten with a rope or a split bamboo,

300. But on the back part of the body (only), never on a noble part; he who strikes them otherwise will incur the same guilt as a thief.

301. Thus the whole law of assault (and hurt) has been declared completely; I will now explain the rules for the decision (in cases) of theft.

302. Let the king exert himself to the utmost to

considered'), and *viârita*, 'is considered (to be just).' Medh. gives besides the explanation, adopted in the translation according to Kull., another one, 'is not considered (just).' He mentions also the second reading, which Gov., Râgh., Nâr., and Nand. have, and explains it with them by 'is considered (to be just).'

296. 'The same as that of a thief,' i. e. 'he must pay the highest amercement, or 1000 *panas*' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh., Nand.).

297-298. Vi. V, 50-54.

299-300. Âp. I, 8, 31; Gaut. II, 43-44.

300. 'Not on a noble part,' i. e. 'not on the chest or the head, &c.' (Medh., Kull.).

punish thieves; for, if he punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers.

303. That king, indeed, is ever worthy of honour who ensures the safety (of his subjects); for the sacrificial session (*sattra*, which he, as it were, performs thereby) ever grows in length, the safety (of his subjects representing) the sacrificial fee.

304. A king who (duly) protects (his subjects) receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit; if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also (will fall on him).

305. Whatever (merit a man gains by) reading the Veda, by sacrificing, by charitable gifts, (or by) worshipping (Gurus and gods), the king obtains a sixth part of that in consequence of his duly protecting (his kingdom).

306. A king who protects the created beings in accordance with the sacred law and smites those worthy of corporal punishment, daily offers (as it were) sacrifices at which hundred thousands (are given as) fees.

307. A king who does not afford protection, (yet) takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will (after death) soon sink into hell.

303-311. Âp. II, 25, 15; Vas. I, 42-44; Vi. V, 196; Yâgñ. I, 335-336, 358; see also below, IX, 252 seqq.

307. 'The share in kind,' i.e. 'the sixth part of the harvest' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or 'the choice portions of fruit, grain, &c. to be given to the king.' 'Taxes,' i.e. *gaṅghādāna* (Medh.), or the land-tax paid in money (Nâr.), 'monthly taxes, or taxes payable in certain months by the villagers' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). *Sulka*, i.e. 'the tolls and duties payable by merchants and traders' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). For *pratibhāgam*, i.e. 'the daily presents of fruit, vegetables, &c.,' the so-called *Dālīs* (Medh., Kull.),

308. They declare that a king who affords no protection, (yet) receives the sixth part of the produce, takes upon himself all the foulness of his whole people.

309. Know that a king who heeds not the rules (of the law), who is an atheist, and rapacious, who does not protect (his subjects, but) devours them, will sink low (after death).

310. Let him carefully restrain the wicked by three methods,—by imprisonment, by putting them in fetters, and by various (kinds of) corporal punishments.

311. For by punishing the wicked and by favouring the virtuous, kings are constantly sanctified, just as twice-born men by sacrifices.

312. A king who desires his own welfare must always forgive litigants, infants, aged and sick men, who inveigh against him.

313. He who, being abused by men in pain, pardons (them), will in reward of that (act) be exalted in heaven; but he who, (proud) of his kingly state,

Nâr. and Râgh. read *pratibhogam*, Gov. *bhûtibhogam*, and Nand. *prîtibhogam*, but the explanation of the first two var. lect. is the same. *Prîtibhoga* would however denote all 'benevolences,' which usually are called *prîtîdâna* and are levied on particular occasions.

308. Medh. and Nâr. read *arakshitâram attâram*, '(a king) who affords no protection, (yet) devours (his subjects and) takes, &c.'

309. Nand. reads at the end of the verse *asatyam ka nrîpam tyaget*, 'Let him forsake a king who heeds not the rules . . . and is untruthful.' This var. lect. is mentioned by Medh. *Vipralumpakam* (or 'lopakam'), 'rapacious,' means according to Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. 'who takes the goods of *Brâhmanas* or injures them.'

310. 'The wicked,' i.e. 'thieves, because the topic (is theft),' (Medh.).

311. 'Twice-born men,' i.e. '*Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Nâr.).

forgives them not, will for that (reason) sink into hell.

314. A thief shall, running, approach the king, with flying hair, confessing that theft (and saying), 'Thus have I done, punish me;'

315. (And he must) carry on his shoulder a pestle, or a club of Khadira wood, or a spear sharp at both ends, or an iron staff.

316. Whether he be punished or pardoned, the thief is freed from the (guilt of) theft; but the king, if he punishes not, takes upon himself the guilt of the thief.

317. The killer of a learned Brāhmaṇa throws his guilt on him who eats his food, an adulterous wife on her (negligent) husband, a (sinning) pupil or sacrificer on (their negligent) teacher (or priest), a thief on the king (who pardons him).

318. But men who have committed crimes and have been punished by the king, go to heaven, being pure like those who performed meritorious deeds.

319. He who steals the rope or the water-pot from a well, or damages a hut where water is distri-

314-316. Âp. I, 25, 4-5; Gaut. XII, 43-45; Vas. XX, 41; Baudh. II, 1, 16-17; Vi. LII, 1-2; Yâgñ. III, 257.

314. Medh. and Nand. read instead of dhāvata, 'running,' dhīmatā, (shall approach the king) 'with firm determination.' But Medh. mentions the other reading too, the correctness of which is attested by Vas. loc. cit. According to the commentators and the parallel passages, a repentant thief is meant who has stolen gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa; see also below, XI, 199-201.

317. Vas. XIX, 44. Medh. gives verse 317 after 318, but remarks that the order ought to be inverted. He says that a priest must leave a disobedient sacrificer; else the guilt of irregularities committed by the latter will fall upon the priest.

319. 'Damages,' i.e. 'takes away the wood belonging to it' (Nār.).

buted, shall pay one mâsha as a fine and restore the (article abstracted or damaged) in its (proper place).

320. On him who steals more than ten kumbhas of grain corporal punishment (shall be inflicted); in other cases he shall be fined eleven times as much, and shall pay to the (owner the value of his) property.

321. So shall corporal punishment be inflicted for stealing more than a hundred (palas) of articles sold by the weight, (i. e.) of gold, silver, and so forth, and of most excellent clothes.

322. For (stealing) more than fifty (palas) it is enacted that the hands (of the offender) shall be cut off; but in other cases, let him inflict a fine of eleven times the value.

323. For stealing men of noble family and especially women and the most precious gems, (the offender) deserves corporal (or capital) punishment.

324. For stealing large animals, weapons, or medicines, let the king fix a punishment, after considering the time and the purpose (for which they were destined).

'One mâsha,' i. e. 'of copper' (Medh.), 'of gold' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

320. Vi. V, 12. 'A kumbha is equal to 20 or 22 prasthas of 32 palas each' (Medh.), or 'to 20 droṇas of 200 palas each' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'to 200 palas' (Nâr.). Vadhaḥ, 'corporal punishment,' i. e. 'flogging, mutilation, or even capital punishment, according to the quality of the person robbed' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

321. Vi. V, 13. According to Nâr. and Râgh., other things than gold and silver are to be understood by dharima, 'sold by the weight.' But Medh., Gov., and Kull. explain as above.

322. Vi. V, 81-82. Nâr. thinks that this rule refers to copper and the like metals of small value. But it is also possible to remove the seeming inconsistency, by explaining the term vadhaḥ in the preceding verse by 'capital punishment.'

324-325. Vi. V, 77-78.

324. 'The purpose for which the object was destined,' i. e. 'whether

325. For (stealing) cows belonging to Brâhmanas, for piercing (the nostrils of) a barren cow, and for stealing (other) cattle (belonging to Brâhmanas, the offender) shall forthwith lose half his feet.

326. (For stealing) thread, cotton, drugs causing fermentation, cowdung, molasses, sour milk, sweet milk, butter-milk, water, or grass,

327. Vessels made of bamboo or other cane, salt of various kinds, earthen (vessels), earth and ashes,

328. Fish, birds, oil, clarified butter, meat, honey, and other things that come from beasts,

329. Or other things of a similar kind, spirituous liquor, boiled rice, and every kind of cooked food, the fine (shall be) twice the value (of the stolen article).

330. For flowers, green corn, shrubs, creepers, trees, and other unhusked (grain) the fine (shall be) five *krishṇalas*.

weapons were stolen during a combat, or medicines from a very sick man' (Medh., Gov., Râgh.).

325. Instead of the reading of the editions, '*sthûrikâyâs ka bhêdane*,' Medh., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. have '*sthûrikâyâs ka bhedane*,' which is no doubt the correct version, the vulgata being caused by a mislecture of the old form of the letter 'tha.' Kull. and Râgh. explain the phrase in the manner given above, and Gov., who reads '*nâsa[si]kâyâs ka bhedane*,' agrees with them. Medh., on the other hand, says that *sthûrikâ* means 'an ox' (*balivardah*), and the phrase must be taken 'for pricking with a goad (and using for one's purpose) the ox (of another man).' Nâr. finally asserts that *sthûrikâ* means 'a load placed on an ox,' and interprets the words by 'for cutting open a sack carried by an ox and abstracting its contents.'

326-331. Vi. V, 83-86.

328. 'Other things that come from beasts,' i. e. 'skins, horns, *goroṭanâ*, &c.' (Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.).

329. 'Other things of a similar kind,' i. e. 'red arsenic, red lead, &c.' (Gov., Kull.), or 'other eatables' (Nand.).

330. Gaut. XII, 18. Gov. reads *alpeshu*, 'for a little unhusked

331. For husked grain, vegetables, roots, and fruit the fine (shall be) one hundred (*panas*) if there is no connexion (between the owner and the thief), fifty (*panas*) if such a connexion exists.

332. An offence (of this description), which is committed in the presence (of the owner) and with violence, will be robbery; if (it is committed) in his absence, it will be theft; likewise if (the possession of) anything is denied after it has been taken.

333. On that man who may steal (any of) the above-mentioned articles, when they are prepared for (use), let the king inflict the first (or lowest) amercement; likewise on him who may steal (a sacred) fire out of the room (in which it is kept).

334. With whatever limb a thief in any way commits (an offence) against men, even of that (the king) shall deprive him in order to prevent (a repetition of the crime).

(grain),’ instead of anyeshu, ‘other.’ ‘Five *krishṇa*las,’ i. e. ‘of gold’ (Medh.), ‘of gold or silver’ (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

331. Nirānvaye, ‘if there be no connexion (between the owner and the thief),’ means according to Medh. either ‘if there be no connexion by friendly mutual leading,’ or ‘if there be no connexion such as residence in the same village,’ or ‘if there was no watchman in the field.’ Gov. and Nâr. agree with the first explanation, Kull. and Râgh. with the second; but see above, verse 198.

332. *Yâgñ.* II, 230. Medh. and Nâr. place this verse after the next.

333. ‘Prepared for use,’ i. e. ‘for eating’ (Medh., Nâr.), or ‘thread worked into cloth’ (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.). ‘Fire,’ i. e. either the sacred fire (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or also the common fire (Gov.). Medh. and Nand. read *satam*, ‘one hundred *panas*,’ instead of *âdya*m, ‘the lowest amercement,’ which latter reading Medh. mentions too.

334. *Pratyâdeśâya*, ‘in order to prevent (a repetition of the offence),’ (Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Nâr. ‘in order to deter (others).’

335. Neither a father, nor a teacher, nor a friend, nor a mother, nor a wife, nor a son, nor a domestic priest must be left unpunished by a king, if they do not keep within their duty.

336. Where another common man would be fined one *kârshâpana*, the king shall be fined one thousand; that is the settled rule.

337. In (a case of) theft the guilt of a *Sûdra* shall be eightfold, that of a *Vaisya* sixteenfold, that of a *Kshatriya* two-and-thirtyfold,

338. That of a *Brâhmaṇa* sixty-fourfold, or quite a hundredfold, or (even) twice four-and-sixtyfold; (each of them) knowing the nature of the offence.

339. (The taking of) roots and of fruit from trees, of wood for a (sacrificial) fire, and of grass for feeding cows, *Manu* has declared (to be) no theft.

340. A *Brâhmaṇa*, seeking to obtain property from a man who took what was not given to him, either by sacrificing for him or by teaching him, is even like a thief.

341. A twice-born man, who is travelling and whose provisions are exhausted, shall not be fined, if he takes two stalks of sugar-cane or two (esculent) roots from the field of another man.

335. *Yâgñ.* I, 357.

336. The king shall throw the money, due as a fine for an offence he may have committed, into the water or give it to *Brâhmaṇas* (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*), in accordance with IX, 245.

337-338. *Gaut.* XII, 15-17.

337. 'The guilt' means of course that the offender has to pay a fine in proportion.

339. *Âp.* I, 28, 3; *Gaut.* XII, 28; *Yâgñ.* II, 166. According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, and *Râgh.*, the condition is that the things taken were unenclosed.

341. *Gaut.* XII, 49-50; see also below, IX, 239, 241.

342. He who ties up unbound or sets free tied up (cattle of other men), he who takes a slave, a horse, or a carriage will have incurred the guilt of a thief.

343. A king who punishes thieves according to these rules, will gain fame in this world and after death unsurpassable bliss.

344. A king who desires to gain the throne of Indra and imperishable eternal fame, shall not, even for a moment, neglect (to punish) the man who commits violence.

345. He who commits violence must be considered as the worst offender, (more wicked) than a defamer, than a thief, and than he who injures (another) with a staff.

346. But that king who pardons the perpetrator of violence quickly perishes and incurs hatred.

347. Neither for friendship's sake, nor for the sake of great lucre, must a king let go perpetrators of violence, who cause terror to all creatures.

348. Twice-born men may take up arms when (they are) hindered (in the fulfilment of) their duties, when destruction (threatens) the twice-born castes (*varṇa*) in (evil) times,

342. 'Takes a slave, &c.,' i.e. 'makes them do his work' (*Nâr.*). The other commentators think of actual theft.

344. *Sâhasa*, 'violence,' comprises according to Medh. robbery (see also above, verse 332), rape, arson, cutting clothes, or forcibly destroying property.

348-351. Gaut. VII, 25; Vas. III, 15-18, 24; Baudh. I, 18-23; Vi. V, 189-192.

348. I.e. when robbers and so forth do not allow the twice-born to offer sacrifices or to fulfil other sacred duties (*Medh.*), or when in times of a foreign invasion (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or of a famine (*Nâr.*), the twice-born castes are threatened by an improper intermixture (*saṃkara*).

349. In their own defence, in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and Brāhmaṇas; he who (under such circumstances) kills in the cause of right, commits no sin.

350. One may slay without hesitation an assassin who approaches (with murderous intent), whether (he be one's) teacher, a child or an aged man, or a Brāhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas.

351. By killing an assassin the slayer incurs no guilt, whether (he does it) publicly or secretly; in that case fury recoils upon fury.

352. Men who commit adultery with the wives of others, the king shall cause to be marked by punishments which cause terror, and afterwards banish. +

353. For by (adultery) is caused a mixture of the castes (varṇa) among men; thence (follows) sin, which cuts up even the roots and causes the destruction of everything. L.

354. A man formerly accused of (such) offences, who secretly converses with another man's wife, shall pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

355. But a man, not before accused, who (thus) speaks with (a woman) for some (reasonable) cause, shall not incur any guilt, since in him there is no transgression.

350. According to Kull. the condition is that one must be unable to save oneself by flight, according to Nār. one must not wound such a man 'excessively.'

351. 'Secretly,' i. e. 'by incantations or spells' (Gov., Nār., Nand.).

353. I. e. if a mixture of the castes takes place, the sacrifices cannot be offered properly, because duly qualified sacrificers are wanting. If sacrifices are not duly offered, no rain will fall (see above, III, 76), and everything will perish (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.).

354-358. Âp. II, 26, 18-19; Yâgñ. II, 284.

356. He who addresses the wife of another man at a Tīrtha, outside the village, in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers, shall suffer (the punishment for) adulterous acts (*samgrahana*).

357. Offering presents (to a woman), romping (with her), touching her ornaments and dress, sitting with her on a bed, all (these acts) are considered adulterous acts (*samgrahana*).

358. If one touches a woman in a place (which ought) not (to be touched) or allows (oneself to be touched in such a spot), all (such acts done) with mutual consent are declared (to be) adulterous (*samgrahana*).

✓ 359. A man who is not a Brāhmaṇa ought to suffer death for adultery (*samgrahana*); for the wives of all the four castes even must always be carefully guarded.

360. Mendicants, bards, men who have performed the initiatory ceremony of a Vedic sacrifice, and artisans are not prohibited from speaking to married women.

356. 'A Tīrtha,' i. e. 'a place on the river-bank where the women fetch water' (Medh., Nār., Rāgh.). The punishment is the highest amercement (Kull.). Nand. places this verse after 357.

358. Nand. says, 'If one touches a woman in a lonely place.' Gov. also mentions this explanation.

359. According to Gov., Kull., Rāgh. this rule refers to adultery committed by a Sūdra with a Brāhmaṇī (Rāgh.) or to the violation of a Brāhmaṇī by a Sūdra (Gov., Kull.). Medh., too, thinks that a Sūdra alone is to suffer capital punishment for adultery with an Āryan woman. Nand., finally, says that Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras are meant, who offend with a female of a higher caste. Possibly the correct explanation of *prānāntam dandam*, 'death,' may, however, be 'a punishment, even death.' This rendering at least removes all the difficulties created by the parallel passages and the following verses.

361. Let no man converse with the wives of others after he has been forbidden (to do so); but he who converses (with them), in spite of a prohibition, shall be fined one *suvarṇa*.

362. This rule does not apply to the wives of actors and singers, nor (of) those who live on (the intrigues of) their own (wives); for such men send their wives (to others) or, concealing themselves, allow them to hold criminal intercourse.

363. Yet he who secretly converses with such women, or with female slaves kept by one (master), and with female ascetics, shall be compelled to pay a small fine.

364. He who violates an unwilling maiden shall instantly suffer corporal punishment; but a man who enjoys a willing maiden shall not suffer corporal punishment, if (his caste be) the same (as hers).

365. From a maiden who makes advances to a (man of) high (caste), he shall not take any fine; but her, who courts a (man of) low (caste), let him force to live confined in her house.

361. *Yāgñ.* II, 285.

362. *Baudh.* II, 4, 3. I translate *kāraṇa* according to the commentators by 'actors and singers,' but it may also be the name of a caste which is well known in Western India.

363. 'Female ascetics,' i. e. 'Rakshakās (?)', *Sīlamitrās* (?), and so forth' (*Medh.*), or 'Buddhist nuns' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Rāgh.*). *Nār.* says 'female mendicants.' It deserves to be noted that according to a passage attributed by *Gov.* and *Nār.* to *Baudhāyana*, but not found in our text, 'some' permitted even orthodox females to become ascetics. Female ascetics were probably in ancient India as common as they are now, and were considered equally disreputable.

364-368. *Yāgñ.* II, 288.

365. 'From a maiden,' i. e. 'from her relatives or guardians' (*Medh.*). According to *Kull.* and *Nār.* the girl is to be fettered, according to *Medh.* to be guarded by her relatives. The confinement is to last until she is cured of her attachment.

366. A (man of) low (caste) who makes love to a maiden (of) the highest (caste) shall suffer corporal punishment; he who addresses a maiden (of) equal (caste) shall pay the nuptial fee, if her father desires it.

367. But if any man through insolence forcibly contaminates a maiden, two of his fingers shall be instantly cut off, and he shall pay a fine of six hundred (paṇas).

368. A man (of) equal (caste) who defiles a willing maiden shall not suffer the amputation of his fingers, but shall pay a fine of two hundred (paṇas) in order to deter him from a repetition (of the offence).

369. A damsel who pollutes (another) damsel must be fined two hundred (paṇas), pay the double of her (nuptial) fee, and receive ten (lashes with a) rod.

370. But a woman who pollutes a damsel shall instantly have (her head) shaved or two fingers cut off, and be made to ride (through the town) on a donkey.

371. If a wife, proud of the greatness of her relatives or (her own) excellence, violates the duty which she owes to her lord, the king shall cause

366. The meaning of the second clause is that if the father wishes it, the offender is to marry the girl, after paying the nuptial fee (Kull., Nâr.). If the father does not wish to receive the fee, the offender is to pay an equal sum as a fine to the king (Medh., Gov., Râgh.).

370. According to Medh. and Nâr. the verse prescribes three different punishments, and a Brâhmaṇ offender is to be shaved, a Kshatriyâ to be led through the streets on a donkey, while women of other castes are to lose two fingers. According to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. the punishment is to be regulated by the circumstances.

371-372. Gaut. XXIII, 14-15; Vi. V, 18.

her to be devoured by dogs in a place frequented by many.

372. Let him cause the male offender to be burnt on a red-hot iron bed ; they shall put logs under it, (until) the sinner is burned (to death).

373. On a man (once) convicted, who is (again) accused within a year, a double fine (must be inflicted); even thus (must the fine be doubled) for (repeated) intercourse with a Vrâtyâ and a *Kandâli*.

374. A Sûdra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice-born caste (*varna*), guarded or unguarded, (shall be punished in the following manner): if she was unguarded, he loses the part (offending) and all his property; if she was guarded, everything (even his life).

375. (For intercourse with a guarded Brâhman, a Vaisya shall forfeit all his property after imprisonment for a year; a Kshatriya shall be fined one thousand (*panas*) and be shaved with the urine (of an ass).

376. If a Vaisya or a Kshatriya has connexion with an unguarded Brâhman, let him fine the Vaisya five hundred (*panas*) and the Kshatriya one thousand.

377. But even these two, if they offend with a

373. 'A Vrâtyâ,' i.e. 'the wife of an Âryan who has not been initiated' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.); see above, II, 39; or 'one not married in proper time' (Nâr. and Medh.), which latter attempts also another explanation, 'a public woman' or 'one common to several men.' The fine intended is two thousand *panas* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

374. Âp. II, 26, 20; 27, 9; Gaut. XII, 2-3; Vas. XXI, 5, 5; Baudh. II, 3, 52; Yâgñ. II, 286, 294. 'Guarded,' i.e. 'by her husband or relatives' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

377. Âp. II, 26, 20; Vas. XXI, 2-3; Yâgñ. II, 286. 'Like a Sûdra,' see verse 374.

Brâhmanî (not only) guarded (but the wife of an eminent man), shall be punished like a Sûdra or be burnt in a fire of dry grass.

378. A Brâhmana who carnally knows a guarded Brâhmanî against her will, shall be fined one thousand (*panas*); but he shall be made to pay five hundred, if he had connexion with a willing one.

379. Tonsure (of the head) is ordained for a Brâhmana (instead of) capital punishment; but (men of) other castes shall suffer capital punishment.

380. Let him never slay a Brâhmana, though he have committed all (possible) crimes; let him banish such an (offender), leaving all his property (to him) and (his body) unhurt.

381. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brâhmana; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brâhmana.

382. If a Vaisya approaches a guarded female of the Kshatriya caste, or a Kshatriya a (guarded) Vaisya woman, they both deserve the same punishment as in the case of an unguarded Brâhmana female.

383. A Brâhmana shall be compelled to pay a fine of one thousand (*panas*) if he has intercourse with guarded (females of) those two (castes); for (offending with) a (guarded) Sûdra female a fine of one thousand (*panas* shall be inflicted) on a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.

384. For (intercourse with) an unguarded Kshatriyâ a fine of five hundred (*panas* shall fall) on a

382. According to the commentators the rule of verse 376 applies.

Vaisya; but (for the same offence) a Kshatriya shall be shaved with the urine (of a donkey) or (pay) the same fine.

385. A Brâhmana who approaches unguarded females (of the) Kshatriya or Vaisya (castes), or a Sûdra female, shall be fined five hundred (*panas*); but (for intercourse with) a female (of the) lowest (castes), one thousand.

386. That king in whose town lives no thief, no adulterer, no defamer, no man guilty of violence, and no committer of assaults, attains the world of Sakra (Indra).

387. The suppression of those five in his dominions secures to a king paramount sovereignty among his peers and fame in the world.

388. A sacrificer who forsakes an officiating priest, and an officiating priest who forsakes a sacrificer, (each being) able to perform his work and not contaminated (by grievous crimes), must each be fined one hundred (*panas*).

389. Neither a mother, nor a father, nor a wife, nor a son shall be cast off; he who casts them off, unless guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, shall be fined by the king six hundred (*panas*).

390. If twice-born men dispute among each other

385. 'A female of the lowest castes,' i.e. 'a *Kandâli*' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'belonging to the castes of washermen, leather-workers, actors, basket-makers, fishermen, Medas, or Bhillas' (Nâr.).

386. Vi. V, 196.

388. 'An officiating priest,' i.e. 'one who has sacrificed for his family since many generations' (Gov., Nâr.).

389. Vi. V, 163; Yâgñ. II, 237. 'Shall not be cast off,' i.e. 'shall not be refused maintenance or the due respect' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

390. 'Of the orders,' i.e. 'of the four orders' (Nâr., Râgh.), or 'of the householders' (Gov., Kull.). Medh. and Nand. take âsrama

concerning the duty of the orders, a king who desires his own welfare should not (hastily) decide (what is) the law.

391. Having shown them due honour, he should, with (the assistance of) Brâhmanas, first soothe them by gentle (speech) and afterwards teach them their duty.

392. A Brâhmana who does not invite his next neighbour and his neighbour next but one, (though) both (be) worthy (of the honour), to a festival at which twenty Brâhmanas are entertained, is liable to a fine of one mâsha.

393. A Srotriya who does not entertain a virtuous Srotriya at auspicious festive rites, shall be made to pay him twice (the value of) the meal and a mâsha of gold (as a fine to the king).

394. A blind man, an idiot, (a cripple) who moves with the help of a board, a man full seventy years old, and he who confers benefits on Srotriyas, shall not be compelled by any (king) to pay a tax.

not in the sense of 'order,' but of 'hermitage,' and 'twice-born men' in the sense of 'hermits.' Nâr. explains na vibrûyât, 'shall not (hastily) decide,' by 'shall not wrongly decide by himself.'

392. Vi. V, 94; Yâgñ. II, 263. 'A festival,' i.e. 'a wedding and so forth' (Medh.), or 'at which a dinner is given' (Nand.). Anuversya, 'his next neighbour but one' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'he who lives at the back of his house,' while the neighbour living opposite is the prâtiversitya. 'Twenty,' i.e. 'twenty or more other Brâhmanas' (Gov.). 'A mâsha,' i.e. 'of silver' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'of gold' (Medh., Nâr.).

393. 'A virtuous Srotriya,' i.e. 'a neighbour' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'living in the same village' (Nâr.). Medh. says, 'one who is not a neighbour.'

394. Âp. II, 26, 10-15; Vas. XIX, 23-24. '(A cripple) who moves with the help of a board' is not an uncommon sight in the streets of Indian towns. 'By any (king),' i.e. 'even by one whose treasury is empty.'

395. Let the king always treat kindly a Srottriya, a sick or distressed man, an infant and an aged or an indigent man, a man of high birth, and an honourable man (Ārya).

396. A washerman shall wash (the clothes of his employers) gently on a smooth board of Sālmalt-wood ; he shall not return the clothes (of one person) for those (of another), nor allow anybody (but the owner) to wear them.

397. A weaver (who has received) ten palas (of thread), shall return (cloth weighing) one pala more ; he who acts differently shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve (paṇas).

398. Let the king take one-twentieth of that (amount) which men, well acquainted with the settlement of tolls and duties (and) skilful in (estimating the value of) all kinds of merchandise, may fix as the value for each saleable commodity.

399. Let the king confiscate the whole property of (a trader) who out of greed exports goods of which the king has a monopoly or (the export of which is) forbidden.

396. Yāgñ. II, 238. Sālmali, or cotton-tree wood, is naturally soft (Medh.).

397. Yāgñ. II, 179. Instead of 'twelve (paṇas),' (Kull., Rāgh.), Medh. proposes 'twelve (palas),' Gov. 'twelve (times the value of the thread),' and Nār. 'one-twelfth (of the value of the thread).' Nand. reads daraphalam and ekaphalādhikam, and says that the weaver is to pay to the king the profit of each eleventh piece of work which he performs.

398. Yāgñ. II, 261. Instead of 'of that (amount),' (Medh., Nār.), Gov., Kull., and Rāgh. say 'of the profit on that.'

399. Yāgñ. II, 261. Medh. gives as instances of monopolies, elephants ; in Kasmīr, saffron ; in the east, fine cloth and wool ; in the west, horses ; in the south, precious stones and pearls. Saffron is still a royal monopoly in Kasmīr.

400. He who avoids a custom-house (or a toll), he who buys or sells at an improper time, or he who makes a false statement in enumerating (his goods), shall be fined eight times (the amount of duty) which he tried to evade.

401. Let (the king) fix (the rates for) the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having (duly) considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the (probable) profit and the (probable) outlay.

402. Once in five nights, or at the close of each fortnight, let the king publicly settle the prices for the (merchants).

403. All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let him re-examine them.

404. At a ferry an (empty) cart shall be made to pay one *pana*, a man's (load) half a *pana*, an animal and a woman one quarter of a (*pana*), an unloaded man one-half of a quarter.

405. Carts (laden) with vessels full (of merchandise) shall be made to pay toll at a ferry according to the value (of the goods), empty vessels and men without luggage some trifle.

400. *Yâgñ.* II, 262. 'At an improper time,' i. e. 'at night and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.).

402. *Yâgñ.* II, 251. Gov. and Kull. say, 'let the king settle the price in the presence of those (experts,' see verse 398). The translation follows Râgh. The length of the periods depends thereon, whether the goods vary much in price. Medh. omits this and the next four verses.

403. Vas. XIX, 13.

405. 'Empty vessels,' i. e. such as serve for the transport of merchandise, jars, leather-bags, baskets, &c. *Aparikkhadâh*, 'men without luggage,' may also be translated 'men without attendants.' Kull. and Râgh. say, 'poor men.'

406. For a long passage the boat-hire must be proportioned to the places and times; know that this (rule refers) to (passages along) the banks of rivers; at sea there is no settled (freight).

407. But a woman who has been pregnant two months or more, an ascetic, a hermit in the forest, and Brâhmanas who are students of the Veda, shall not be made to pay toll at a ferry.

408. Whatever may be damaged in a boat by the fault of the boatmen, that shall be made good by the boatmen collectively, (each paying) his share.

409. This decision in suits (brought) by passengers (holds good only) in case the boatmen are culpably negligent on the water; in the case of (an accident) caused by (the will of) the gods, no fine can be (inflicted on them).

410. (The king) should order a Vaisya to trade, to lend money, to cultivate the land, or to tend cattle, and a Sûdra to serve the twice-born castes.

411. (Some wealthy) Brâhmana shall compassionately support both a Kshatriya and a Vaisya, if they are distressed for a livelihood, employing them on work (which is suitable for) their (castes).

412. But a Brâhmana who, because he is powerful, out of greed makes initiated (men of the) twice-born (castes) against their will do the work of slaves, shall be fined by the king six hundred (panas).

407. Vi. V, 132. According to Medh., heterodox monks must pay, because the word Brâhmana (taken above with students) refers to all the persons mentioned.

408. 'Whatever,' i. e. 'merchandise' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'luggage' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

411. I. e. he shall employ a poor Kshatriya as watchman, and a Vaisya as herdsman (Medh.). If he employs them in this way, he is not punishable (Gov., Kull.).

413. But a *Sûdra*, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to do servile work; for he was created by the Self-existent (*Svayambhû*) to be the slave of a *Brâhmana*.

414. A *Sûdra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it?

415. There are slaves of seven kinds, (*viz.*) he who is made a captive under a standard, he who serves for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought and he who is given, he who is inherited from ancestors, and he who is enslaved by way of punishment.

416. A wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong.

413. 'Whether bought or unbought,' i. e. 'whether maintained in consideration of service or not' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Ragh.*), or 'whether bought or hired' (*Nâr.*).

414. *Medh.* says that the last clause is 'an *arthavâda*, because further on it will be shown that a slave can be emancipated.' *Kull.* thinks that an emancipated *Sûdra* must still serve *Brâhmanas* or other *Âryans* in order to gain spiritual merit.

415. *Medh.* rejects the notion that a captive *Kshatriya* can be made a slave, and thinks that a captured *Sûdra* must be meant; but see *Yâgñ.* II, 183, where it is laid down that *Kshatriyas* may become the slaves of *Brâhmanas* and *Vaisyas* of *Brâhmanas* and *Kshatriyas*. *Nâr.* explains *dhvagâhrîtaḥ*, 'one made a captive under a standard,' by 'one who has become a slave by marrying a female slave.' 'Enslaved by way of punishment,' i. e. 'because he cannot pay a debt or a fine' (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'also because he left a religious order' (see *Vi. V.*, 152), (*Nâr.*, *Nand.*)

416. According to *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*, the verse means only that these persons are unable to dispose of their property independently. *Nâr.*'s short note (*adhigakṣhamti parakarmakara-nâdinâ*) seems to indicate that he took it to refer to their incapacity to earn money by working for others.

417. A Brāhmaṇa may confidently seize the goods of (his) Sūdra (slave); for, as that (slave) can have no property, his master may take his possessions.

418. (The king) should carefully compel Vaisyas and Sūdras to perform the work (prescribed) for them; for if these two (castes) swerved from their duties, they would throw this (whole) world into confusion.

419. Let him daily look after the completion of his undertakings, his beasts of burden, and carriages, (the collection of) his revenues and the disbursements, his mines and his treasury.

420. A king who thus brings to a conclusion all the legal business enumerated above, and removes all sin, reaches the highest state (of bliss).

CHAPTER IX.

1. I will now propound the eternal laws for a husband and his wife who keep to the path of duty, whether they be united or separated.

2. Day and night women must be kept in depend-

417. 'Confidently' means according to Medh., Nâr., and Nand. 'without fearing that he commits the sin of accepting a present from a Sūdra.'

419. Karmântân, 'the completion of his undertakings' (Kull, Râgh.), means according to Medh., Gov., and Nand. 'the works,' i. e. 'agriculture, offices for collecting tolls and duties, and so forth' (Medh., Gov.), according to Nâr. 'the workshops, e. g. for making arms.' The last explanation is perhaps the best.

IX. 1. According to Medh., Gov., and Kull. the duties of husband and wife are placed in the section on civil and criminal law, because the king can and even is bound to enforce their observance by punishments, if either of the two raises a complaint. 'Separated,' i. e. 'when the husband is absent or dead' (Nâr., Râgh.).

2-3. Gaut. XVIII, 1; Vas. V, 1-2; Baudh. II, 3, 44-45; Vi. V, 1-2; Yâgñ. I, 85.

ence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control.

3. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence.

4. Reprehensible is the father who gives not (his daughter in marriage) at the proper time; reprehensible is the husband who approaches not (his wife in due season), and reprehensible is the son who does not protect his mother after her husband has died.

5. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families.

6. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive to guard their wives.

7. He who carefully guards his wife, preserves (the purity of) his offspring, virtuous conduct, his family, himself, and his (means of acquiring) merit.

2. 'Must be kept under one's control,' i. e. 'they must be restrained from their vicious attachment' (âtmano vâse sthâpyâ yathâ na sa-gyante), (Nâr.)

4. Yâgñ. I, 64. 'At the proper time,' i. e. before she is marriageable; see Gaut. XVIII, 21; Vas. XVII, 67-71. 'The husband,' see Baudh. IV, 1, 17-19, and above, III, 45. After this verse K. inserts another, not mentioned by the commentators, 'If the wife is guarded, the (purity of the) offspring is secured thereby; if the (purity of the) offspring is secured, oneself is secure.'

6. Yâgñ. I, 81. 'Weak husbands,' i. e. 'blind, lame, or poor ones, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.).

7. 'His family,' i. e. 'his ancestors,' because legitimate sons alone can offer the Srâddhas (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'his relatives,' because adultery brings dishonour (Medh., Râgh.), or 'the position of the

8. The husband, after conception by his wife, becomes an embryo and is born again of her ; for that is the wifehood of a wife (*gâyâ*), that he is born (*gâyate*) again by her.

9. As the male is to whom a wife cleaves, even so is the son whom she brings forth ; let him therefore carefully guard his wife, in order to keep his offspring pure.

10. No man can completely guard women by force ; but they can be guarded by the employment of the (following) expedients :

11. Let the (husband) employ his (wife) in the collection and expenditure of his wealth, in keeping (everything) clean, in (the fulfilment of) religious duties, in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils.

12. Women, confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded ; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.

13. Drinking (spirituous liquor), associating with wicked people, separation from the husband, rambling abroad, sleeping (at unseasonable hours), and dwelling in other men's houses, are the six causes of the ruin of women.

family' (*Nâr.*), or 'his property' (*Râgh.*). 'Himself,' i. e. 'because legitimate children alone can offer the *Srâddhas*' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), or 'because an adulteress and her paramour are likely to attempt his life' (*Medh.*). 'His (means of acquiring) merit,' i. e. 'because the husband of an adulteress is not entitled to kindle the sacred fire' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Nâr.* says, 'his duty (as a householder).'

8. *Yâgñ.* I, 56. The idea is taken from the Veda ; see e.g. *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* VII, 13, to which *Kull.* refers.

13. 'Associating with wicked people,' i. e. 'with other unfaithful wives' (*Nâr.*), or 'with adulterers' (*Râgh.*).

✓ 14. Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age; (thinking), '(It is enough that) he is a man,' they give themselves to the handsome and to the ugly.

15. Through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this (world).

16. Knowing their disposition, which the Lord of creatures laid in them at the creation, to be such, (every) man should most strenuously exert himself to guard them.

17. (When creating them) Manu allotted to women (a love of their) bed, (of their) seat and (of) ornament, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct.

18. For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule.

19. And to this effect many sacred texts are sung also in the Vedas, in order to (make) fully known the true disposition (of women); hear (now those texts which refer to) the expiation of their (sins).

20. 'If my mother, going astray and unfaithful, conceived illicit desires, may my father keep that seed from me,' that is the scriptural text.

18. The sacramental rites meant are the birth-ceremony and so forth; see also above, II, 66. 'Destitute of strength' (Gov.), i. e. 'of firmness, intelligence, bodily strength, &c.' (Medh., Nand.). The second half verse is closely allied to that quoted Baudh. II, 3, 46, and, like the latter, probably a modification of a Vedic passage.

20. The verse is a slightly altered Mantra which occurs in the

21. If a woman thinks in her heart of anything that would pain her husband, the (above-mentioned text) is declared (to be a means for) completely removing such infidelity.

22. Whatever be the qualities of the man with whom a woman is united according to the law, such qualities even she assumes, like a river (united) with the ocean.

23. Akshamâlâ, a woman of the lowest birth, being united to Vasishtha and Sâraṅgî, (being united) to Mandapâla, became worthy of honour.

24. These and other females of low birth have

Sâṅkhâya *Grihya-sûtra* III, 13, and in the *Kâturmâsya* portion of the *Kâṭhaka* recension of the Black Yagur-veda. According to the former work it is to be recited by an *Anyatrakaraṇa*, 'the son of a paramour.' But the *Kaṭhas* prescribe its use by every sacrificer who offers a *Kâturmâsya* sacrifice. Medh., Gov., and Kull. probably allude to the custom of the latter school when they say that the Mantra must be recited by every sacrificer, and that its *viniyoga* or destination is to be repeated at the *Kâturmâsya* and at the *Anvash-takâ-srâddha*. Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nâr., and Nand. explain *retah*, 'seed,' by *mâtriragorûpam skannam*, and *vrîṅktâm*, 'may he keep away,' either by *bhagatâm (svîkarotu, Nâr., Nand.)*, 'may he take for himself,' or by *sodhayatu*, 'may he purify' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. likewise knows the last explanation. But he gives also another, *retah pituh sambandhi yad retah sukram*, and *vrîṅktâm*, *apanudatu*, which comes nearer to that given above. *Nidarśanam*, 'a scriptural text,' means according to Medh., *drishântah*, 'an example,' and the other commentators explain it similarly.

22. I.e. as a river becomes salt after uniting with the ocean. It must be borne in mind that, according to the Indian poets, the rivers are the wives of the ocean.

23. Akshamâlâ or Arundhatî was a *Kāṇḍâlî* (Gov., Râgh.), and became, as the *Śruti* states (Râgh.), with the permission of the *Rishis*, the wife of the sage Vasishtha. The story of Mandapâla is told in the *Mahâbhârata* I, 8335 seq. (Adhy. 229). Medh., Gov., and K. read *Sârṅgî* instead of *Sâraṅgî* or *Sârāṅgî*.

attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of their husbands.

25. Thus has been declared the ever pure popular usage (which regulates the relations) between husband and wife; hear (next) the laws concerning children which are the cause of happiness in this world and after death.

26. Between wives (*striyaḥ*) who (are destined) to bear children, who secure many blessings, who are worthy of worship and irradiate (their) dwellings, and between the goddesses of fortune (*śriyaḥ*, who reside) in the houses (of men), there is no difference whatsoever.

27. The production of children, the nurture of those born, and the daily life of men, (of these matters) woman is visibly the cause.

28. Offspring, (the due performance of) religious rites, faithful service, highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself, depend on one's wife alone.

29. She who, controlling her thoughts, speech, and acts, violates not her duty towards her lord, dwells with him (after death) in heaven, and in this world is called by the virtuous a faithful (wife, *sādhvī*).

30. But for disloyalty to her husband a wife is censured among men, and (in her next life) she is born in the womb of a jackal and tormented by diseases, the punishment of her sin.

27. Instead of *pratyaham*, 'the daily (life of men),' Medh. and Nâr. read *pratyartham*, '(the life of men) in all its details,' and Gov. *prîtyartham*, 'the friendly intercourse of men,' because he who has no wife cannot entertain others (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. mentions also another reading, *pratyardham*.

29. Identical with V, 165.

30. Vas. XXI, 14; see also above, V, 164.

31. Listen (now) to the following holy discussion, salutary to all men, which the virtuous (of the present day) and the ancient great sages have held concerning male offspring.

32. They (all) say that the male issue (of a woman) belongs to the lord, but with respect to the (meaning of the term) lord the revealed texts differ; some call the begetter (of the child the lord), others declare (that it is) the owner of the soil.

33. By the sacred tradition the woman is declared to be the soil, the man is declared to be the seed; the production of all corporeal beings (takes place) through the union of the soil with the seed.

34. In some cases the seed is more distinguished, and in some the womb of the female; but when both are equal, the offspring is most highly esteemed.

35. On comparing the seed and the receptacle (of the seed), the seed is declared to be more important; for the offspring of all created beings is marked by the characteristics of the seed.

36. Whatever (kind of) seed is sown in a field, prepared in due season, (a plant) of that same kind,

32. Âp. II, 13, 6-7; Gaut. XVIII, 9-14; Vas. XVII, 6-9, 63-64. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., and Nand. But Medh., Nâr., and K. (prima manu) read kartari instead of bhartari, and with this reading the verse has to be translated as follows: 'They (all) declare that a (lawfully begotten) son belongs to the husband, but with respect to the begetter (of a child on another's wife) there is a conflict between the revealed texts; some declare the begetter (to be the owner of the son), others that (he belongs to the) owner of the soil.'

34. The commentators point out the cases of Vyâsa and Rîshya-sriṅga as instances of the truth of the first proposition, and of Dhṛitarâshṭra and other Kshetragas as instances of the second. 'Equal,' i. e. 'belonging to the same owner and to the same class' (Medh.).

marked with the peculiar qualities of the seed, springs up in it.

37. This earth, indeed, is called the primeval womb of created beings; but the seed develops not in its development any properties of the womb.

38. In this world seeds of different kinds, sown at the proper time in the land, even in one field, come forth (each) according to its kind.

39. The rice (called) *vṛihi* and (that called) *sâli*, mudga-beans, sesamum, *mâsha*-beans, barley, leeks, and sugar-cane, (all) spring up according to their seed.

40. That one (plant) should be sown and another be produced cannot happen; whatever seed is sown, (a plant of) that kind even comes forth.

41. Never therefore must a prudent well-trained man, who knows the Veda and its *Âṅgas* and desires long life, cohabit with another's wife.

42. With respect to this (matter), those acquainted with the past recite some stanzas, sung by *Vâyu* (the Wind, to show) that seed must not be sown by (any) man on that which belongs to another.

43. As the arrow, shot by (a hunter) who afterwards hits a wounded (deer) in the wound (made by

37. 'Develops not any properties of the womb,' i.e. 'shows no properties such as being composed of earth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

39. *Vṛihi*, i.e. such rice as ripens in sixty days (*shashāikā*); *sâli*, i.e. 'red rice, which ripens in the cold season' (Gov., Nâr.). *Mudga*, i.e. *Phaseolus Mungo* (*mûg*); *mâsha*, i.e. *Phaseolus Radiatus*.

41. *Vigñâna*, 'the knowledge of the *Âṅgas*' (Kull.), means according to Medh. and Nâr., 'profane knowledge;' according to Râgh., 'the tradition.' Nand. inverts the order, and says, 'profane and sacred learning.'

43. Or, according to a second explanation offered by Medh., 'As the arrow of the hunter who hits a wounded deer is shot into the air (as it were) and becomes useless.'

another), is shot in vain, even so the seed, sown on what belongs to another, is quickly lost (to the sower).

44. (Sages) who know the past call this earth (*prithivī*) even the wife of *Prithu*; they declare a field to belong to him who cleared away the timber, and a deer to him who (first) wounded it.

45. He only is a perfect man who consists (of three persons united), his wife, himself, and his offspring; thus (says the Veda), and (learned) *Brāhmaṇas* propound this (maxim) likewise, 'The husband is declared to be one with the wife.'

46. Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband; such we know the law to be, which the Lord of creatures (*Pragâpati*) made of old.

47. Once is the partition (of the inheritance) made, (once is) a maiden given in marriage, (and) once does (a man) say, 'I will give;' each of those three (acts is done) once only.

44. 'Though the earth, after she belonged to *Prithu*, was possessed by many kings, yet she is called *Prithivī*, or *Prithvī*, after her first owner *Prithu*' (*Medh.*, *Nâr.*).

45. In confirmation of the first maxim the commentators adduce a passage of the *Vâgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa*; see also *Âp.* II, 14, 16.

46. The meaning is that a wife, sold or repudiated by her husband, can never become the legitimate wife of another who may have bought or received her after she was repudiated (*Medh.*).

47. *Yâgñ.* I, 65. 'A partition (of the inheritance),' i. e. 'one which has been made in accordance with the law, not one made unjustly' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Medh.* mentions two other explanations: 1. 'if one of the coparceners complains afterwards that he has received too little, he is entitled only to have the particular point readjusted, not to annul the whole division;' 2. 'if after the division it appears that one of the coparceners was disqualified by bodily defects and ought not to have received a share, the portion

48. As with cows, mares, female camels, slave-girls, buffalo-cows, she-goats, and ewes, it is not the begetter (or his owner) who obtains the offspring, even thus (it is) with the wives of others.

49. Those who, having no property in a field, but possessing seed-corn, sow it in another's soil, do indeed not receive the grain of the crop which may spring up.

50. If (one man's) bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows; in vain would the bull have spent his strength.

51. Thus men who have no marital property in women, but sow their seed in the soil of others, benefit the owner of the woman; but the giver of the seed reaps no advantage.

52. If no agreement with respect to the crop has been made between the owner of the field and the owner of the seed, the benefit clearly belongs to the owner of the field; the receptacle is more important than the seed.

53. But if by a special contract (a field) is made over (to another) for sowing, then the owner of the seed and the owner of the soil are both considered in this world as sharers of the (crop).

54. If seed be carried by water or wind into

made over to him cannot be resumed by the others.' Nâr. refers the phrase 'I will give' to a verbal promise to give a girl, made without a libation of water. I read with Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. *sakṛit sakṛit*, instead of *satâm sakṛit*, 'those three (acts are done) once among good men.' The object of the verse is to show that a marriage is indissoluble, because a girl can be given once only (Kull., Nand.).

50. Vas. XVII, 8.

54. I read with Gov., Râgh., and K. *bîḡt*, 'the owner of the

somebody's field and germinates (there), the (plant sprung from that) seed belongs even to the owner of the field, the owner of the seed does not receive the crop.

55. Know that such is the law concerning the offspring of cows, mares, slave-girls, female camels, she-goats, and ewes, as well as of females of birds and buffalo-cows.

56. Thus the comparative importance of the seed and of the womb has been declared to you; I will next propound the law (applicable) to women in times of misfortune.

57. The wife of an elder brother is for his younger (brother) the wife of a Guru; but the wife of the younger is declared (to be) the daughter-in-law of the elder.

58. An elder (brother) who approaches the wife of the younger, and a younger (brother who approaches) the wife of the elder, except in times of misfortune, both become outcasts, even though (they were duly) authorised. →

59. On failure of issue (by her husband) a woman who has been authorised, may obtain, (in the) proper (manner prescribed), the desired offspring by (cohabitation with) a brother-in-law or (with some other) *Sapinda* (of the husband). 4

seed,' instead of *vaptâ*, 'the sower of the seed' (Medh., Kull., Nand.).

55. 'Such is the law,' i.e. what has been stated in verses 48-54.

56. 'In times of misfortune,' i.e. 'when there is no male offspring.'

57. Guru means here, according to Râgh., 'the father.' As the younger brother's wife is called 'the daughter-in-law' of the elder, the explanation is probably correct.

58-63. Gaut. XVIII, 4-8; Vas. XVII, 56-61; Baudh. II, 4, 9-10; Yâgñ. I, 68-69.

59. A woman can be authorised by her husband, or after his

60. He (who is) appointed to (cohabit with) the widow shall (approach her) at night anointed with clarified butter and silent, (and) beget one son, by no means a second.

61. Some (sages), versed in the law, considering the purpose of the appointment not to have been attained by those two (on the birth of the first), think that a second (son) may be lawfully procreated on (such) women.

62. But when the purpose of the appointment to (cohabit with) the widow has been attained in accordance with the law, those two shall behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law.

63. If those two (being thus) appointed deviate from the rule and act from carnal desire, they will both become outcasts, (as men) who defile the bed of a daughter-in-law or of a Guru.

64. By twice-born men a widow must not be appointed to (cohabit with) any other (than her husband); for they who appoint (her) to another (man), will violate the eternal law.

death by his relatives. 'On failure of issue,' i.e. 'of sons' (Gov., Râgh., Nand.), or 'of sons and of an appointed daughter' (Medh.). If the son born is not fit to offer the Srâddhas, a second may be begot (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

60. According to the commentators, the expression 'the widow' is not intended to prohibit an appointment by a diseased or impotent husband.

61. 'Because the Sish/as say, "He who has one son only, has no son"' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

62. 'Those two,' i.e. 'the elder brother and the female appointed.'

63. 'Those two,' i.e. 'an elder or younger brother.' 'The rule,' see verse 60. For the last clause, compare verse 57.

64-68. These verses flatly contradict the rules given in the preceding ones. But it by no means follows that they are a modern

65. In the sacred texts which refer to marriage the appointment (of widows) is nowhere mentioned, nor is the re-marriage of widows prescribed in the rules concerning marriage.

66. This practice which is reprehended by the learned of the twice-born castes as fit for cattle is said (to have occurred) even among men, while Vena ruled.

67. That chief of royal sages who formerly possessed the whole world, caused a confusion of the castes (*varṇa*), his intellect being destroyed by lust.

68. Since that (time) the virtuous censure that (man) who in his folly appoints a woman, whose husband died, to (bear) children (to another man).

69. If the (future) husband of a maiden dies after troth verbally plighted, her brother-in-law shall wed her according to the following rule.

70. Having, according to the rule, espoused her (who must be) clad in white garments and be intent

addition. For the same view is expressed by Âp. II, 27, 2-6, and was held, according to Baudh. II, 3, 34, by Aupagandhani. Moreover the *Bṛhaspati Smṛiti* states expressly (Colebrooke IV, Dig. CLVII) that the contradictory statement occurred in the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*, known to its author.

65. In his commentary on verse 66 Medh. points out that in other sacred texts, *Rig-veda* X, 40, 2, the *Niyoga* is mentioned.

66. According to the epic and Paurāṇic tradition Vena was the father of *Prithu*, and a godless king, who demanded that the sacrifices should be offered to himself, not to the gods. He was, therefore, cut to pieces by the *Brāhmanas* with blades of *Kusa* grass. But hitherto no other passage has been found where it is stated that he introduced the practice of *Niyoga*. Possibly the assertion of the *Mānava* may have grown out of the etymological import of the word *vena*, 'full of desire or lust.'

70. The child born by a female thus married belongs, as the commentators point out, to her deceased betrothed.

on purity, he shall approach her once in each proper season until issue (be had).

71. Let no prudent man, after giving his daughter to one (man), give her again to another; for he who gives (his daughter) whom he had before given, incurs (the guilt of) speaking falsely regarding a human being.

72. Though (a man) may have accepted a damsel in due form, he may abandon (her if she be) blemished, diseased, or deflowered, and (if she have been) given with fraud.

73. If anybody gives away a maiden possessing blemishes without declaring them, (the bridegroom) may annul that (contract) with the evil-minded giver.

74. A man who has business (abroad) may depart after securing a maintenance for his wife; for a wife, even though virtuous, may be corrupted if she be distressed by want of subsistence.

75. If (the husband) went on a journey after providing (for her), the wife shall subject herself to restraints in her daily life; but if he departed without providing (for her), she may subsist by blameless manual work.

71. *Yâgñ.* I, 65; Vi. XXV, 9-10. Regarding the guilt incurred, see above, VIII, 98. Medh. and Nand. say that the verse is meant to forbid the marriage of a girl whose betrothed died. But Kull. thinks that it refers to all cases where a betrothal has taken place, and that it removes a doubt which might arise through a too strict interpretation of VIII, 227.

72. 'In due form,' i. e. 'with a libation of water and in the presence of *Brâhmanas*' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). 'Blemished,' i. e. 'by evil bodily marks' (Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'by being of a base family' (Nâr.).

73. See above, VIII, 205, 224.

74. Nand. inserts verses 95-96 after this.

75. *Yâgñ.* I, 84. 'Shall subject herself to restraints in her daily

76. If the husband went abroad for some sacred duty, (she) must wait for him eight years, if (he went) to (acquire) learning or fame six (years), if (he went) for pleasure three years.

77. For one year let a husband bear with a wife who hates him ; but after (the lapse of) a year let him deprive her of her property and cease to cohabit with her.

78. She who shows disrespect to (a husband) who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture.

79. But she who shows aversion towards a mad or outcast (husband), a eunuch, one destitute of manly strength, or one afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes, shall neither be cast off nor be deprived of her property.

80. She who drinks spirituous liquor, is of bad life,' i.e. 'shall not adorn herself, nor visit the houses of strangers, or go to festivals' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

76. Gaut. XVIII, 15, 17; Vas. XVII, 75-80. Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. declare that after the expiration of the terms mentioned the wife shall go to seek her husband. Nand. says, 'the meaning is that no sin is committed if she afterwards takes another husband.' Medh. holds that she shall support herself, as before, by blameless occupations and remain chaste. He mentions the opinion of others, according to which she may take another husband in accordance with Nârada's and Parâsara's precepts, but rejects it. 'For pleasure,' i.e. 'in order to gain the favours of another woman whom he prefers' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

77. 'Her property,' i.e. 'the ornaments and other wealth given to her by himself' (Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'her separate property, which he may have given to her' (stridhana, Nâr.). The commentators add that she must, however, be maintained.

78. 'Addicted to (some evil) passion,' i.e. 'to gambling and so forth' (Kull., Nâr.), or 'to avarice' (Râgh.).

80-81. Baudh. II, 4, 6; Yâgyñ. I, 73.

80. 'Diseased,' i.e. 'afflicted with leprosy or the like' (Kull.);

conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, or wasteful, may at any time be superseded (by another wife).

81. A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year, she whose children (all) die in the tenth, she who bears only daughters in the eleventh, but she who is quarrelsome without delay.

82. But a sick wife who is kind (to her husband) and virtuous in her conduct, may be superseded (only) with her own consent and must never be disgraced.

83. A wife who, being superseded, in anger departs from (her husband's) house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family.

84. But she who, though having been forbidden, drinks spirituous liquor even at festivals, or goes to public spectacles or assemblies, shall be fined six *krishṇālas*.

85. If twice-born men wed women of their own and of other (lower castes), the seniority, honour, and habitation of those (wives) must be (settled) according to the order of the castes (*varṇa*).

86. Among all (twice-born men) the wife of equal caste alone, not a wife of a different caste by any means, shall personally attend her husband and assist him in his daily sacred rites.

87. But he who foolishly causes that (duty) to be

'mischievous,' i.e. 'who beats or ill-treats her children, servants, &c.' (Medh., Nâr., Kull.).

83. 'Of the family,' i.e. 'of her own and the husband's family' (Medh.), or 'of her own family' (Kull., Nâr.).

86. Vi. XXVI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 88. 'Personally attend,' i.e. 'prepare and bring his food, &c.' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.).

87. Vi. XXVI, 2. Instead of 'by the ancients' (Kull., Râgh.,

performed by another, while his wife of equal caste is alive, is declared by the ancients (to be) as (despicable) as a *Kāṇḍāla* (sprung from the) *Brāhmaṇa* (caste).

88. To a distinguished, handsome suitor (of) equal (caste) should (a father) give his daughter in accordance with the prescribed rule, though she have not attained (the proper age).

89. (But) the maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in (the father's) house until death, than that he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities.

90. Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but after that time let her choose for herself a bridegroom (of) equal (caste and rank).

91. If, being not given in marriage, she herself seeks a husband, she incurs no guilt, nor (does) he whom she weds.

92. A maiden who chooses for herself, shall not take with her any ornaments, given by her father or her mother, or her brothers; if she carries them away, it will be theft.

93. But he who takes (to wife) a marriageable

Nand.), Medh. says, 'since olden times,' *Nār.* 'in the *Purāṇa.*' Regarding the origin of the *Kāṇḍālas*, see below, X, 12.

88-92. Gaut. XVIII, 20-23; Vas. XVII, 69-71; Baudh. IV, 1, 11-14; Vi. XXIV, 40-41; *Yāgñ.* I, 64.

88. 'Though she have not attained (the proper age),' i.e. 'the age of eight years' (*Kull.*, *Nār.*, *Rāgh.*), or 'before she is bodily fit for marriage' (*Medh.*, *Nand.*). *Medh.* specially objects to the first opinion, 'because men greedy of money give even an infant in marriage.'

92. I read with *Medh.* and *Nand.*, *steyam syāt*, instead of *stenā syāt*, 'she will be a thief' (*Kull.*, *Rāgh.*, *K.*). *Medh.* mentions another reading, *stenaḥ syāt*, 'he, i.e. the bridegroom, will be a thief.'

93. *Medh.* says that this verse, according to 'some,' does not belong to *Manu* (*keḥid āhuḥ amānavo 'yam slokaḥ*).

damsel, shall not pay any nuptial fee to her father ; for the (latter) will lose his dominion over her in consequence of his preventing (the legitimate result of the appearance of) her menses.

94. A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age ; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner.

95. The husband receives his wife from the gods, (he does not wed her) according to his own will ; doing what is agreeable to the gods, he must always support her (while she is) faithful.

96. To be mothers were women created, and to be fathers men ; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Veda to be performed (by the husband) together with the wife.

97. If, after the nuptial fee has been paid for a maiden, the giver of the fee dies, she shall be given in marriage to his brother, in case she consents.

94. Medh. and Kull. point out that this verse is not intended to lay down a hard and fast rule, but merely to give instances of suitable ages. 'If (the performance of) his duties would be impeded, &c.,' i. e. 'if he has finished his studentship earlier, he must marry at once in order to be able to fulfil his duties as a householder' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

95. 'From the gods,' i. e. 'from those mentioned in the Mantras recited at the wedding, e. g. from Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitri, &c.' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'from Agni' (Nâr.), or 'from Soma, the Gandharva, and Agni' (Medh., Nand.). Medh. reads *vindetânikkayâ*, 'shall wed without a wish on his part,' but mentions the other reading, *vindate nekṭhayâ*, too. According to Medh., Kull., and Râgh., a faithful wife must be supported, even if she does not love her husband.

97. 'His brother,' i. e. 'his full brother, who is even (as) the deceased himself' (Nâr.). Regarding the nuptial fee, and the

98. Even a Sûdra ought not to take a nuptial fee, when he gives away his daughter ; for he who takes a fee sells his daughter, covering (the transaction by another name).

99. Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have done such (a deed) that, after promising (a daughter) to one man, they gave her to another ;

100. Nor, indeed, have we heard, even in former creations, of such (a thing as) the covert sale of a daughter for a fixed price, called a nuptial fee.

101. 'Let mutual fidelity continue until death,' this may be considered as the summary of the highest law for husband and wife.

102. Let man and woman, united in marriage, constantly exert themselves, that (they may not be) disunited (and) may not violate their mutual fidelity.

103. Thus has been declared to you the law for a husband and his wife, which is intimately connected with conjugal happiness, and the manner of raising offspring in times of calamity ; learn (now the law concerning) the division of the inheritance.

104. After the death of the father and of the mother, the brothers, being assembled, may divide among themselves in equal shares the paternal (and the maternal) estate ; for, they have no power (over it) while the parents live.

contradiction between this and the next verses, see note on VIII, 204.

99. Nand. places this verse after the next.

104. Gaut. XXVIII, 1 ; Baudh. II, 3, 8 ; Yâgyñ. II, 117. The father's estate is to be divided after the father's death, and the mother's estate after the mother's death (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). The mother's estate devolves on the sons only on failure of daughters (Nâr.). The word *ârdhvam*, 'after,' indicates by implication that the rule holds good in the case of the (father's)

105. (Or) the eldest alone may take the whole paternal estate, the others shall live under him just as (they lived) under their father.

106. Immediately on the birth of his first-born a man is (called) the father of a son and is freed from the debt to the manes; that (son), therefore, is worthy (to receive) the whole estate.

107. That son alone on whom he throws his debt and through whom he obtains immortality, is begotten for (the fulfilment of) the law; all the rest they consider the offspring of desire.

108. As a father (supports) his sons, so let the eldest support his younger brothers, and let them also in accordance with the law behave towards their eldest brother as sons (behave towards their father).

109. The eldest (son) makes the family prosperous or, on the contrary, brings it to ruin; the eldest (is considered) among men most worthy of honour, the eldest is not treated with disrespect by the virtuous.

110. If the eldest brother behaves as an eldest brother (ought to do), he (must be treated) like a

turning ascetic (Râgh.). The equal division takes place if the eldest does not desire to receive an additional share (Kull.). The last clause shows that a division of the property may take place with the parents' permission during their lifetime (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

105. Gaut. XXVIII, 3; Baudh. II, 3, 13. I. e. if the eldest son is virtuous (Kull., Râgh.), or possesses particularly eminent qualities, while the others are less distinguished (Nâr.).

106. Regarding the debt, see Vas. XI, 48.

107. This verse alludes to the Vedic text quoted, Vas. XVII, 1; Vi. XV, 45.

108. I. e. if they make no division and the eldest takes the whole estate (Kull.). Nand. places this verse after the next.

110. 'Behaves as an eldest brother (ought to do),' i. e. 'duly protects and educates the younger ones' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.).

mother and like a father; but if he behaves in a manner unworthy of an eldest brother, he should yet be honoured like a kinsman.

111. Either let them thus live together, or apart, if (each) desires (to gain) spiritual merit; for (by their living) separate (their) merit increases, hence separation is meritorious.

112. The additional share (deducted) for the eldest shall be one-twentieth (of the estate) and the best of all chattels, for the middlemost half of that, but for the youngest one-fourth.

113. Both the eldest and the youngest shall take (their shares) according to (the rule just) stated; (each of) those who are between the eldest and the youngest, shall have the share (prescribed for the) middlemost.

114. Among the goods of every kind the eldest shall take the best (article), and (even a single chattel) which is particularly good, as well as the best of ten (animals).

'Like a kinsman,' i.e. 'like a maternal or paternal uncle' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.); see also below, verse 213.

111. Gaut. XXVIII, 4. '(Their) merit increases,' i.e. 'each of them has to kindle the sacred fire, to offer separately the Agni-hotra, the five great sacrifices and so forth, and hence each gains separately merit' (Medh., Kull.).

112. Gaut. XXVIII, 5-7; Baudh. II, 3, 9; Vi. XVIII, 37; Yâgñ. II, 114. 'The remainder shall be divided equally,' see verse 116 (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Medh. says that 'some' declare that the rules on the unequal partition refer to past times, and have no authority for the Kaliyuga. But he rejects this view.

113. The object of the verse is to show that no difference shall be made between sons intervening between the eldest and the youngest, however great their number may be (Kull., Râgh.).

114. Gaut. XXVIII, 11-13; Baudh. II, 3, 6. '(Even a single chattel) which is particularly good,' i.e. 'a dress or an ornament' (Medh.), or 'something impartible like an idol' (Nand.).

115. But among (brothers) equally skilled in their occupations, there is no additional share, (consisting of the best animal) among ten; some trifle only shall be given to the eldest as a token of respect.

116. If additional shares are thus deducted, one must allot equal shares (out of the residue to each); but if no deduction is made, the allotment of the shares among them shall be (made) in the following manner.

117. Let the eldest son take one share in excess, the (brother) born next after him one (share) and a half, the younger ones one share each; thus the law is settled.

118. But to the maiden (sisters) the brothers shall severally give (portions) out of their shares, each out of his share one-fourth part; those who refuse to give (it), will become outcasts.

'The best of ten animals,' thus Kull., Nâr., Râgh., according to Gaut. XXVIII, 12, where they read *darataḥ paśūnām*, instead of *daratam*. Medh. gives the same explanation, but applies the rule also to clothes and ornaments. He adds, that 'others' explain the text in accordance with Vas. XVII, 43, 'And a tithe (of the cattle and horses).' Nand. nearly agrees with Medh.'s opinion, as he says that everything shall be divided into ten shares, and the eldest shall take one in excess. All the commentators agree that this additional share belongs to an eldest brother only, if he is endowed with particularly good qualities and the rest are inferior to him.

115. Âp. II, 13, 13. 'Their occupations,' i. e. 'reciting the Veda and so forth' (Kull., Râgh.). According to Nâr., the phrase 'no additional share (consisting of the best animals) among ten' indicates that none of the other additions, mentioned in verse 114, shall be given. Nand. omits this verse.

116. Gaut. XXVIII, 8.

117. Gaut. XXVIII, 9-10; Vas. XVII, 42. 'One share in excess,' i. e. 'two shares' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). The latter four point out that this division is to be made when the eldest and the second brothers are more eminent than the rest.

118. Vi. XVIII, 35; Yâgñ. II, 124. According to all the com-

119. Let him never divide (the value of) a single goat or sheep, or a (single beast) with uncloven hoofs; it is prescribed (that) a single goat or sheep (remaining after an equal division, belongs) to the eldest alone.

120. If a younger brother begets a son on the wife of the elder, the division must then be made equally; thus the law is settled.

mentators the meaning is that, if a man leaves children by wives of different castes, the brothers are to provide for the dowry of the unmarried sisters of the same caste, i. e. a Brāhmaṇa's sons by a Brāhmaṇa wife for the daughters of the latter, the sons by a Kshatriya wife for the daughters of the latter, &c. This meaning is more clearly expressed by Medh.'s reading, *svābhyaḥ svābhyaḥ tu kanyābhaḥ*, 'But the brothers shall give (portions) to the maiden (sisters), each to those of his own (caste).' Kull. adds, that the duty of providing for sisters devolves in the first instance on brothers of the full blood, and in default of such on half-brothers.

As regards the expression 'a fourth share,' Medh. says that a brother shall receive three-fourths and the sister one-fourth, and that, if there are many sisters, they shall receive one-fourth of the share of a brother of equal caste. Kull. agrees with the first part of the explanation, but adds, 'Hence it must be understood that even if there are many brothers and sisters of the same caste, but born of different mothers, one-fourth part must be given to the sisters of the full blood' (i. e. by their full brothers). Nār. says, 'They shall give each one-fourth part of their share, and take three parts; and the same division must be made if there are many daughters. But if there are many sons and one daughter, they must deduct from their several shares as much money as will be equal to a fourth part of one brother's share and give that.' Medh. censures those commentators who think that one-fourth share need not be actually given, but only as much as will suffice to defray the marriage expenses.

119. I. e. such an animal is not to be sold and the proceeds to be divided; nor shall its value be made good to the other brothers by giving them other objects (Medh., Kull., Nār., Rāgh.).

120. I. e. the Kshetrāga receives no preferential share, as his father would have done. Kull. infers from this verse that, though

121. The representative (the son begotten on the wife) is not invested with the right of the principal (the eldest brother to an additional share); the principal (became) a father on the procreation (of a son by his younger brother); hence one should give a share to the (son begotten on the wife of the elder brother) according to the rule (stated above).

122. If there be a doubt, how the division shall be made, in case the younger son is born of the elder wife and the elder son of the younger wife,

123. (Then the son) born of the first wife shall

above, verse 104, brothers (i.e. sons of the deceased) only are named, grandsons inherit, also according to Manu, just like sons and with sons; see also below, verse 186.

121. Thus Kull.; Nand. agrees with respect to the first half-verse, but explains the second as follows, 'The father is the principal in the procreation of children; hence one must give a share to the (son begotten on the wife of the eldest) according to the law (declared above).' Nâr. also differs, 'The subsidiary (son) does not by law take the place of the principal, (and cannot for that reason receive an additional share); his father (the eldest was) the principal for continuing the line; hence one should give a share (to his subsidiary son) in accordance with the law.' Râgh. goes off still further, 'The principal (the eldest) must according to the law not be treated like the substitute (i.e. not be deprived of an additional share, yet as) the father is the chief person in the procreation (of children), one should give a share to the (son of the wife) in accordance with the law (applicable to his real father).' Medh. has a similar explanation, '(To say) that the substitute (i.e. the Kshetrâga) is equal to the principal is not proper according to the sacred law; the father (i.e. the begetter) is the principal in the procreation of children, hence one must give a share (to the Kshetrâga) in accordance (with the law declared above).'

122. The point to be decided is, if the seniority is to be according to the mothers or according to actual birth. The eldest wife is, of course, the one married first.

123. Gaut. XXVIII, 14.

take as his additional share one (most excellent) bull; the next best bulls (shall belong) to those (who are) inferior on account of their mothers.

124. But the eldest (son, being) born of the eldest wife, shall receive fifteen cows and a bull, the other sons may then take shares according to (the seniority of) their mothers; that is a settled rule.

125. Between sons born of wives equal (in caste) (and) without (any other) distinction no seniority in right of the mother exists; seniority is declared (to be) according to birth.

126. And with respect to the Subrahmanyâ (texts) also it is recorded that the invocation (of Indra shall be made) by the first-born, of twins likewise, (conceived at one time) in the wombs (of their mothers) the seniority is declared (to depend) on (actual) birth.

124. Gaut. XXVIII, 15. 'May take shares,' i. e. 'may divide the (other) cows' (Medh., Kull.), or 'shall each receive one bull, a very good one, a less excellent one, in due order, according to the seniority of their mothers' (Nâr.).

125. As this verse and the following one contradict the rules given in verses 123-124, the commentators try to reconcile them in various ways. Medh. thinks that verses 123-124 are an arthavâda and have no legal force, and Râgh. inclines to the same opinion. Nâr. and Nand. hold that the seniority according to the mother's marriage is of importance for the law of inheritance (verses 123-124), but that it has no value with respect to salutations and the like or to prerogatives at sacrifices (verses 125-126). Kull., finally relying on Gov.'s opinion, thinks that the rules leave an option, and that their application depends on the existence of good qualities and the want of such. It is, however, probable that, according to the custom of Hindu writers, the two conflicting opinions are placed side by side, and that it is intended that the learned should find their way out of the difficulty as they can.

126. The Subrahmanyâ texts contain an invitation, addressed to Indra, to partake of the Soma; see Aitareya-brâhmana VI, 3. Nand. reads *yamayor kaikagarbhe* 'pi.

127. He who has no son may make his daughter in the following manner an appointed daughter (putrikâ, saying to her husband), 'The (male) child, born of her, shall perform my funeral rites.'

128. According to this rule Daksha, himself, lord of created beings, formerly made (all his female offspring) appointed daughters in order to multiply his race.

129. He gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, twenty-seven to King Soma, honouring (them) with an affectionate heart.

130. A son is even (as) oneself, (such) a daughter is equal to a son; how can another (heir) take the estate, while such (an appointed daughter who is even) oneself, lives?

131. But whatever may be the separate property of the mother, that is the share of the unmarried daughter alone; and the son of an (appointed) daughter shall take the whole estate of (his maternal grandfather) who leaves no son.

127. Gaut. XXVIII, 18; Vas. XVII, 17; Baudh. II, 3, 15; Vi. XV, 5.

128. The story of Daksha's fifty, sixty, or twenty-four daughters occurs in the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. The twenty-seven given to King Soma, the moon, are the lunar mansions or Nakshatras.

130. 'A son is even (as) oneself;' see the verse quoted, Baudh. II, 3, 14. The commentators state that the word duhitâ, 'daughter,' means here putrikâ, 'an appointed daughter.' Medh. adds that in accordance with this verse, an appointed daughter who has no son, when her father dies, does not inherit his property(?).

131. Gaut. XXVIII, 24; Vi. XVII, 21. The correctness of the translation of the term yautakam by 'separate property' (Medh.), follows from its being used below, verse 214, to denote the separate hoard made by an elder brother. According to Medh., Kull., and Nâr. all strîdhana is meant; according to 'others' mentioned by Medh., Nand., and Râgh., the so-called saudâyikam or property derived from the

132. The son of an (appointed) daughter, indeed, shall (also) take the estate of his (own) father, who leaves no (other) son; he shall (then) present two funeral cakes to his own father and to his maternal grandfather.

133. Between a son's son and the son of an (appointed) daughter there is no difference, neither with respect to worldly matters nor to sacred duties; for their father and mother both sprang from the body of the same (man).

134. But if, after a daughter has been appointed, a son be born (to her father), the division (of the inheritance) must in that (case) be equal; for there is no right of primogeniture for a woman.

135. But if an appointed daughter by accident dies without (leaving) a son, the husband of the appointed daughter may, without hesitation, take that estate.

father's family. Kumârî, 'an unmarried daughter' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'a daughter who has no sons.' Dauhitraḥ, literally 'the son of a daughter,' means according to the commentators 'the son of an appointed daughter,' putrikâputraḥ. The first rule is, according to Kull., Nâr., and Nand., a general maxim, which refers not merely to the case of a putrikâ. The second rule shows, according to Nand., that the appointed daughter herself does not inherit her father's estate, if she has a son.

132. Medh. mentions a var. lect., aputrasya hared yadi, 'If the son of an (appointed) daughter takes the entire estate of (his maternal grandfather), &c.,' which is also found in Gov.'s text, but considers it to be wrong.

133. Yâgñ. II, 128. Loke dharmataḥ, 'neither with respect to worldly affairs nor to sacred duties' (Kull.), means according to Râgh. and Nand. 'with respect to sacred duties, according to the law.'

135. 'That estate,' i.e. 'what the appointed daughter received from her father either during his lifetime or after his death' (Nâr.). Kull. adds that the verse is intended to forbid the father's inheriting his pre-deceased daughter's property, on the plea that she was like a son (see verse 185). Nand. says that the paternal uncles &c. shall not take the putrikâ's estate.

136. Through that son whom (a daughter), either not appointed or appointed, may bear to (a husband) of equal (caste), his maternal grandfather (has) a son's son; he shall present the funeral cake and take the estate.

137. Through a son he conquers the worlds, through a son's son he obtains immortality, but through his son's grandson he gains the world of the sun.

138. Because a son delivers (trâyate) his father from the hell called Put, he was therefore called put-tra (a deliverer from Put) by the Self-existent (Svayambhû) himself.

139. Between a son's son and the son of a daughter there exists in this world no difference; for even the son of a daughter saves him (who has no sons) in the next world, like the son's son.

136. Kull. explains *akṛitâ vâ kṛitâ vâpi* by '(a daughter) either appointed not (explicitly but by a mental reservation), or appointed (explicitly, at the betrothal, according to verse 127).' He adds that Gov. takes the word *akṛitâ* in its usual sense, and asserts that the verse allows the son of a daughter not appointed to inherit his maternal grandfather's estate. The latter opinion is held also by Nâr., who remarks that the son of a daughter not appointed inherits on failure of a wife or of daughters of his grandfather; and by Nand. Râgh. and Medh. side with Kull., whose explanation is supported by Gaut. XXVIII, 20, and still more by Vi. XV, 6. The latter passage clearly prescribes that the daughter of a man who has no sons is in every case 'an appointed daughter.'

137. Vas. XVII, 5; Vi. XV, 46; Yâgñ. I, 78. 'The worlds,' i. e. 'the ten, called *visoka* (free from sorrow), the first of which is *svarga*' (Medh.). 'Immortality, i. e. a very long residence in those same (worlds),' (Medh., Kull.) 'The sun,' i. e. '*Hiranyagarbha*' (Nâr.). The verse shows that sons and grandsons inherit, though a wife and the rest may be living (Kull.).

138. Vi. XV, 44.

139. Vi. XV, 47. According to Medh. and Kull., *dauhitra*, 'the

140. Let the son of an appointed daughter first present a funeral cake to his mother, the second to her father, the third to his father's father.

141. Of the man who has an adopted (Datrima) son possessing all good qualities, that same (son) shall take the inheritance, though brought from another family.

142. An adopted son shall never take the family (name) and the estate of his natural father; the funeral cake follows the family (name) and the estate, the funeral offerings of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease (as far as that son is concerned).

son of a daughter,' means here also 'the son of an appointed daughter.' Nand. reads putravat, 'like a son;' Gov. pûrvagân, '(and) the ancestors.'

140. Baudh. II, 3, 16. Medh. mentions a var. lect., pitus tasya, 'the second to his father,' which he, however, justly considers to be bad.

141. Vas. XV, 9-10; Baudh. Parishva 16. Medh., Kull., and Râgh. refer this rule to the case where a man has a legitimate son and an adopted son, and think that in such a case the latter, being eminently virtuous, shall receive, like a Kshetrâga (see verse 146), a fifth or sixth part of the estate. Medh. remarks that some think he is to have half, but that their opinion is improper, and finally that Upâdhyâya, i.e. his teacher, allots to the adopted son less than to the Kshetrâga. Kull. and Râgh. state that Gov. took the verse to mean that an eminently virtuous adopted son shall inherit on failure of a legitimate son and of the son of the wife, but that this explanation is inadmissible on account of verse 165. Nevertheless Râgh. reproduces Gov.'s opinion. Nâr. says, 'It has been declared that an adopted son receives a share like the chief son, when he is eminently virtuous.' Nand. reads at the end of the second line, sam-prâpto 'sya na putrakâh, 'shall take the inheritance, (provided) the (adoptive father) has no son.'

142. Medh. mentions another 'improper' explanation, according to which haret, 'shall take,' is to mean hârayet, 'shall allow to be taken,' and the purport of the verse is that 'he is to benefit both (fathers) like a Dvyâmushyâyâna.'

143. The son of a wife, not appointed (to have issue by another), and he whom (an appointed female, already) the mother of a son, bears to her brother-in-law, are both unworthy of a share, (one being) the son of an adulterer and (the other) produced through (mere) lust.

144. Even the male (child) of a female (duly) appointed, not begotten according to the rule (given above), is unworthy of the paternal estate; for he was procreated by an outcast.

145. A son (legally) begotten on such an appointed female shall inherit like a legitimate son of the body; for that seed and the produce belong, according to the law, to the owner of the soil.

146. He who takes care of his deceased brother's estate and of his widow, shall, after raising up a son for his brother, give that property even to that (son).

147. If a woman (duly) appointed bears a son to her brother-in-law or to another (*Sapinda*), that (son, if he is) begotten through desire, they declare (to be) incapable of inheriting and to be produced in vain.

148. The rules (given above) must be understood (to apply) to a distribution among sons of women of the same (caste); hear (now the law) concerning

144. 'The rule (given above),' i. e. that given above, verse 60. Nand. omits this verse.

145. Medh. and Kull. state that the object of this verse is to teach that a Kshetrâga, if endowed with good qualities, may even receive (against verse 120) the additional share of an eldest son, because it is said that he inherits 'like a legitimate son.' Nâr. says, '(the expression) like a legitimate son (is used) in order to establish (the title to) an equal share.' Nand. omits this verse.

146. 'This rule refers to the case where the two brothers are divided, while verse 120 refers to those who live in union' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). Nand. places this verse after 147.

those begotten by one man on many wives of different (castes).

149. If there be four wives of a Brâhmana in the direct order of the castes, the rule for the division (of the estate) among the sons born of them is as follows :

150. The (slave) who tills (the field), the bull kept for impregnating cows, the vehicle, the ornaments, and the house shall be given as an additional portion to the Brâhmana (son), and one most excellent share.

151. Let the son of the Brâhmanî (wife) take three shares of the (remainder of the) estate, the son of the Kshatriyâ two, the son of the Vaisyâ a share and a half, and the son of the Sûdrâ may take one share.

152. Or let him who knows the law make ten shares of the whole estate, and justly distribute them according to the following rule :

149-156. Gaut. XXVIII, 35-39 ; Vas. XVII, 48-50 ; Baudh. II, 3, 10 ; Vi. XVIII, 1-33, 38-40 ; Yâgyñ. II, 125.

150. 'The ornaments,' i. e. 'the ring which the father used to wear, and the like' (Medh., Kull.). 'The house,' i. e. 'the principal mansion' (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). *Ekâmsas ka pradhânatah*, 'one most excellent share' (Medh., Kull.), means according to Nâr., with whom Nand. agrees, 'and one share consisting of the chief, i. e. best property' (*pradhânato mukhyadhanâd utkrîṣhṭâd ity arthaḥ*), and according to Râgh. 'and one share, because he is the chief person.' According to Nâr. this 'one share' must be equal in value to one of the three shares mentioned in the next verse.

151. Medh. and Kull. remark that the rule holds good also if there are more sons than one in each class.

152. According to Nâr. this rule refers to the case when each of the wives has several sons, while the preceding one is applicable when each wife has one son only. Râgh. thinks that the first rule shall be followed when the son of the Brâhmanî possesses good qualities, the second when he is destitute of them.

153. The Brâhmana (son) shall take four shares, the son of the Kshatriyâ (wife) three, the son of the Vaisyâ shall have two parts, the son of the Sûdrâ may take one share.

154. Whether (a Brâhmana) have sons or have no sons (by wives of the twice-born castes), the (heir) must, according to the law, give to the son of a Sûdra (wife) no more than a tenth (part of his estate).

155. The son of a Brâhmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya by a Sûdra (wife) receives no share of the inheritance; whatever his father may give to him, that shall be his property.

156. All the sons of twice-born men, born of wives of the same caste, shall equally divide the estate, after the others have given to the eldest an additional share.

157. For a Sûdra is ordained a wife of his own caste only (and) no other; those born of her shall have equal shares, even if there be a hundred sons.

153. Medh. points out that according to other Smṛitis the Brâhmana son alone receives land, given to his father, and that the Sûdra son receives no share in land, if there is other property.

154. Hence on failure of other sons the other heirs, the Sapindas (Medh.), or the widow and the rest (Nâr.), shall take the rest of the estate. Nâr. adds that he may obtain more than a tenth, if his father give it to him.

155. The son of a Sûdra wife receives no share of his father's estate in case the mother was not legally married (Medh. 'others,' Kull.), or in case he is destitute of good qualities (Kull., Râgh.). According to Medh. and Nâr., na rikthabhâk, 'receives no share of the inheritance,' means 'receives no (larger) share (than one-tenth, except if the father himself has given more to him).' But it seems more probable, that the verse is intended to inculcate the maxim that a son by a Sûdra wife cannot claim any fixed portion of the inheritance from his father who divides his estate.

156. Medh., Gov., and K. read vâ, 'or,' instead of ye (gâtâh), but this gives no good sense, as Medh. remarks.

158. Among the twelve sons of men whom Manu, sprung from the Self-existent (Svayambhū), enumerates, six are kinsmen and heirs, and six not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

159. The legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife, the son adopted, the son made, the son secretly born, and the son cast off, (are) the six heirs and kinsmen.

160. The son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, the son bought, the son begotten on a re-married woman, the son self-given, and the son of a Sûdra female, (are) the six (who are) not heirs, (but) kinsmen.

161. Whatever result a man obtains who (tries to) cross a (sheet of) water in an unsafe boat, even that result obtains he who (tries to) pass the gloom (of the next world) with (the help of) bad (substitutes for a real) son.

162. If the two heirs of one man be a legitimate

158-159. Gaut. XXVIII, 31-33; Vas. XVII, 25, 38; Baudh. II, 3, 31-32.

158. I.e. the first six inherit the family estate and offer the funeral oblations, the last six do not inherit, but offer libations of water and so forth as remoter kinsmen (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand. 'some'). Medh., Nâr., and Nand. take *adâyâdabândhavâh* to mean 'not heirs nor kinsmen.' But Kull. rightly objects that the parallel passage of Baudh. proves this explanation to be wrong. Nâr. finally interprets *bandhudâyâdâh*, 'heirs and kinsmen,' as 'heirs to the kinsmen,' i.e. 'inheritors of the estate of kinsmen, such as paternal uncles, on failure of sons, wives, and so forth.' Nâr. and Nand., as well as Medh. in his commentary on verse 166, add that the son of an appointed daughter is not mentioned, because he has been declared above to be equal to a legitimate son.

161. Medh. mentions another explanation of the expression *kuputraiḥ*, 'by bad (substitutes for a real) son,' according to which 'sons of a wife or widow not duly appointed' are meant.

162. According to Medh. and Gov. (quoted by Kull. and Râgh.),

son of his body and a son begotten on his wife, each (of the two sons), to the exclusion of the other, shall take the estate of his (natural) father.

163. The legitimate son of the body alone (shall be) the owner of the paternal estate; but, in order to avoid harshness, let him allow a maintenance to the rest.

164. But when the legitimate son of the body divides the paternal estate, he shall give one-sixth or one-fifth part of his father's property to the son begotten on the wife.

the rule refers to the case where a legitimate son and the son of a wife not appointed both claim the inheritance. But 'óthers,' quoted by Medh., Kull., and Râgh., think that it applies to the case where a wife first was appointed by her husband to procreate a son with his brother, and afterwards a legitimate son was born. The difficulty which under this explanation arises with respect to verse 164, is removed by assuming that the latter applies to the case where the natural father of the Kshetrâga has likewise sons, while verse 162 presupposes that he has none. Nâr. and Nand. say that the case which the rule contemplates, is that two brothers were undivided, and when the one died, the other, who himself had sons, begat with the widow a Kshetrâga son. On the death of the second brother, the Kshetrâga is entitled to receive only the share of the husband of his mother, not to claim a portion of the estate of his natural father. Under this supposition the translation would be, 'If a legitimate son (of one brother) and the son of the wife (of another) have a claim to one (undivided) estate, each shall receive the share of his father.'

163-165. Vi. XV, 28-30; Yâgñ. II, 132.

163. This rule refers to the case where one man leaves several substitutes for sons and a legitimate son (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). 'To the rest,' i.e. 'to all except the son begotten on the wife' (which latter is exempted by verses 164-165; Medh., Kull., Râgh., Nand.). 'He who does not maintain them, commits sin' (Medh., Kull.); but not, if they have other means of subsistence (Nand.).

164. This rule refers to the case where a Kshetrâga was begotten before the legitimate son, and received no property from his natural father (Râgh.); see also Kull.'s notes on verses 162-163. According

165. The legitimate son and the son of the wife (thus) share the father's estate ; but the other ten become members of the family, and inherit according to their order (each later named on failure of those named earlier).

166. Him whom a man begets on his own wedded wife, let him know to be a legitimate son of the body (Aurasa), the first in rank.

167. He who was begotten according to the peculiar law (of the Niyoga) on the appointed wife of a dead man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, is called a son begotten on a wife (Kshetrāga).

168. That (boy) equal (by caste) whom his mother or his father affectionately give, (confirming the gift)

to Nâr. it refers, however, to the case where a man died, leaving several widows, and one was appointed to bear a son by her brother-in-law, while another afterwards proved to be pregnant and bore a legitimate son. 'The Kshetrāga receives one-fifth, if he is endowed with good qualities, else one-sixth' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.).

165. Vas. XVII, 39. Gotrarikthâmsabhâginah, 'become members of the family (i. e. succeed to the family rights and duties) and inherit' (Medh., Kull., Nand.), may also be translated, 'share the family estate,' as Nâr. proposes. But his suggestion that the family estate is here mentioned in order to exclude them from their father's self-acquired property is doubtlessly wrong. Equally inadmissible seems another explanation, mentioned by Nâr. and Nand., according to which *amsabhâginah*, 'they share,' is to mean 'they obtain (such) a share (as will suffice for their maintenance).'

166. Âp. II, 18, 1 ; Vas. XVII, 13 ; Baudh. II, 3, 14 ; Vi. XV, 2 ; Yâgñ. II, 128. I read prâthamakalpikam with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. Râgh. gives prathamakalpikam. Kull. and Nâr. think that the wife must be of equal caste, while Medh. says that *sva* means 'his own,' not 'of his own caste.' Medh. mentions Kull.'s opinion as that of 'others.'

167. Vas. XVII, 14 ; Baudh. II, 3, 18 ; Vi. XV, 3 ; Yâgñ. I, 69, II, 127-128.

168. Vas. XVII, 29 ; Baudh. II, 3, 20 ; Vi. XV, 18-19 ; Yâgñ.

with (a libation of) water, in times of distress (to a man) as his son, must be considered as an adopted son (Dātrima).

169. But he is considered a son made (*Kṛitrīma*) whom (a man) makes his son, (he being) equal (by caste), acquainted with (the distinctions between) right and wrong, (and) endowed with filial virtues.

170. If (a child) be born in a man's house and his father be not known, he is a son born secretly in the house (*Gūḍhotpanna*), and shall belong to him of whose wife he was born.

171. He whom (a man) receives as his son, (after he has been) deserted by his parents or by either of them, is called a son cast off (*Apaviddha*).

II, 130. *Sadrīsam*, 'equal (by caste),' (Kull., Nār., Rāgh., Nand.), means according to Medh. 'equal by virtues, not by caste.' 'His mother or his father,' i.e. 'after mutually agreeing' (Kull.), 'the mother, if there is no father' (Rāgh.). Medh. and Nand. read *mâtâ pitâ ka*, 'his mother and his father,' but Medh. adds that *vâ* is the proper reading. 'Affectionately,' i.e. 'not out of avarice' (Medh.), or 'not out of fear and so forth' (Kull., Nand.), or 'not by force or fraud' (Rāgh.). 'In times of distress,' i.e. 'if the adopter has no son' (Kull., Rāgh.), or 'if the adoptee's parents are in distress' (Nār.).

169. Baudh. II, 3, 21; *Yâgñ.* II, 131. Medh. again says, 'equal by qualities.' 'Acquainted with (the distinctions between) right and wrong,' i.e. 'by performing or not performing *Śrāddhas* and other sacred rites merit or sin will follow' (Kull.), or 'I am now the son of so and so, and if I do not serve him I shall become an outcast' (Rāgh.), or 'not an infant' (Medh. 'some,' Nār.). Nār. adds that some read *gunadoshavitakshanaḥ*, and refer the adjective to the adopter, who is thereby warned not to take an outcast or the like.

170. Vas. XVII, 24; Baudh. II, 3, 22; Vi. XV, 13-14; *Yâgñ.* II, 129. According to the commentators the condition is that there is no suspicion that the wife had intercourse with a man of lower caste. Nār. says that the case contemplated is, that a wife had intercourse with several men of equal caste.

171. Vas. XVII, 37; Baudh. II, 3, 23; Vi. XV, 24-25; *Yâgñ.*

172. A son whom a damsel secretly bears in the house of her father, one shall name the son of an unmarried damsel (Kânîna, and declare) such offspring of an unmarried girl (to belong) to him who weds her (afterwards).

173. If one marries, either knowingly or unknowingly, a pregnant (bride), the child in her womb belongs to him who weds her, and is called (a son) received with the bride (Sahodha).

174. If a man buys a (boy), whether equal or unequal (in good qualities), from his father and mother for the sake of having a son, that (child) is called a (son) bought (Kṛitaka).

175. If a woman abandoned by her husband, or a widow, of her own accord contracts a second marriage and bears (a son), he is called the son of a re-married woman (Paunarbhava).

176. If she be (still) a virgin, or one who returned (to her first husband) after leaving him, she is worthy to again perform with her second (or first deserted) husband the (nuptial) ceremony.

II, 132. The reason of the desertion may be either extreme distress of the parents, or the commission of some fault on the part of the boy (Medh.). 'Provided the father of the child was of equal caste' (Nâr., Nand.).

172. Vas. XVII, 22-23; Baudh. II, 3, 24; Vi. XV, 10-11; Yâgñ. II, 129. 'Provided the lover was of equal or higher caste' (Nâr.).

173. Vas. XVII, 26-27; Baudh. II, 3, 25; Vi. XV, 15-16; Yâgñ. II, 131. Medh.'s commentary on verses 173-178 is missing in the I. O. copies.

174. Vas. XVII, 30-32; Baudh. II, 3, 26; Vi. XV, 20-21; Yâgñ. II, 131. 'Equal or unequal,' i. e. 'by good qualities, not by caste' (Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'whether of equal or of lower caste.'

175. Vas. XVII, 18; Baudh. II, 3, 27; Vi. XV, 7-9; Yâgñ. II, 130.

176. Vas. XVII, 74. 'Hence a re-married woman, who is not a

177. He who, having lost his parents or being abandoned (by them) without (just) cause, gives himself to a (man), is called a son self-given (*Svayamdatta*).

178. The son whom a *Brâhmaṇa* begets through lust on a *Sûdra* female is, (though) alive (*pârayan*), a corpse (*sava*), and hence called a *Pârasava* (a living corpse).

179. A son who is (begotten) by a *Sûdra* on a female slave, or on the female slave of his slave, may, if permitted (by his father), take a share (of the inheritance); thus the law is settled.

180. These eleven, the son begotten on the wife and the rest as enumerated (above), the wise call substitutes for a son, (taken) in order (to prevent) a failure of the (funeral) ceremonies.

181. Those sons, who have been mentioned in connection with (the legitimate son of the body),

virgin, is unworthy of the sacrament' (*Nâr.*). *Râgh.*, relying on *Yâgñ.* II, 130, expresses the contrary view, and thinks that the word *vâ*, 'or,' at the end of the first half-verse, permits the insertion of 'or not a virgin.'

177. *Vas.* XVII, 33-35; *Baudh.* II, 3, 28; *Vi.* XV, 22-23; *Yâgñ.* II, 131.

178. *Vas.* XVII, 38; *Baudh.* II, 3, 30; *Vi.* XV, 27. 'On a *Sûdra*-female' i. e. 'one married to him' (*Kull.*). The designation 'a corpse' indicates that his father derives imperfect benefits from his offerings (*Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or that he is blameable (*Râgh.*). The term *Brâhmaṇa* includes *Kshatriyas* by implication (*Nâr.*).

179. *Yâgñ.* II, 133. 'A share,' i. e. 'a share equal to that of a legitimate son' (*Kull.*), in case the division is made in the father's lifetime, else half a share according to *Yâgñ.* (*Medh.*).

180. *Kriyâlopât*, 'in (order to prevent) a failure of the (funeral) ceremonies,' means according to *Medh.* 'in (order to prevent) a failure of the duty (to beget offspring).' *Kull.* mentions this explanation also. *Nand.* says, 'when there is no legitimacy in consequence of the absence of the action of begetting one.'

181. *Âp.* II, 13, 7; *Baudh.* II, 3, 34-35. Hence they should not

being begotten by strangers, belong (in reality) to him from whose seed they sprang, but not to the other (man who took them).

182. If among brothers, sprung from one (father), one have a son, Manu has declared them all to have male offspring through that son.

183. If among all the wives of one husband one have a son, Manu declares them all (to be) mothers of male children through that son.

184. On failure of each better (son), each next inferior (one) is worthy of the inheritance; but if there be many (of) equal (rank), they shall all share the estate.

185. Not brothers, nor fathers, (but) sons take the paternal estate; but the father shall take the inheritance of (a son) who leaves no male issue, and his brothers.

be taken, if there is a legitimate son (Medh.), or an appointed daughter (Kull.).

182. Vas. XVII, 10; Vi. XV, 42. Hence no subsidiary sons (Kull., Râgh.), or no Kshetrâgas (Nâr.), are necessary in such a case. Kull. and Râgh. add that the brother will take estate and give the funeral offerings on failure of a wife, daughters, and so forth (Yâgyñ. II, 135).

183. Vas. XVII, 11; Vi. XV, 41. Hence no adoption or other substitution (Kull., Râgh.), or no appointment (Nâr.), shall be made in such a case.

184. 'Each better (son),' i.e. 'each earlier named among the twelve' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). Kull. and Râgh. add that, as the son of a Sûdra wife is enumerated among the twelve, and not considered like the son of Kshatriya and Vaisya wives a legitimate son, he inherits only on failure of all other subsidiary sons. 'Many (of) equal rank,' i.e. 'many Paunarbhavas and so forth' (Kull., Râgh.).

185. Kull. and Râgh. insert after 'who leaves no son,' 'nor widow and daughters,' and before 'brothers,' 'who leaves no parents.' Nâr., who (as also Gov., Nand., and K.) reads *eva vâ*, 'or brothers,' says that the father inherits the estate of an undivided

186. To three (ancestors) water must be offered, to three the funeral cake is given, the fourth (descendant is) the giver of these (oblations), the fifth has no connection (with them).

187. Always to that (relative within three degrees) who is nearest to the (deceased) *Sapinda* the

son, leaving no male issue, or the brothers with his permission, and that the estate of a divided son descends to his wife, and other heirs mentioned by Yâgñ. II, 135-136. All these interpolations are most probably improper, as Manu nowhere mentions the right of a wife or a daughter, not appointed, to the estate. The verse can only refer to a divided coparcener or to the separate property of an undivided one, and Manu's opinion seems to be that on failure of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, whose rights are indicated by verse 137, the father shall inherit, and after him the brothers.

186. 'To three,' i. e. 'to the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.). To these same three the cakes are offered (Kull., Râgh.). Kull. and Râgh. state that the object of the verse is to indicate the right of Kshetrâgas and other subsidiary sons to inherit the estate of a grandfather and so forth deceased without leaving issue. Kull. adds that the right of sons and grandsons of a legitimate son is indicated by verse 137. Nand., however, thinks that the verse serves to prove the right of grandsons and great-grandsons to inherit before 'brothers and the rest.'

187. Vas. XVII, 81-82; Gaut. XXVIII, 33; Âp. II, 14, 2-3. The above translation does not fully agree with any of the explanations given by the four commentators. On philological grounds it seems to me improbable that *anantaraḥ sapindât* can mean anything else than 'nearest to the *Sapinda*,' and that this *Sapinda* can be anybody else than the deceased. Further, as verse 186 apparently contains a definition of the term, limiting *Sapinda*-relationship to three degrees, and as in the second half of verse 187 the *Sakulyas*, 'those belonging to the same family,' are mentioned as the next heirs, it seems certain that 'the nearest' here meant is 'the nearest *Sapinda* or relative within three degrees.' Practically the proposed translation is not much different from that extracted by Kull. and others by the grammatically inadmissible expedient of taking *sapindât* for *sapindamadyât*, 'among the *Sapindas*.' The correctness of the above explanation is also attested by the closely allied parallel passage of Baudhâyana I, 11, 9-13, the first *Sûtra* of

estate shall belong ; afterwards a Sakulya shall be (the heir, then) the spiritual teacher or the pupil.

which corresponds to verse 186, while the other four express the same sense as verse 187. There too the term Sakulya occurs, which *Gimûtavâhana* takes to denote the three descendants beyond the great-grandson and the three ascendants beyond the great-grandfather, while others explain it as a general term, 'members of one family.' What Manu's precise acceptation of the word was cannot be said with certainty. But, as no technical definition is given by him, it will be safest to take it in its etymological and widest sense, 'the (remoter) members of the family,' and to assume that the principle of nearness to the deceased regulated the succession.

As regards the explanations of the commentators, Kull. says, 'As this general rule would be meaningless, if it were referred to the legitimate son and those other *Sapindas* alone, who have already been mentioned, its object must therefore be (to teach) that the wife and the rest, who have not been mentioned, shall inherit. To that *Sapinda* who is the nearest among the *Sapindas*, be he a male or a female, the estate of the deceased shall belong.' He then goes on to enumerate the heirs in the following order: 1. the legitimate son, sharing with a *Kshetrâgâ* (verse 164), and a virtuous adoptive son (verse 141); 2. the appointed daughter and her son; 3. the *Kshetrâgâ* and the other ten subsidiary sons, each on failure of the earlier named, with the proviso that the son of a *Sûdra* wife receives one-tenth of the estate only (verse 154); 4. the widow (on this point a great many passages are quoted, and Medh. is censured, because in his commentary, which is missing in the I. O. MSS., like the whole passage 182-201, he denied her right to inherit); 5. the daughter, not appointed; 6. the father and the mother; 7. full brothers; 8. sons of full brothers; 9. the paternal grandmother (verse 227); 10. any other near *Sapinda*, (a) of the grandfather's line, (b) of the great-grandfather's line, and so forth; 11. the *Samânodakas*, or relatives allied by libations of water (Kull. considering Sakulya as equivalent to *Samânodaka*); 12. the teacher; 13. the pupil. According to Kull. the translation should be, 'To the nearest among the *Sapindas* (male or female) the estate shall belong; afterwards (on failure of *Sapindas*) a *Samânodaka* shall be (the heir), next the teacher, and (then) the pupil.' Râgh. in substance agrees with this explanation, but in order to make the rule still more fully agree with *Yâgñ. II*, 135-136, he asserts that the

188. But on failure of all (heirs) Brāhmanas (shall) share the estate, (who are) versed in the three Vedas, pure and self-controlled; thus the law is not violated.

Bandhus or cognates are also implied by the term Sakulya. His explanation of the first words also differs from Kull.'s, and is more in accordance with the rules of grammar, 'He who is the nearest to the Sapinda, i.e. to the legitimate son and the son of the daughter—(viz.) the five, the wife and the rest (mentioned by Yāgñ. II, 135-136).' Rāgh. and Kull. are clearly under the spell of Yāgñ., and most improperly transfer into Manu's text the ideas of the latter. Nār.'s short disjointed remarks are not very clear. He explains the first words by *eshām madhye sapindānām ato tho[yo]nantaro yathā putrasya pitā tasya tatpitetyādi tasya tasya taddhanam*, 'Among those Sapindas the nearest to him, i.e. the father to his son, his father to him, and so forth; always to him that estate (shall belong).' He then enumerates, on failure of the father, the brother and his son, the grandfather, the Samānodaka, the Sagotra, and the 'Bandhu, i.e. the maternal uncle and the rest,' as successive heirs, and explains Sakulya by Bandhu.

Nand., whose text has a faulty reading *sapindārhaḥ*, asserts that *pinda* (*sapinda*?) means 'the deceased,' and explains the first line by saying, 'Always to him who is the Sapinda nearest to the deceased the wealth, the estate, shall belong—the repetition (of the word *tasya*) shows the successive order.' The Sakulyas are, according to him, the Samānodakas. He reads *sakulyāḥ syuḥ*, 'Sakulyas shall be the heirs.'

188. Gaut. XXVIII, 41; Vas. XVII, 84-86; Baudh. I, 13, 14; Vi. XVII, 13-14. The phrase 'on failure of all (heirs),' i.e. 'of those mentioned' (Rāgh.), or 'of all males and females, related in any way (to the deceased),' (Nand.), indicates according to Kull. that other unnamed persons, such as fellow-students, are also entitled to inherit. 'Brāhmanas,' i.e. 'such as live in the same village' (Nār.). 'Pure,' i.e. 'careful of external and internal purity' (Kull.), or better 'who are of good conduct' (Nār.). According to Kull. and Rāgh., the meaning of the last clause is that the Brāhmanas who inherit the estate will offer the funeral sacrifices, and thus no violation of the law regarding the Srāddhas will occur. Nār. points out that this rule, as the following verse shows, refers solely to the property of a Brāhmana.

189. The property of a Brāhmaṇa must never be taken by the king, that is a settled rule; but (the property of men) of other castes the king may take on failure of all (heirs).

190. (If the widow) of (a man) who died without leaving issue, raises up to him a son by a member of the family (Sagotra), she shall deliver to that (son) the whole property which belonged to the (deceased).

191. But if two (sons), begotten by two (different men), contend for the property (in the hands) of their mother, each shall take, to the exclusion of the other, what belonged to his father.

189. Âp. II, 14, 5; Gaut. XXVIII, 42; Vas. XVII, 83; Baudh. I, 13, 15-16. According to Kull. and Râgh., the repetition of the prohibition to take the property of a Brāhmaṇa shows that, if no learned and virtuous Brāhmaṇas are to be found, the king shall give the estate of a Brāhmaṇa deceased without heirs, even to men who have nothing but the name of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

190. According to Kull. and Râgh., this verse refers to the case in which a duly authorised widow bears a son to a relative of her husband, and repeats the rule given above, verse 146, which here however is made imperative on the widow. Kull. adds that the object of the repetition is to show that not only a brother-in-law or a Sapinda, as stated above, verse 59, but also a remoter relative, a Sagotra, may beget a son for a man deceased without issue. Nâr., on the other hand, thinks that in accordance with this verse a child which a widow bears, even without authorisation, to a Sagotra shall inherit the estate of the widow's deceased husband (*sagotrâd yadi tantum samtânam âhared aniyuktâpi strî tadâ golakave 'pi tasya gñâtyantarâbhâve kshetrapatidhanahâritvam ity arthaḥ*). He adds that some apply this rule to Sûdra females only, and that in the opinion of these persons Gûdhagas, Kânînas, and Sahodhas also are considered as sons in the case of Sûdras only, not in the case of Âryans.

191. Kull. and Nand. think that the verse refers to the case in which a woman married successively two husbands and bore a son to either. If the two husbands died and their property remained in

192. But when the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and the uterine sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate.

193. Even to the daughters of those (daughters) something should be given, as is seemly, out of the estate of their maternal grandmother, on the score of affection.

194. What (was given) before the (nuptial) fire, what (was given) on the bridal procession, what was

the hands of the wife, she is to make over the entire property of her first husband to his son, and the property of the second husband to the son of the latter. Râgh. gives the same explanation, but proposes as an alternative, 'If two (sons), begotten by two (different men), contend for the separate property of their mother, &c.' For a twice-married woman will have received nuptial and other presents from both husbands. After her death her sons shall each receive what came to her from his father. Nâr. finally holds that the verse refers to a contention between a legitimate son and a Golaka or a Paunarbhava for the estates of their respective fathers which their mother holds. He construes *striyâh* with *gâtau*, 'begotten by two (different men) on one woman.'

192. Kull. and Râgh. restrict this rule, in accordance with a passage of *Bṛihaspati*, to unmarried daughters, and hold that married daughters receive merely 'a token of respect.' The latter amounts according to Kull. to 'one-fourth of a share;' see above, verse 118. Nâr. says that the term 'the mother's estate' refers to 'other property than *stridhana* or separate property,' and adds to the expression 'the sisters' *aputrâḥ*, 'those who have no sons.' He, however, gives the opinion, held by Kull. and Râgh. also, stating that it belongs to 'some.'

193. Kull. holds that the granddaughters should be unmarried. Nâr. says, 'When the married daughters are dead, their daughters shall be presented at will by their maternal uncles with the share which their mothers would have received as a token of respect.' Râgh., too, thinks that 'on the score of affection' means 'at the pleasure (of the heirs).' But Nand. deduces from the same term the absolute necessity of the gift.

194. Vi. XVII, 17; *Yâgñ.* II, 143. 'What was given in token of love,' i.e. 'by the husband' (*ratikâle*, Nâr.).

given in token of love, and what was received from her brother, mother, or father, that is called the six-fold property of a woman.

195. (Such property), as well as a gift subsequent and what was given (to her) by her affectionate husband, shall go to her offspring, (even) if she dies in the lifetime of her husband.

196. It is ordained that the property (of a woman married) according to the Brâhma, the Daiva, the Ârsha, the Gândharva, or the Prâgâpatya rite (shall belong) to her husband alone, if she dies without issue.

197. But it is prescribed that the property which may have been given to a (wife) on an Âsura marriage or (one of the) other (blamable marriages, shall go) to her mother and to her father, if she dies without issue.

198. Whatever property may have been given by her father to a wife (who has co-wives of different castes), that the daughter (of the) Brâhmaṇī (wife) shall take, or that (daughter's) issue.

195. Yâgñ. II, 144. Kull. and Nâr. state that both the separate property of a woman, enumerated in verse 194, and that named in verse 195, descend to her children, i. e. 'to her sons and the rest' (Râgh.), or 'to her sons or daughters' (Nand.). Nâr. remarks that 'a gift subsequent' and 'the husband's affectionate gift' are not strîdhana, or separate property, and that hence the wife has no right of free disposal with respect to these two.

196-197. Vi. XVII, 19-20; Yâgñ. II, 145.

196. Nâr. adds to the term 'property,' strîdhanâstrîdhanarûpam, 'whether separate property or not.'

198. I. e. if a Brâhmaṇa has wives of the Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes, property given in any way to the Kshatriya wife by her own family, goes to the daughter of the Brâhmaṇa wife, or if that daughter of the Brâhmaṇa wife is dead and has left issue, to the latter. 'Thus the sons of the Brâhmaṇa wife are excluded' (Kull., Nâr.). Nâr. states expressly that the term 'issue' refers to daughters alone.

199. Women should never make a hoard from (the property of) their families which is common to many, nor from their own (husbands' particular) property without permission.

200. The ornaments which may have been worn by women during their husbands' lifetime, his heirs shall not divide; those who divide them become outcasts.

201. Eunuchs and outcasts, (persons) born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots and the dumb, as well as those deficient in any organ (of action or sensation), receive no share.

199. Kull. and Râgh., whose explanation the translation given above follows, take the first clause to refer to the property of a united family, and the second to the separate property of the husbands. But according to Nâr. and Nand. the translation should be as follows, 'Wives should never take anything (for their private expenses) from (their husbands' property, destined for the support of) their families, on which many have a claim, nor from their own property (which is not *strîdhana*), without the consent of their husbands.' Nâr.'s explanation of *nirhâram kuryuḥ*, 'should (never) take anything,' seems preferable to that given by Kull. and Râgh.

200. Vi. XVII, 22. 'His heirs,' i. e. 'the sons and the rest' (Kull., Nâr.). Nand., who differs from the above explanation, says, 'Since the ornaments are the husband's property, because they have not been mentioned as *strîdhana*, the object of this utterance is to forbid their going to the heirs, while the husband lives' (*alamkârasya strîdhane 'nudishatvâd bhartṛidhanatvena bhartṛibhâve dâyaâdânâm prâptyapavâdârtho 'yam ârambhaḥ*). Nand. appears, therefore, to construe *patyau gîvati* with *bhageran*, just as Nandapandita does in the parallel passage of Vishnu (see Professor Jolly's note).

201-203. Âp. II, 14, 1, 15; Gaut. XXVIII, 23, 40, 43; Vas. XVII, 52-53; Baudh. II, 3, 37-40; Vi. XV, 32-37; Yâgyñ. II, 140-141.

201. 'Eunuchs,' i. e. 'those who are incurable;' 'outcasts,' i. e. 'those guilty of a mortal sin (*mahâpâtaka*) before they perform a penance;' 'the insane,' i. e. 'those who are incurable' (Nâr.). 'Those deficient in any organ, i. e. of action' (Nand.), such as lame men (Kull., Nand.), such as men without hands (Râgh.), or

202. But it is just that (a man) who knows (the law) should give even to all of them food and raiment without stint, according to his ability; he who gives it not will become an outcast.

203. If the eunuch and the rest should somehow or other desire to (take) wives, the offspring of such among them as have children is worthy of a share.

204. Whatever property the eldest (son) acquires (by his own exertion) after the father's death, a share of that (shall belong) to his younger (brothers), provided they have made a due progress in learning.

also 'of sensation,' such as men who have lost the faculty of touch (Nâr.).

202. Medh. and Kull. take *atyantam*, 'without stint,' in the sense of 'for life.' Nâr. construes the word with *adadat*, and explains 'he who does not give it at all.' Nand. reads *abhyāṅgam*, 'ointments,' for *atyantam*, 'without stint.'

203. Medh. is of opinion that some of the persons disqualified from inheriting, the *vâtaretas klîba*, those born blind and the lame, may marry, while outcasts, madmen, and the rest cannot do so. Hence the conditional clause may be taken in the sense adopted above in the translation. He, however, adds that the rule may also refer to cases in which the cause of the disqualification arose after marriage. Nâr.'s explanation is substantially the same. But he considers that a eunuch and an outcast cannot contract a legal marriage, and that the expression *klibâdayaḥ*, literally 'those among whom the eunuch is the first,' refers to 'men born blind and the rest.' He admits also the rights of the *Kshetrâga* sons of eunuchs and outcasts who contracted a marriage before their disqualification arose. Kull. says, 'By the employment of the term "somehow or other" it is indicated that a eunuch and the rest are not worthy to marry.' In the sequel he explains the word 'offspring' by *Kshetrâga*. Râgh. and Nand. follow him with respect to the latter point.

204. The rule refers of course to a united family only (Kull.). Medh. infers from the expression *vidyânupâlinâḥ*, 'provided they have made a due progress in learning,' that 'persons subsisting by learning, mechanics and artisans, such as physicians, actors, singers,'

205. But if all of them, being unlearned, acquire property by their labour, the division of that shall be equal, (as it is) not property acquired by the father; that is a settled rule.

206. Property (acquired) by learning belongs solely to him to whom (it was given), likewise the gift of a friend, a present received on marriage or with the honey-mixture.

are meant. Nâr. and Nand. hold that no part of an acquisition, made under the same circumstances by the youngest brother, can be claimed by the eldest, because this verse specifies the eldest alone, and because the next verse declares that the acquisitions only made by any member of an unlearned family, shall be partible.

205. Gaut. XXXVIII, 31. This rule refers to acquisitions by trade (Medh., Kull., Nâr.), by agriculture (Medh., Kull. Nand.), or by royal service (Medh.). 'As the division is to be equal, the eldest receives no preferential share' (Medh., Kull., Nand.). Medh. adds that, since the expression 'as it is not property acquired by the father,' gives the reason for the equal division, the same rule holds good for the division of the estate of any other person deceased without issue. Nand. takes *apitrya iti* for *apitrya^h iti* and explains it by 'since (the division) has not been made by the father.'

206. Yâgñ. II, 118-119. 'Property acquired by learning,' i. e. 'a fee for teaching or money received for proficiency in an art' (Medh., Nand.), includes according to a text of Kâtyâyana, quoted by Kull. and Râgh. (see Colebrooke V, Digest CCCXLVII), gifts from pupils, gratuities for performing a sacrifice, a fee for answering a difficult question in casuistry, or for ascertaining a doubtful point in law, rewards for displaying knowledge or for victory in a learned contest, or for reciting the Veda with transcendent ability. Instances in which land was given as *vidyâdhana* occur in the inscriptions, see e. g. Indian Antiquary, XII, p. 195 b, l. 6. 'A present received on marriage,' i. e. 'what (the bridegroom) receives from the relatives of his wife' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'from any other person' (Medh. 'others'), means according to Nand., '*strîdhana* received at the time of marriage' (?). 'A present received with the honey-mixture' is explained by Medh. and, as Kull. asserts, by Gov. also, by 'the fee given for the performance of a sacrifice.' But the explanation given by Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and Nand., 'any

207. But if one of the brothers, being able (to maintain himself) by his own occupation, does not desire (a share of the family) property, he may be made separate (by the others) receiving a trifle out of his share to live upon.

208. What one (brother) may acquire by his labour without using the patrimony, that acquisition, (made solely) by his own effort, he shall not share unless by his own will (with his brothers).

209. But if a father recovers lost ancestral pro-

present received, in token of respect, with the honey-mixture,' e. g. a silver vase (Râgh.), is preferable. Regarding the persons worthy of the honey-mixture, see above, III, 119-120. Kull. points out that this rule is a restriction of that given above, verse 204. Râgh. adds that, as the parallel passage of Yâgñ. shows, such acquisitions become the private property of the donee, only if they were obtained 'without detriment to the paternal estate;' see also below, verse 208.

207. Yâgñ. II, 116. The translation given above follows the second explanation offered by Medh., and the glosses of Kull. and Nâr. According to Medh.'s first explanation, with which Nand. agrees, the translation would agree with Sir W. Jones's, 'he may debar himself from his share.' The reason why a trifle should be given is, according to all commentators, that future disputes may be prevented.

208. Yâgñ. II, 118; Vi. XVIII, 42. 'By his labour,' i. e. 'by agriculture and the like' (Medh., Kull., Nand.), or 'by any occupation entailing trouble' (śramaganyakarmāṇā, Nâr.). Anupaghnan, 'without using' (Nand.), or 'without living upon' (Râgh.), is explained by Kull. 'without detriment to,' and Nand. mentions this interpretation also. Nâr. remarks that acquisitions made without labour or trouble are liable to partition. Nand. says that the rule, given in this verse, may be reconciled with that contained in verse 205, by assuming that the latter presupposes that all brothers exert themselves according to their ability (pūrvam sarveshu yathāsāmarthyam ihamāneshu bhrātṛiṣhu labdhasya samavibhāga ukta ityavirodho 'nusamdheyaḥ).

209. Yâgñ. II, 119; Vi. XVIII, 43. The translation of paitrikam, lit. 'paternal,' by 'ancestral,' is based on Nâr.'s gloss svapitri-

perty, he shall not divide it, unless by his own will, with his sons, (for it is) self-acquired (property).

210. If brothers, (once) divided and living (again) together (as coparceners), make a second partition, the division shall in that case be equal; in such a case there is no right of primogeniture.

211. If the eldest or the youngest (brother) is deprived of his share, or if either of them dies, his share is not lost (to his immediate heirs).

212. His uterine brothers, having assembled together, shall equally divide it, and those brothers who were reunited (with him) and the uterine sisters.

sambandhi and on Râgh.'s *pitrîpitâmahâdisambandhi*. The latter refers also to the parallel passage of *Yâgñ.* *Anavâptam*, 'lost,' means literally 'not obtained (by his father).' The translation of *svayamargitam* by 'for it is self-acquired' agrees with Nand.'s remark, *svayamargitatvâd ity arthaḥ*. Nâr. adds, 'And thus it has been declared that property of the father which has not been acquired by him with exceedingly great trouble must be divided at the will of the sons, and to this refers the passage of *Yâgñ.* II, 121, "Over land acquired by the grandfather, &c." Medh., whose commentary on this verse is very corrupt, seems likewise to have inferred from it that Manu admitted the equal ownership of a father and his sons in ancestral property (see also Colebrooke V, Digest XCI). But he combats the theory that sons may without a violation of their duty force the father to divide the ancestral property.

210. Vi. XVIII, 41.

211. 'Be deprived of his share,' i. e. 'because he has become an outcast or the like' (Medh.), or 'because he has become an ascetic' (Kull., Nand.), or 'because he has emigrated' (Nand.), or 'because he has become a eunuch after the (first) partition' (Nâr.). Na lupyate, 'is not lost (to his immediate heirs),' is explained by Nâr. as follows, 'His share, being formerly determined, is not lost, i. e. must not be divided by all the reunited coparceners and thus be made to disappear' (see also the text of *Brîhaspati*, Colebrooke V, Digest CCCCVII, 2). 'What is to be done with the share is shown in the next verse' (Medh., Nâr., Râgh., Nand.).

212. Vi. XVII, 17; Gaut. XXVIII, 21; *Yâgñ.* II, 138. The

213. An eldest brother who through avarice may defraud the younger ones, shall no (longer hold the position of) the eldest, shall not receive an (eldest son's additional) share, and shall be punished by the king.

214. All brothers who habitually commit forbidden acts, are unworthy of (a share of) the property, and the eldest shall not make (anything his) separate property without giving (an equivalent) to his younger brothers.

meaning of the verse is: 1. according to Medh., with whose opinion the not very clear glosses of Kull. and Râgh. seem to agree, 'the share of a deceased reunited brother goes first to the reunited brothers of the full blood and to such sisters of the full blood who are not married (aputrâh, MSS. for aprattâh)—married sisters (pravrittâh, MSS. for pradattâh) being excluded, because they belong to another family—next to not reunited brothers of the full blood, finally to reunited half-brothers;' 2. according to Nâr., 'the share of a reunited brother devolves first on reunited brothers of the whole blood, next on reunited half-brothers, further on sisters of the full blood, then on the sons of brothers [of the whole blood?], and finally on sons of half-brothers [? tadabhâve tvasodârâdy api].' Nand. has the same order of heirs as Nâr., but stops with 'the sisters of the whole blood.' Nâr.'s and Nand.'s explanation, which strictly follows the order of the enumeration in the text, agrees with Brîhaspati's rule (Colebrooke V, Digest CCCCVII, 3), which likewise seems to be a paraphrase of Manu's words. Kull., Râgh., and Nâr. hold that the heirs, named in the verse, inherit only on failure of sons, wives, daughters, and parents. Nâr. further remarks that some refer this verse and the preceding one to the division of the estate of one who died before partition, while others believe that it applies to the estate of a reunited brother only.

213. 'Shall no (longer hold the position of) the eldest,' i.e. 'shall not receive the honours, e. g. in saluting, due to the eldest brother' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). The insertion of the words 'an eldest son's additional' before 'share,' is made on the authority of Medh. and Kull. 'Shall be punished,' i.e. 'by reprimand (vâgdandadhig-dandâbhyâm) or by a fine as the case may require' (Medh.).

214. Âp. II, 14, 15; Gaut. XXVIII, 40; Baudh. II, 3, 38. 'Who

215. If undivided brethren, (living with their father,) together make an exertion (for gain), the father shall on no account give to them unequal shares (on a division of the estate).

216. But a son, born after partition, shall alone take the property of his father, or if any (of the other sons) be reunited with the (father), he shall share with them.

217. A mother shall obtain the inheritance of a son (who dies) without leaving issue, and, if the mother be dead, the paternal grandmother shall take the estate.

habitually commit forbidden acts,' i. e. 'who are addicted to gambling, drinking, and the like vices' (Kull., Râgh.), or 'who, being Brâhmanas, follow despicable modes of living, such as tending cattle, serving Sûdras and the like' (Nâr.). Na . . . kurvîta yautukam, 'shall not make (anything his) separate property,' means according to Nand. 'shall not give a marriage-portion to his daughter without having made a division of the estate.' The correct interpretation is, however, that given by the other commentators, according to which the eldest is not to appropriate anything out of the common stock for himself 'without giving an equivalent to the others' (kanish/kebhya tâvad adattvâ, Nâr.).

215. Yâgñ. II, 120. Medh. remarks that this rule is a restriction of the general power of the father to make an unequal division (Yâgñ. II, 116), and thinks that it is not necessary that all the brothers should have been associated in the same kind of work. According to him it is sufficient that all have exerted themselves to gain money. Nâr. and Nand. clearly express the contrary view (sahot-thânam sambhûyavânigryâdinâ vittârganam, Nâr.).

216. Gaut. XXVIII, 29; Vi. XVII, 3; Yâgñ. II, 122.

217. Vi. XVII, 7; Yâgñ. II, 135. Kull., Nâr., and Nand. all three hold that the mother inherits only on failure of sons [grandsons and great-grandsons, Nand.], widows, and daughters. But they disagree with respect to the sequence of the next following heirs. Kull. holds that the mother and the father, whose right has been mentioned above, verse 185, follow next, inheriting conjointly, then brothers, afterwards brothers' sons, and after

218. And if, after all the debts and assets have been duly distributed according to the rule, any (property) be afterwards discovered, one must divide it equally.

219. A dress, a vehicle, ornaments, cooked food, water, and female (slaves), property destined for pious uses or sacrifices, and a pasture-ground, they declare to be indivisible.

them the paternal grandmother. Nâr. gives the following order : 1. mother, 2. father, 3. brothers, 4. brothers' sons, 5. maternal grandmother. Medh. says that this verse has been explained formerly. The portion of his commentary where the explanation occurred, has, however, been lost ; see note on verse 187.

218. Yâgñ. II, 126. Medh., Kull., and Nâr. point out that on the division of property discovered after partition, the eldest, according to this text, receives no preferential share. Nâr. adds that this rule applies also to debts, discovered after partition. Nâr. inserts this verse after verse 219.

219. Gaut. XXVIII, 46-47 ; Vi. XVIII, 44. Instead of *patram*, 'a vehicle,' i. e. 'a horse or cart, used exclusively by one of the coparceners during union' (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), Nand. reads *pâtram*, 'a drinking-vessel.' *Striyah*, 'female (slaves),' means according to Nâr. 'wives.' My translation of *yogakshemam*, which I take with Medh., Nâr., and Nand. as a copulative compound in the neuter gender, by 'property destined for pious uses and sacrifices,' rests on the explanation given by *Vigñânesvara* (Colebrooke, Mit. I, 4, 23), and adopted by Haradatta and Nandapandita on the parallel passages of Gaut. and Vi. I prefer it to all others, chiefly on account of the explicit passage of *Laugâkshi* which *Vigñânesvara* quotes. In its favour speaks also that numerous royal grants allow villages or land to *Brâhmanas* and their descendants for the performance of certain sacrifices, or for charitable purposes, such as the daily distribution of food (*annasattra* or *sadâvrata*), and that the occurrence of a rule in the *Smṛtis*, declaring property given under such conditions to be impartible, is no more than might be expected. The commentators on Manu, on the other hand, give the following explanations : 1. 'the means of securing protection, i. e. royal councillors, family priests, ministers, old women (*vṛiddhâḥ*), a house, and a *kâra*, a spy (?), or a pasture-ground(?) and the like' (Medh.); 2. 'a royal councillor, a domestic priest and the like' (Kull.

220. The division (of the property) and the rules for allotting (shares) to the (several) sons, those begotten on a wife and the rest, in (due) order, have been thus declared to you; hear (now) the laws concerning gambling.

221. Gambling and betting let the king exclude from his realm; those two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes.

222. Gambling and betting amount to open theft; the king shall always exert himself in suppressing both (of them).

223. When inanimate (things) are used (for staking money on them), that is called among men gambling (*dyûta*), when animate beings are used (for the same purpose), one must know that to be betting (*samâhvaya*).

224. Let the king corporally punish all those (persons) who either gamble and bet or afford (an

and *Râgh.*, which latter reads, however, *yogakshemapraṭāram*); 3. 'means of gain, i. e. a grant and the like, received from a king and the like, and gained by oneself, and means of protection' (*prākāre ka ish/akâdih? Nâr.*); 4. 'sources of gain, i. e. persons for whom one sacrifices and the like, sources of protection, i. e. doorkeepers and the like, and sources of gain and protection, i. e. lords of villages and the like' (*Nand.*). *Praṭāra*, 'a pasture-ground,' means according to *Nâr.* and *Nand.* 'a road leading to a field, a garden and the like.'

Medh., *Kull.*, and *Nâr.* state that the first four articles shall in general be kept by the coparcener who used them or for whose use they were prepared, but that articles or quantities of exceptional value must be sold or exchanged for other property. Wells and so forth are to be used by all the coparceners (*Kull.*, *Nand.*). Female slaves are to do work for all coparceners (*Kull.*).

221-229. *Âp.* II, 25, 12-15; *Gaut.* XXV, 18; *Baudh.* II, 2, 16; *Yâgñ.* II, 199-203. In the I. O. MSS. *Medh.*'s commentary on verses 221-227 is missing.

224. *Yâgñ.* II, 304. 'The distinctive marks of twice-born men,'

opportunity for it), likewise Sûdras who assume the distinctive marks of twice-born (men).

225. Gamblers, dancers and singers, cruel men, men belonging to an heretical sect, those following forbidden occupations, and sellers of spirituous liquor, let him instantly banish from his town.

226. If such (persons who are) secret thieves, dwell in the realm of a king, they constantly harass his good subjects by their forbidden practices.

227. In a former Kalpa this (vice of) gambling has been seen to cause great enmity; a wise man, therefore, should not practise it even for amusement.

228. On every man who addicts himself to that (vice) either secretly or openly, the king may inflict punishment according to his discretion.

i. e. 'the sacrificial thread and the like' (Kull., Nâr.). 'Shall punish corporally,' i. e. 'shall cause them to be flogged, &c.' (Nâr.), or 'shall cause their hands and feet to be cut off and so forth according to the gravity of the offence' (Kull., Râgh.).

225. Instead of *krûrân*, 'cruel men,' i. e. 'those who hate men learned in the Veda' (Kull.), Nâr. and Râgh. read *kerân*, which the former explains by 'men of exceedingly crooked behaviour,' and the latter in accordance with Kull.'s explanation of *krûrân*. Nand. reads *kailân*, 'given to sports' (*kêlîsilân*), and K. *korân*, 'thieves.' *Sauṇḍikân*, 'distillers or sellers of spirituous liquor' (Kull., Nâr.), may also mean 'drunkards,' as Nand. explains it.

226. Instead of 'who are secret thieves' (Kull.), Nâr. says, 'and secret thieves.' Bâdhante, 'harass' (Kull.), means according to Nâr., Râgh., and Nand. 'corrupt.'

227. Nâr. explains *purâkalpe*, 'in a former Kalpa,' by 'in the ancient stories,' and Râgh. and Nand. point to the adventures of king Nala and Yudhishthira, which, no doubt, are alluded to in the text.

228. Râgh. and Nand. point out that not only corporal punishment (according to verse 224), but also a fine may be inflicted; see also the next verse.

229. But a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, and a Sûdra who are unable to pay a fine, shall discharge the debt by labour; a Brâhmana shall pay it by instalments.

230. On women, infants, men of disordered mind, the poor and the sick, the king shall inflict punishment with a whip, a cane, or a rope and the like.

231. But those appointed (to administer public) affairs, who, baked by the fire of wealth, mar the business of suitors, the king shall deprive of their property.

232. Forgers of royal edicts, those who corrupt his ministers, those who slay women, infants, or Brâhmanas, and those who serve his enemies, the king shall put to death.

233. Whenever any (legal transaction) has been completed or (a punishment) been inflicted according to the law, he shall sanction it and not annul it.

229. Yâgñ. II, 43. Compare the rule given at VIII, 177.

230. Siphâ, 'a whip,' is explained by Râgh. as 'a rod measuring five fingers,' or 'the pendent root of a fig-tree.' Nâr. and Nand. give the latter meaning. Medh., Nâr., and Nand. read daridrânâtharoginâm, 'the poor, the unprotected, and the sick.'

231. See above, VII, 124; Vi. V, 180. 'Those appointed, &c.,' i. e. viceroys and so forth (Medh.), or judges and so forth (Nâr.). 'Baked by the fire of wealth' is a simile taken from the burning of earthen pots, and means that such persons by the influence of wealth undergo a change for the worse, just as a pot heated in a fire changes its colour, or, as the Vaiseshikas hold, its nature. According to Medh., 'others' read ye 'niyuktâs tu, and referred the verse to non-official persons meddling with administrative or judicial business.

232. Yâgñ. II, 240; Vi. V, 9, 11.

233. Medh. and Kull. refer this prohibition to cases which have been properly decided in the king's courts, while Nâr. thinks that it applies to orders passed by former kings. Nand. gives a different explanation of the words *tîrita* and *anurish'a*. He adduces a verse of Kâtyâyana, according to which the former means 'a cause or

234. Whatever matter his ministers or the judge may settle improperly, that the king himself shall (re-)settle and fine (them) one thousand (*paṇas*).

235. The slayer of a *Brāhmaṇa*, (a twice-born man) who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) *Surā*, he who steals (the gold of a *Brāhmaṇa*), and he who violates a Guru's bed, must each and all be considered as men who committed mortal sins (*mahā-pātaka*).

236. On those four even, if they do not perform a penance, let him inflict corporal punishment and fines in accordance with the law.

237. For violating a Guru's bed, (the mark of) a female part shall be (impressed on the forehead with a hot iron); for drinking (the spirituous liquor called) *Surā*, the sign of a tavern; for stealing (the gold of a *Brāhmaṇa*), a dog's foot; for murdering a *Brāhmaṇa*, a headless corpse.

plaint declared to be just or unjust by the assessors,' and the latter 'a cause or plaint confirmed by witnesses.'

234. *Yāgyñ.* II, 305. *Medh.* and *Kull.* think that this rule refers to cases where the cause of the unjust decision is not a bribe, because the punishment of corrupt judges has been prescribed above, verse 231. But *Nār.* and *Rāgh.* think that it applies to cases of bribery also, and that the fine shall vary according to the nature of the case, 1000 *paṇas* being the lowest punishment.

235-242. *Baudh.* I, 18, 18; *Vi.* V, 3-7.

235. Instead of '(a twice-born man) who drinks the spirituous liquor, &c.' (*Kull.*, *Nār.*), *Medh.* and *Rāgh.* say, 'a *Brāhmaṇa* who, &c. ;' but see below, XI, 94.

236. *Medh.* remarks that 'others' refer this rule, on account of the word *api*, 'even, likewise,' to the fifth *Mahāpatakin* also, i. e. to him who associates with one of the other four (see below, XI, 55); and *Rāgh.*, as well as *Nand.*, approves of this explanation.

237. 'The sign of a tavern,' i. e. 'a wine-cup.' It follows from the rule given in verse 240, that the forehead is the place where they shall be branded.

238. Excluded from all fellowship at meals, excluded from all sacrifices, excluded from instruction and from matrimonial alliances, abject and excluded from all religious duties, let them wander over (this) earth.

239. Such (persons) who have been branded with (indelible) marks must be cast off by their paternal and maternal relations, and receive neither compassion nor a salutation; that is the teaching of Manu.

240. But (men of) all castes who perform the prescribed penances, must not be branded on the forehead by the king, but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

241. For (such) offences the middlemost amercement shall be inflicted on a Brâhmana, or he may be banished from the realm, keeping his money and his chattels.

242. But (men of) other (castes), who have unintentionally committed such crimes, ought to be deprived of their whole property; if (they committed them) intentionally, they shall be banished.

238. Medh. reads *asamyogyâh*, 'excluded from all intercourse,' instead of *asamyâgyâh*, 'excluded from all sacrifices.'

240. 'All castes,' i. e. 'the three Âryan castes.' Nâr. and Nand. read *pûrve*, 'the before-mentioned castes.' 'The highest amercement,' see above, VIII, 138.

241. According to Medh., the meaning of the verse is that a Brâhmana, endowed with good qualities, who unintentionally (verse 242) committed a mortal sin, shall either be fined in the middlemost amercement and be made to perform the prescribed penance, or, if he refuses to do that, be banished without the infliction of a fine. Kull. and Nand. partly agree, but think that the offender is to be banished, if he committed the crime intentionally.

242. The translation follows Nâr. and Nand., who think that persons, performing no penance, shall be deprived of their whole

243. A virtuous king must not take for himself the property of a man guilty of mortal sin; but if he takes it out of greed, he is tainted by that guilt (of the offender).

244. Having thrown such a fine into the water, let him offer it to Varuṇa, or let him bestow it on a learned and virtuous Brāhmaṇa.

245. Varuṇa is the lord of punishment, for he holds the sceptre even over kings; a Brāhmaṇa who has learnt the whole Veda is the lord of the whole world.

246. In that (country), where the king avoids taking the property of (mortal) sinners, men are born in (due) time (and are) long-lived,

247. And the crops of the husbandmen spring up, each as it was sown, and the children die not, and no misshaped (offspring) is born.

property, if the offence was committed unintentionally, and be banished after being branded, if their crime was intentional. Nâr., moreover, adds, 'this refers to light cases; it has been declared that he shall slay the offender in bad cases.' Kull. and Râgh. think that confiscation of the whole property shall be inflicted in particularly bad cases, instead of the fine of 1000 paṇas prescribed in verse 240; and Medh. says that this is the opinion of 'some.' Medh., Kull., and Râgh. explain pravâsanam, 'shall be banished,' by 'shall be punished corporally.' Though it is not absolutely impossible that pravâs may mean 'to hurt, or punish corporally,' it seems not advisable to take the word in the latter sense, on account of verses 238 and 241; compare also VIII, 284. Medh. remarks that a Śûdra who offends unintentionally, shall be branded and be deprived of his whole property, else he shall be put to death.

244. Yâgñ. II, 307.

245. Varuṇa is the supreme ruler (adhirâga) of kings; see Taittirîya-brāhmaṇa III, 1, 2, 7. Regarding the position of a learned Brāhmaṇa, see above, I, 98-101.

246. Instead of kâlena, 'in (due) time,' i.e. 'after the full period of gestation' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), Nand. reads loke tu, 'but in that country.'

248. But the king shall inflict on a base-born (Sûdra), who intentionally gives pain to Brâhmanas, various (kinds of) corporal punishment which cause terror.

249. When a king punishes an innocent (man), his guilt is considered as great as when he sets free a guilty man; but (he acquires) merit when he punishes (justly).

250. Thus the (manner of) deciding suits (falling) under the eighteen titles, between two litigant parties, has been declared at length.

251. A king who thus duly fulfils his duties in accordance with justice, may seek to gain countries which he has not yet gained, and shall duly protect them when he has gained them.

252. Having duly settled his country, and having built forts in accordance with the Institutes, he shall use his utmost exertions to remove (those men who are noxious like) thorns.

253. By protecting those who live as (becomes) Âryans and by removing the thorns, kings, solely intent on guarding their subjects, reach heaven.

254. The realm of that king who takes his share

248. See above, VIII, 279-284. Though all the commentators take *avaragam* in the sense of 'a base-born Sûdra,' the word may have its etymological meaning, 'a man of lower caste.' Medh. explains 'who gives pain' by 'who takes their property or wives;' Nâr., 'who causes exceedingly great misery.'

249. See above, VIII, 19, 310-311, 317.

250. 'This verse is the conclusion of the section on the eighteen titles of the law' (Medh.), 'and now follows a supplement on the duties of a king' (Nâr.).

252. See above, VII, 69-70.

253-254. See above, VIII, 307, 386-387.

in kind, though he does not punish thieves, (will be) disturbed and he (will) lose heaven.

255. But if his kingdom be secure, protected by the strength of his arm, it will constantly flourish like a (well)-watered tree.

256. Let the king who sees (everything) through his spies, discover the two sorts of thieves who deprive others of their property, both those who (show themselves) openly and those who (lie) concealed.

257. Among them, the open rogues (are those) who subsist by (cheating in the sale of) various marketable commodities, but the concealed rogues are burglars, robbers in forests, and so forth.

258. Those who take bribes, cheats and rogues, gamblers, those who live by teaching (the performance of) auspicious ceremonies, sanctimonious hypocrites, and fortune-tellers,

258. *Aupādhikāḥ*, 'cheats,' means according to Medh. 'persons of crooked behaviour who promise kindnesses, but secretly do evil to others,' or 'such as take money under false pretences,' or 'such as extort money by threats.' The last explanation is adopted by Kull. and Rāgh., while Nār. and Nand. interpret the term to mean 'persons who cheat by using false weights and measures.' *Vaṅkākāḥ*, 'rogues,' i.e. 'men who promise to transact business for others, and do not keep their word' (Medh.), or 'alchemists who pretend to change base metals into precious metals' (*rasam vidyam* [*rasavidyayā*] *tāmṛādi ragatādirūpena darsayitvā suvarṇādikam gr̥hṇanti*, Rāgh., Kull.), or 'men who take money on false pretences' (Nār.). *Maṅgalādesavṛitāḥ*, 'those who live by teaching the performance of, or by performing for others, auspicious ceremonies' (Medh., Kull., Rāgh.), means according to Nār. 'men who live by reciting auspicious hymns' (*maṅgalastutipātho vṛitam karitam yeshām*), and Medh. proposes a similar alternative explanation. Medh. reads *bhadrāprekṣaṇīkaiḥ saha*, and explains the compound by 'eulogists' (*prāsaṃsikapuruṣhalakṣaṇāḥ*). Nār. explains *īkṣaṇīkāḥ*, 'fortune-tellers,' by 'actors and jugglers.'

259. Officials of high rank and physicians who act improperly, men living by showing their proficiency in arts, and clever harlots,

260. These and the like who show themselves openly, as well as others who walk in disguise (such as) non-Āryans who wear the marks of Āryans, he should know to be thorns (in the side of his people).

261. Having detected them by means of trustworthy persons, who, disguising themselves, (pretend) to follow the same occupations and by means of spies, wearing various disguises, he must cause them to be instigated (to commit offences), and bring them into his power.

259. Mahāmātra, 'officials of high rank,' i.e. 'courtiers such as councillors and domestic priests' (Medh.), or 'ministers' (Nâr.), is taken by Kull. and Râgh. in its other sense, 'elephant-breakers.' Silpopakârayuktâh, 'men living by showing their proficiency in arts,' i.e. 'such as cut figures out of chips of cane and the like' (Medh., Râgh.), or 'painters and the like' (Kull.). Nâr. and Nand. read silpopakârayuktâh, i.e. 'artists such as painters and persons adorning (upakâra) people such as hairdressers' (Nâr.), or 'umbrella and fan makers' (Nand.). Medh. says that asam-yakkârînaḥ, 'who act improperly,' must be taken with all the four classes of persons enumerated.

260. Nâr. and Nand. read vigâtîyân, 'such and the like open (rogues) of many kinds,' and connect the accusatives in this verse with viditvâ in the next. Kull. takes vigâtîyât, 'let him know (to be),' in the sense of 'let him discover (through spies).'

261. The translation follows Nâr.'s explanation, who reads protsâhya (likewise found in Gov., Râgh., and K.) instead of protsâdya, found in the editions, in Kull.'s and probably also in Medh.'s version. The reading protsâdya, 'having destroyed them,' is objectionable on account of the following verse. Râgh. explains protsâhya differently; he says, 'having inspired them with energy by saying, "you must give up this livelihood and earn money by agriculture, trade, and the like," he shall induce to adopt a honest mode of line through desire for money.' Nand. seems to

262. Then having caused the crimes, which they committed by their several actions, to be proclaimed in accordance with the facts, the king shall duly punish them according to their strength and their crimes.

263. For the wickedness of evil-minded thieves, who secretly prowl over this earth, cannot be restrained except by punishment.

264. Assembly-houses, houses where water is distributed or cakes are sold, brothels, taverns and victualler's shops, cross-roads, well-known trees, festive assemblies, and play-houses and concert-rooms,

265. Old gardens, forests, the shops of artisans, empty dwellings, natural and artificial groves,

266. These and the like places the king shall cause to be guarded by companies of soldiers, both stationary and patrolling, and by spies, in order to keep away thieves.

267. By the means of clever reformed thieves, who associate with such (rogues), follow them and know their various machinations, he must detect and destroy them.

268. Under the pretext of (offering them) various dainties, of introducing them to Brâhmaṇas, and on the pretence of (showing them) feats of strength, the (spies) must make them meet (the officers of justice).

read *protsârya* (*protsâryâ*, MS.). Kull. explains *anekasamsthânaiḥ*, 'wearing various disguises' (Nâr., Nand.), by 'stationed in various places.' Medh.'s commentary on the end of verse 261 and on verses 262-274 is missing in the I. O. MSS.

267. Instead of *utsâdayet*, 'he shall destroy them' (Kull., K., editions), Gov., Nâr., Nand., and Râgh. read *utsâhayet*, i.e. 'he shall incite them to commit (crimes,' Nâr., Râgh.).

269. Those among them who do not come, and those who suspect the old (thieves employed by the king), the king shall attack by force and slay together with their friends, blood relations, and connexions.

270. A just king shall not cause a thief to be put to death, (unless taken) with the stolen goods (in his possession); him who (is taken) with the stolen goods and the implements (of burglary), he may, without hesitation, cause to be slain.

271. All those also who in villages give food to thieves or grant them room for (concealing their implements), he shall cause to be put to death.

272. Those who are appointed to guard provinces and his vassals who have been ordered (to help), he shall speedily punish like thieves, (if they remain) inactive in attacks (by robbers).

273. Moreover if (a man), who subsists by (the fulfilment of) the law, departs from the established rule of the law, the (king) shall severely punish him by a fine, (because he) violated his duty.

269. *Mûlaprazihitâh*, 'who suspect the old thieves employed by the king' (Kull., *Râgh.*), means according to *Nâr.* 'who have been sent by ministers and the like staying in his kingdom,' and according to *Nand.* 'who have discovered the root, i. e. the reasons (of the proceedings of the spies).' All the three explanations are, however, doubtful.

271. *Bhândâvakâsadâh*, 'who give them room for (concealing) their implements' (Kull.), means according to *Nâr.* 'who give them money (for buying arms and the like) and shelter.'

272. The commentators take *sâmantân*, 'his vassals,' in its etymological sense of 'neighbours.' But it has here no doubt the usual technical meaning.

273. According to the commentators officiating priests and other *Brâhmanas* are meant, who subsist by obtaining alms on the strength of their piety.

274. Those who do not give assistance according to their ability when a village is being plundered, a dyke is being destroyed, or a highway robbery committed, shall be banished with their goods and chattels.

275. On those who rob the king's treasury and those who persevere in opposing (his commands), he shall inflict various kinds of capital punishment, likewise on those who conspire with his enemies.

276. But the king shall cut off the hands of those robbers who, breaking into houses, commit thefts at night, and cause them to be impaled on a pointed stake.

277. On the first conviction, let him cause two fingers of a cut-purse to be amputated; on the second, one hand and one foot; on the third, he shall suffer death.

278. Those who give (to thieves) fire, food, arms, or shelter, and receivers of stolen goods, the ruler shall punish like thieves.

274. Vi. V, 74. Instead of *hitâbhaṅge*, 'when an embankment is destroyed' (Kull., editions), Râgh. reads *hiḍâbhaṅge*, and Gov. as well as Nand. *iḍâbhaṅge* with the same explanation. Nâr. has *tadâgabhaṅge*, probably a mistake for *iḍâbhaṅge*, and mentions a var. lect. *hiḥâbhaṅge*, adding that *hiḥâ* is 'a dam thrown across a river.' K. finally reads *setubhaṅge*.

276. Yâgñ. II, 273.

277. Vi. V, 136; Yâgñ. II, 274. 'Two fingers,' i. e. 'the thumb and the index' (Kull., Râgh., Nâr.), or 'the index and the middle finger' (Nand.).

278. Yâgñ. II, 276. 'Those who give (to thieves) fire,' i. e. 'in order that they may warm themselves, or for similar purposes' (Medh.), or 'in order that they may put fire to houses' (Nâr.). Moshasya *samnidhâtṛin*, 'receivers of stolen goods' (Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'those who conduct thieves to the place where they can commit their crime, or helpers and abettors.' The best copy of Medh. has *mokshasya*, both in the text and in the

279. Him who breaks (the dam of) a tank he shall slay (by drowning him) in water or by (some other) simple (mode of) capital punishment; or the offender may repair the (damage), but shall be made to pay the highest amercement.

280. Those who break into a (royal) storehouse, an armoury, or a temple, and those who steal elephants, horses, or chariots, he shall slay without hesitation.

281. But he who shall take away the water of a tank, made in ancient times, or shall cut off the supply of water, must be made to pay the first (or lowest) amercement.

282. But he who, except in a case of extreme necessity, drops filth on the king's high-road, shall pay two *kârshâpanas* and immediately remove (that) filth.

283. But a person in urgent necessity, an aged man, a pregnant woman, or a child, shall be reprimanded and clean the (place); that is a settled rule.

284. All physicians who treat (their patients) wrongly (shall pay) a fine; in the case of animals, the

commentary, and the other gives it in the text, while the explanation is *rakshitâraha*, 'protectors or abettors.' Nand., too, reads in the text *mokshasya*, and says, '*mokshasya moshitadravyasya mokshasâdhanasyeti vâ.*' It would, therefore, seem that an ancient var. lect. *mokshasya* really existed.

279. *Yâgñ.* II, 278. 'By (some other) simple (mode of) capital punishment,' i. e. 'by cutting off his head' (*Nâr.*, *Râgh.*).

280. *Yâgñ.* II, 273. This verse and the next are omitted in the I. O. MSS. of Medh.

281. *Nâr.* says that the offender must also make good the damage done.

282. *Vi. V.*, 106-107. Medh. says that he shall pay the *Kandâla*, i. e. the sweeper, to remove the filth.

284. *Vi. V.*, 175-177; *Yâgñ.* II, 242. *Nâr.* adds, 'But this

first (or lowest); in the case of human beings, the middlemost (amercement).

285. He who destroys a bridge, the flag (of a temple or royal palace), a pole, or images, shall repair the whole (damage) and pay five hundred (panas).

286. For adulterating unadulterated commodities, and for breaking gems or for improperly boring (them), the fine is the first (or lowest) amercement.

287. But that man who behaves dishonestly to honest (customers) or cheats in his prices, shall be fined in the first or in the middlemost amercement.

288. Let him place all prisons near a high-road, where the suffering and disfigured offenders can be seen.

289. Him who destroys the wall (of a town), or fills up the ditch (round a town), or breaks a (town)-gate, he shall instantly banish.

290. For all incantations intended to destroy life,

refers to cases when death is not (the result of the wrong treatment); for if that is the case the punishment is greater.'

285. Vi. V, 174; Yâgñ. II, 297. 'A pole,' i. e. the flagstaff of a village (Nâr.), or 'such as stand in tanks and the like' (Kull.). 'Images,' i. e. 'statues of men; but death as the punishment for destroying images of the gods, because (above, verse 280) capital punishment has been prescribed for breaking into temples' (Nâr.). Kull. and Râgh. say 'common images, made of clay and so forth.'

286. Vi. V, 124; Yâgñ. II, 245-246. Medh. thinks that the fine must be proportionate to the value of the spoiled gem, and Kull. adds that in every case the owner of the spoilt article shall receive compensation.

287. Thus Kull. and Nâr. But Medh. takes the first clause differently: 'That man who gives unequal (quantities) for (such goods as ought to be bartered for) equal (quantities).'

288. Nand. reads kash/âni, 'where the treatment is severe,' instead of sarvâni, 'all.'

290. According to the commentators the abhi-kârâh comprise

for magic rites with roots (practised by persons) not related (to him against whom they are directed), and for various kinds of sorcery, a fine of two hundred (paṇas) shall be inflicted.

291. He who sells (for seed-corn that which is) not seed-corn, he who takes up seed (already sown), and he who destroys a boundary(-mark), shall be punished by mutilation.

292. But the king shall cause a goldsmith who behaves dishonestly, the most noxious of all the thorns, to be cut to pieces with razors.

293. For the theft of agricultural implements, of arms and of medicines, let the king award punishment, taking into account the time (of the offence) and the use (of the object).

all incantations and sacrifices, taught either in the Veda or in secular works, which are intended to destroy life. The magic rites, performed with roots, are those which are intended to bring a person into one's power. These are permitted, if practised against a husband or a relative (Nār.). The *krityâh*, 'sorcery,' are such spells as produce diseases, or cause the failure of an adversary's undertakings. If the *abhiâras* are successful, the punishment is that of murder (Medh., Kull.).

291. Instead of *bigotkrisham* (Kull.), which is explained 'who sells seed-corn placed (at the top of a bag of worthless grain),' the correct reading seems to be *bigotkrashâ*, 'he who takes up seed (already sown).' *Bigotkrashâ* occurs in Nār.'s commentary only, where it is explained *bigakâle mahârgatâkâmotarshakârî*, 'he who at sowing time plucks (the seed) out, desiring to raise the price of grain.' All the other commentators give more or less corrupt readings, which, however, all point to the form *bigotkrashâ*, viz. Medh., *bigetkrushah* or *bigotkriptyah*, explained by *vandhyānti kshetra gñātu [kshetrāni kartum] bigam utkarshati sobhanam yad bigam kshetre [ta]devoddhṛitya nayati*; Gov., *bigotkrishâh*; Nand., *bigotkrishoh* and *bigotkrishâ*, explained by *bigânām uptânām uddhartâ*; K., *biryâtkrashâ*, marked as corrupt.

293. Thus a theft of a plough in the season for ploughing, or of

294. The king and his minister, his capital, his realm, his treasury, his army, and his ally are the seven constituent parts (of a kingdom); (hence) a kingdom is said to have seven limbs (*aṅga*).

295. But let him know (that) among these seven constituent parts of a kingdom (which have been enumerated) in due order, each earlier (named) is more important and (its destruction) the greater calamity.

296. Yet in a kingdom, containing seven constituent parts, which is upheld like the triple staff (of an ascetic), there is no (single part) more important (than the others), by reason of the importance of the qualities of each for the others.

297. For each part is particularly qualified for (the accomplishment of) certain objects, (and thus) each is declared to be the most important for that particular purpose which is effected by its means.

298. By spies, by a (pretended) display of energy, and by carrying out (various) undertakings, let the king constantly ascertain his own and his enemy's strength ;

299. Moreover, all calamities and vices ; afterwards, when he has fully considered their relative importance, let him begin his operations.

arms just before or during a fight, should be punished more heavily than if it had been committed at any other time.

294. See above, VII, 257 ; *Yâgñ.* I. 352.

296. The verse is meant, as the commentators remark, to show that one must not infer from verse 295 that the *Aṅgas*, named later in the enumeration, may be neglected. According to *Nâr.*, the simile is not taken from the triple staff of an ascetic, but from the three beams of a house and the like.

298. See above, VII. *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Nâr.*, *Nand.*, and *K.* read at the end of the line, *parâtmanoḥ*, instead of *mahîpatih*.

299. 'All calamities and vices,' i. e. 'those affecting his enemy

300. (Though he be) ever so much tired (by repeated failures), let him begin his operations again and again; for fortune greatly favours the man who (strenuously) exerts himself in his undertakings.

301. The various ways in which a king behaves (resemble) the *Kṛita*, *Tretâ*, *Dvâpara*, and *Kali* ages; hence the king is identified with the ages (of the world).

302. Sleeping he represents the *Kali* (or iron age), waking the *Dvâpara* (or brazen) age, ready to act the *Tretâ* (or silver age), but moving (actively) the *Kṛita* (or golden) age.

303. Let the king emulate the energetic action of *Indra*, of the *Sun*, of the *Wind*, of *Yama*, of *Varuna*, of the *Moon*, of the *Fire*, and of the *Earth*.

304. As *Indra* sends copious rain during the four months of the rainy season, even so let the king, taking upon himself the office of *Indra*, shower benefits on his kingdom.

305. As the *Sun* during eight months (imperceptibly) draws up the water with his rays, even so let him gradually draw his taxes from his kingdom; for that is the office in which he resembles the *Sun*.

306. As the *Wind* moves (everywhere), entering (in the shape of the vital air) all created beings, even so let him penetrate (everywhere) through his

and his enemy's party' (*Nâr.*), or 'those affecting both his own and the enemy's parties' (*Kull.*). *Nand.* reads the second line as follows, *gurulâghavato gñâtâ tataḥ karma samâkaret.*

302. This verse closely agrees with the fourth exhortation, addressed by *Indra* to *Rohita*, *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa* VII, 15.

305. Instead of *nityam*, 'gradually,' *Nand.* reads *samyak*, 'duly.'

spies ; that is the office in which he resembles the Wind.

307. As Yama at the appointed time subjects to his rule both friends and foes, even so all subjects must be controlled by the king ; that is the office in which he resembles Yama.

308. As (a sinner) is seen bound with ropes by Varuṇa, even so let him punish the wicked ; that is his office in which he resembles Varuṇa.

309. He is a king, taking upon himself the office of the Moon, whose (appearance) his subjects (greet with as great joy) as men feel on seeing the full moon.

310. (If) he is ardent in wrath against criminals and endowed with brilliant energy, and destroys wicked vassals, then his character is said (to resemble) that of Fire.

311. As the Earth supports all created beings equally, thus (a king) who supports all his subjects, (takes upon himself) the office of the Earth.

312. Employing these and other means, the king shall, ever untired, restrain thieves both in his own dominions and in (those of) others.

313. Let him not, though fallen into the deepest distress, provoke Brāhmaṇas to anger ; for they,

308. Nand. reads the first line differently, Varuṇenâpi pâraś ka badhyate vâruṇair naraḥ, 'As men are bound by Varuṇa with Varuṇa's fetters.' The expression 'the fetters of Varuṇa' is a common designation of dropsy.

310. Nâr. adds, 'As the fire at an ordeal injures wicked men, even so he should destroy wicked neighbours.'

312. 'In (those of) others,' i.e. 'those thieves who live in other kingdoms, and come to rob in his own' (Kull., Nâr.). Nand. omits this and the next two verses.

313. 'Let him not provoke Brāhmaṇas to anger,' i.e. 'by taking their

when angered, could instantly destroy him together with his army and his vehicles.

314. Who could escape destruction, when he provokes to anger those (men), by whom the fire was made to consume all things, by whom the (water of the) ocean was made undrinkable, and by whom the moon was made to wane and to increase again?

315. Who could prosper, while he injures those (men) who provoked to anger, could create other worlds and other guardians of the world, and deprive the gods of their divine station?

316. What man, desirous of life, would injure them to whose support the (three) worlds and the gods ever owe their existence, and whose wealth is the Veda?

317. A Brâhmana, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt-oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity.

318. The brilliant fire is not contaminated even in burial-places, and, when presented with oblations (of butter) at sacrifices, it again increases mightily.

property' (Medh., Nâr.), or 'treating them with contumely' (Medh.). 'They could destroy him,' i. e. 'by magic rites and curses' (Kull.).

314. This verse refers to certain stories, told, as Medh. and Nâr. point out, in the section of the Mahâbhârata, called Mokshadharmâh XII, 344, 55, 57-58, 60-61. There it is said that Bhrîgu made the fire consume all things, that the moon became 'consumptive' in consequence of the curse of Daksha, and that Vadâvâ-mukha made the ocean salt in punishment for his disobedience.

315. This verse also contains allusions to the Mahâbhârata. Visvâmitra tried to create other worlds (Medh.), the Vâlakhilyas another Indra and Vâyu, and others deprived the gods of their station. With respect to the latter point, Râgh. quotes the story of Mândavya cursing Yama (Mahâbhârata I, 108, 16), and causing him to be born as a Sûdra.

316. See above, I, 93-95.

319. Thus, though Brâhmaṇas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way ; for (each of) them is a very great deity.

320. When the Kshatriyas become in any way overbearing towards the Brâhmaṇas, the Brâhmaṇas themselves shall duly restrain them ; for the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brâhmaṇas.

321. Fire sprang from water, Kshatriyas from Brâhmaṇas, iron from stone ; the all-penetrating force of those (three) has no effect on that whence they were produced.

322. Kshatriyas prosper not without Brâhmaṇas, Brâhmaṇas prosper not without Kshatriyas ; Brâhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, being closely united, prosper in this (world) and in the next.

323. But (a king who feels his end drawing nigh) shall bestow all his wealth, accumulated from fines, on Brâhmaṇas, make over his kingdom to his son, and then seek death in battle.

321. 'Fire sprang from water, thus speak the Paurâṇikas' (Nand.); '(that origin is) visible in the case of lightning and in that of the (submarine) *Vadavâgni*' (Râgh.). According to Râgh., the statement that the Kshatriyas sprang from the Brâhmaṇas is based on a Vedic passage. But Nâr. thinks that it alludes to a Paurâṇik story, according to which the Brâhmaṇas produced with the Kshatriyâ females a new Kshatriya race after the destruction of the second varṇa by Parāsurāma.

322. Gaut. XI, 14 ; Vas. XIX, 4.

323. Medh. says that others explain the expression 'all his wealth, accumulated from fines,' as including 'all the king's possessions, excepting horses and chariots, arms, land, and slaves,' but that this is improper. He adds that, if the king cannot die in battle, he may burn or drown himself. Kull. says that he may kill himself by starvation. In later times kings followed this rule ; see e. g. Vikramāṅkatarita IV, 44-68.

324. Thus conducting himself (and) ever intent on (discharging) his royal duties, a king shall order all his servants (to work) for the good of his people.

325. Thus the eternal law concerning the duties of a king has been fully declared; know that the following rules apply in (due) order to the duties of Vaisyas and Sûdras.

326. After a Vaisya has received the sacraments and has taken a wife, he shall be always attentive to the business whereby he may subsist and to (that of) tending cattle.

327. For when the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) created cattle, he made them over to the Vaisya; to the Brâhmaṇa, and to the king he entrusted all created beings.

328. A Vaisya must never (conceive this) wish, 'I will not keep cattle;' and if a Vaisya is willing (to keep them), they must never be kept by (men of) other (castes).

329. (A Vaisya) must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments.

330. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing of seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights.

331. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle.

332. He must be acquainted with the (proper)

326. Regarding the 'business whereby a Vaisya may subsist,' see below, X, 77-78.

wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and (the rules of) purchase and sale.

333. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner, and let him zealously give food to all created beings.

334. But to serve Brâhmanas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue) is the highest duty of a Sûdra, which leads to beatitude.

335. (A Sûdra who is) pure, the servant of his betters, gentle in his speech, and free from pride, and always seeks a refuge with Brâhmanas, attains (in his next life) a higher caste.

336. The excellent law for the conduct of the (four) castes (*varṇa*), (when they are) not in distress, has been thus promulgated; now hear in order their (several duties) in times of distress.

CHAPTER X.

1. Let the three twice-born castes (*varṇa*), discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the Veda); but among them the Brâhmaṇa (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is an established rule.

333. 'If a rich Vaisya is not liberal, he shall be punished by the king' (Medh.).

334-336. See below, X, 121-129.

335. I read with Medh., Gov., and Nâr., brâhmaṇâpâsrayo nityam.

X. 1. Medh. has one line more in the beginning, 'Hereafter I will declare the rules applicable to that which must be studied.' According to Nâr., the expression *svakarmasthâḥ*, 'discharging their prescribed duties,' means 'if they follow their prescribed

2. The Brâhmana must know the means of subsistence (prescribed) by law for all, instruct the others, and himself live according to (the law).

3. On account of his pre-eminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification the Brâhmana is the lord of (all) castes (*varna*).

4. The Brâhmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (*varna*) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Sûdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste).

5. In all castes (*varna*) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste and married as) virgins, are to be

occupations,' and indicates that those who follow forbidden occupations, i. e. live like Sûdras, shall not study the Veda. The commentators entirely forget to mention that, according to II, 241-242, a Brâhmana may learn the Veda from a non-Brâhmanical teacher, and that hence this rule is not absolute.

2. Gaut. XI, 25; Vas. I, 39-41. Medh. points out that this rule gives an exception to IV, 80, where it is said that a Brâhmana shall not give spiritual advice to a Sûdra.

3. See above, I, 93. 'On account of his pre-eminence,' i. e. 'through his qualities' (Medh.), or 'by race' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). *Niyamasya ka dhâranât*, 'on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules,' i. e. 'of the rules prescribed for a Snâtaka' (Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh.), means according to Kull. 'on account of his possessing a particularly great knowledge of the Veda.' 'On account of his particular sanctification,' i. e. 'because special observances are required from him in sipping water and so forth, or because he must be initiated earlier than a Kshatriya' (Medh.). The other commentators give the second explanation only. 'The lord,' i. e. 'the adviser and instructor.'

4. Âp. I, 1, 3; Vas. II, 1-2; Baudh. I, 16, 1; Yâgñ. I, 10.

5. Âp. II, 13, 1; Vi. XVI, 1; Yâgñ. I, 90. 'In the direct order,' i. e. 'by a Brâhmana on a Brâhmanî, by a Kshatriya on a Kshatriyâ, and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr., that

considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers).

6. Sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.

7. Such is the eternal law concerning (children) born of wives one degree lower (than their husbands); know (that) the following rule (is applicable) to those born of women two or three degrees lower.

8. From a Brâhmaṇa with the daughter of a Vaisya is born (a son) called an Ambashṭha, with the daughter of a Sûdra a Nishâda, who is also called a Pârasava.

in each case the bridegroom must be older than the wife. He adds, 'Hence it has been declared that the son of a woman who is older than (her husband) is not a Brâhmaṇa, though she may have been legally married, and may be of the same caste (as her husband).' The commentators are at great pains to prove that subsidiary sons, such as Sahodhas, Kânînas, and so forth, and all offspring of illicit unions are outcasts. Medh. and Gov. even take the trouble to discuss the Vedic story of Gâbâla Satyakâma (*Khândogya* Up. IV, 4), whose mother did not know by whom he was begotten, and who, nevertheless, was admitted to be a Brâhmaṇa. They are of opinion that Gâbâlâ had been legally married, and had forgotten her husband's family-name during her troubles.

6-56. Gaut. IV, 16-28; Vas. XVIII; Baudh. I, 16, 6-17, 15; Vi. XVI, 2-15; Yâgyñ. I, 91-95.

6. 'Blamed,' i. e. 'excluded from the fathers' caste' (Nâr.). With the expression 'similar,' compare Baudh.'s term 'savarna.' Nand. places verse 14 immediately after this, and adds that if the latter is placed lower down, that is owing to a mistake of the copyists.

7. Regarding the term Pârasava, see above, IX, 178. Gov. and Nâr. remark that the second name Parâsava is added in order to distinguish this Nishâda from the other Nishâda, who is a Pratiloma, and subsists by catching fish.

8. Medh. does not give this verse.

9. From a Kshatriya and the daughter of a Sûdra springs a being, called Ugra, resembling both a Kshatriya and a Sûdra, ferocious in his manners, and delighting in cruelty.

10. Children of a Brâhmana by (women of) the three (lower) castes, of a Kshatriya by (wives of) the two (lower) castes, and of a Vaisya by (a wife of) the one caste (below him) are all six called base-born (apasada).

11. From a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brâhmana is born (a son called) according to his caste (*gâti*) a Sûta; from a Vaisya by females of the royal and the Brâhmana (castes) spring a Mâgadha and a Vaideha.

12. From a Sûdra are born an Âyogava, a Kshattri, and a Kândâla, the lowest of men, by Vaisya, Kshatriya, and Brâhmana females, (sons who owe their origin to) a confusion of the castes.

13. As an Ambashtha and an Ugra, (begotten) in the direct order on (women) one degree lower (than their husbands) are declared (to be), even so are a Kshattri and a Vaidehaka, though they were born in the inverse order of the castes (from mothers one degree higher than the fathers).

14. Those sons of the twice-born, begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name

12. Nâr. and K. read Ayogava. Medh. and Nand. read Kândâla, instead of Kândâla (Gov., Kull.).

13. The meaning is that the Kshattri and the Vaidehaka, though Pratilomas, hold the same position with respect to sacred rites, but not with respect to studying and so forth, and are as fit to be touched as the two Anulomas (Medh.). Gov. and Kull. mention the second point of equality only.

14. The meaning is that they are reckoned as belonging to the

Anantaras (belonging to the next lower caste), on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers.

15. A Brâhmana begets on the daughter of an Ugra an Âvrîta, on the daughter of an Ambashîha an Âbhîra, but on a female of the Âyogava (caste) a Dhigvana.

16. From a Sûdra spring in the inverse order (by females of the higher castes) three base-born (sons, apasada), an Âyogava, a Kshatttri, and a Kândâla, the lowest of men;

17. From a Vaisya are born in the inverse order of the castes a Mâgadha and a Vaideha, but from a Kshatriya a Sûta only; these are three other base-born ones (apasada).

18. The son of a Nishâda by a Sûdra female becomes a Pukkasa by caste (*gâti*), but the son of a Sûdra by a Nishâda female is declared to be a Kukkuṭaka.

19. Moreover, the son of a Kshatttri by an Ugra female is called a Svapâka; but one begotten by a Vaidehaka on an Ambashîha female is named a Vena.

20. Those (sons) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their

mothers' caste and receive the sacraments according to the law prescribed for the mothers' caste (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand.); see also below, verse 41.

15. The Âbhîra is the modern Ahir.

16-17. Kull. thinks that the Pratilomas are enumerated once more, 'in order to show that they are unfit to fulfil the duties of sons.' Nand. places these two verses before verse 15.

18. Nand. reads Pulkasa instead of Pukkasa.

19. Gov., Nand., and K. read Vena instead of Vena. Râgh. adds that the modern name is Baruḍa, the name of caste of basket-makers.

20. Gov. and Nand. read at the end of the first line sutân for

sacred duties, are excluded from the Sâvitrit, one must designate by the appellation Vrâtyas.

21. But from a Vrâtya (of the) Brâhmaṇa (caste) spring the wicked *Bhriggakantaka*, the Âvantya, the Vâdadhâna, the Pushpadha, and the Saikha.

22. From a Vrâtya (of the) Kshatriya (caste), the *Ghalla*, the Malla, the *Likkhivi*, the Naṭa, the Karana, the Khasa, and the Dravida.

tu yân (Medh., Kull., K.), 'not fulfilling their sacred duties,' i.e. 'not being initiated at the proper time;' see above, II, 39. Medh. mentions a var. lect. *avratâh*, 'Those sons whom men neglecting their sacred duties, &c.' But he rejects it.

21. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K., *Bhriggakantaka* instead of *Bhûrgakantaka* (editions), or *Bhûtyakantaka* (Nand.); see also Gaut. IV, 20, where the form *Bhrigyakanta* occurs. Regarding the Âvantya (*Âpañka*, Nand.), see also Baudh. I, 2, 13. Instead of Vâdadhâna Nand. has *Vâdaghâna*, and K. *Vâdhadhâna*, marked as corrupt. Medh. reads (one MS. *Pushpasaikharaḥ*) *Pushpasekhara* instead of *pushpadhaḥ saikha eva ka* (editions). Gov. has in the text *Pushyaḥ saikhakastathâ*, in the commentary *pushyavasaisakha*; K. *pushpa . . . kharas tathâ*; Nand. *Pushpasibaka eva ka*. It would seem that according to Medh. and Nand. only four tribes, sprung from a Vrâtya Brâhmaṇa, are enumerated. But the form of the last name remains doubtful. The commentators think all the races named are descended from a Vrâtya Brâhmaṇa and a female of his own caste. Gov. remarks that according to *Uśanas' Nîṭisâstra* the *Bhriggakanas* live by sorcery, the Âvantyas and Vâdadhânas serve in war, and all other Vrâtyas are spies. It is very probable that all these names originally denote nations, but the Âvantyas, the inhabitants of Western Mâlva, and the Vâdadhânas, who are enumerated among the northern tribes, are alone traceable in other works.

22. I read with Medh. and Gov. *Likkhivi* instead of *Nikkhivi* (editions). K. has *Likkhavi* (*kha* being marked as corrupt), and Nand. *Likkikhi*. As 'a' and 'i' in these are constantly exchanged, *Likkhivi* may be considered as a vicarious form for *Likkhavi*, and it may be assumed that the *Manusamhitâ* considered the famous Kshatriya race of Magadha and Nepâl as unorthodox. Gov. says that, according to *Uśanas*, the Naṭas and Karanas are spies, and

23. From a Vrâtya (of the) Vaisya (caste) are born a Sudhanvan, an Âtârya, a Kârusha, a Viganman, a Maitra, and a Sâtвата.

24. By adultery (committed by persons) of (different) castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by the neglect of the duties and occupations (prescribed) to each, are produced (sons who owe their origin) to a confusion of the castes.

25. I will (now) fully enumerate those (sons) of mixed origin, who are born of Anulomas and of Pratilomas, and (thus) are mutually connected.

26. The Sûta, the Vaidehaka, the *Kandâla*, that lowest of mortals, the Mâgadha, he of the Kshattri caste (*gâti*), and the Âyogava,

27. These six (Pratilomas) beget similar races (*varna*) on women of their own (caste), they (also) produce (the like) with females of their mother's caste (*gâti*), and with females (of) higher ones.

the Khasas and Dravidas are water-carriers and distributors of waters at drinking fountains.

23. K. reads Pârusha, and Nand. Kâruga, instead of Kârusha (Medh., Gov., Kull.). Instead of Viganman Nand. has Nigangha. Gov. remarks that, according to Usanas, Âtâryas and Sâtvatats subsist by worshipping the gods, or serving as temple-priests (*âtâryasâtvatatâh devapûganam*).

25. 'Anulomas,' see above, verse 8.

27. Thus Nâr. and Nand., with whom Kull. agrees, except that he adds 'on higher and (on lower) castes.' Medh. reads in the second line *mâtṛigâtýâh prasûyante pravârâsu ka yonishu*, and explains as follows, 'Those who belong to the mother's caste, i.e. the Anulomas, called Anantara (verse 14), beget similar sons on females of their own caste, and (more degraded children) on females of higher castes.' He mentions that others read *matṛigâtâu prasûyante*, and says that the meaning then is, 'The Anulomas beget sons of their own race on females of their own and of their mothers' castes.' Gov. reads *mâtṛigâtâu svayonyâm tu sadrisam ganayanti vai*, and

28. As a (Brâhmana) begets on (females of) two out of the three (twice-born castes a son similar to) himself, (but inferior) on account of the lower degree (of the mother), and (one equal to himself) on a female of his own race, even so is the order in the case of the excluded (races, vâhya).

29. Those (six mentioned above) also beget, the one on the females of the other, a great many (kinds of) despicable (sons), even more sinful than their (fathers), and excluded (from the Âryan community, vâhya).

30. Just as a Sûdra begets on a Brâhmana female a being excluded (from the Âryan community), even so (a person himself) excluded pro-

likewise refers the line to the Anulomas. 'But (the Anulomas) beget similar sons on females of their mothers' and of their own castes.' Râgh. likewise differs.

28. I read with all the commentators and K., *krama* instead of *kramât* (editions). 'Even so is the order in the case of the excluded (races),' means according to Gov. and Kull., that there is a difference in rank between Pratilomas, similar to that existing between Anulomas, and that Pratilomas sprung from Âryan fathers are more respectable than those begotten by Sûdra fathers, according to Medh., whose opinion is controverted by Gov., Kull., and Râgh., that Pratilomas, sprung from Âryan fathers and mothers, are to be considered Âryans, and worthy of being initiated just as Anulomas. According to Nâr. and Nand., the translation should be as follows: 'As among the three castes a (man) produces (a son similar to) himself on two wives, (i. e.) on her who belongs to his own caste and on her who belongs to the next lower one, even so is the order with those excluded (from the four chief castes),' i. e. even so is it with Anulomas, e. g. with a Mûrdhâvasikta, who begets a Mûrdhâvasikta on a Mûrdhâvasikta female and on an Âvantya female (Nâr.), and with Pratilomas, e. g. with a Kshattri who begets a Kshattri both on a female of his own caste and on a *Kandâlî* (Nand.). It must be added that Nand. reads *anantaryâm* instead of *ânantaryât*.

creates with (females of) the four castes (*varṇa*, sons) more (worthy of being) excluded (than he himself).

31. But men excluded (by the Âryans, *vâhya*), who approach females of higher rank, beget races (*varṇa*) still more worthy to be excluded, low men (*hina*) still lower races, even fifteen (in number).

31. In order to show that fifteen lower castes are produced, the commentators propose various interpretations of the verse, among which those of Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. alone deserve to be mentioned. Kull. thinks that the terms *vâhya* and *hina* may either refer to two sets of men or to one only. Under the former supposition, the *Vâhyas* must be understood to be the Pratiloma offspring of a *Sûdra*, i.e. *Âyogavas*, *Kshattris*, and *Kandâlas*; and the *Hinas*, the Pratiloma offspring of *Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas*, i.e. *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Vaidehas*. Each of these two sets produce fifteen lower races by unions with women of the four chief castes and of their own (verse 27), i.e. *Âyogavas* beget five, with *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya*, *Sûdra*, and *Âyogava* women; *Kshattris* likewise five, with *Brâhmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya*, *Sûdra*, and *Kshattri* women, and so forth. But if the two terms *vâhya* and *hina* are referred to one set of males only, they must be understood to denote the six Pratilomas, *Kandâlas*, *Kshattris*, *Âyogavas*, *Vaidehas*, *Mâgadhas*, and *Sûtas*; and it must be assumed that the verse refers to unions between these six Pratiloma races alone. Then the lowest among them, the *Kandâla*, may produce with females of the five higher Pratiloma tribes five more degraded races; the *Kshattri*, with the four above him, four; the *Âyogava*, the three above him, three; the *Vaideha*, two; and the *Mâgadha*, one. The total of $5 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1$ is thus 15. Râgh. agrees with this interpretation. Nâr., on the other hand, refers the terms *vâhya* and *hina* to one set of males, the three Pratilomas sprung from the *Sûdra*, and assumes that the verse refers to unions of these three with females of the four principal castes and of their own. According to the calculation given under Kull.'s first explanation, the total of more degraded races which may be thus produced, is thirty. It seems to me that Kull.'s second explanation is the best, though I am not prepared to deny that his first explanation, and even Nâr.'s version, may be defended. The commentators point out that *varṇa* is used here in a figurative sense, because it has been declared above, verse 4, that there are only four real *varṇas*.

32. A Dasyu begets on an Âyogava (woman) a Sairandhra, who is skilled in adorning and attending (his master), who, (though) not a slave, lives like a slave, (or) subsists by snaring (animals).

33. A Vaideha produces (with the same) a sweet-voiced Maitreyaka, who, ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men.

34. A Nishâda begets (on the same) a Mârgava (or) Dâsa, who subsists by working as a boatman, (and) whom the inhabitants of Âryâvarta call a Kaivarta.

35. Those three base-born ones are severally begot on Âyogava women, who wear the clothes of the dead, are wicked, and eat reprehensible food.

32. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., Sairandhra instead of Sairandhri (editions). 'A Dasyu,' i.e. 'one of those tribes described below, verse 45' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'one of the afore-mentioned fifteen Pratiloma races' (Nâr., Nand.). Prasâdhanopaâragñam, 'skilled in adorning and attending (his master),' i.e. 'in dressing hair, anointing him with oil and so forth, and in shampooing' (Gov., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Kull., who takes prasâdhanopaâra, not as a copulative, but as a tatpurusha compound, 'skilled in serving (his master) at his toilet.' Medh.'s explanation is ambiguous. With respect to his second occupation, 'snaring animals,' Medh., Gov., and Kull. say that the Sairandhra resorts to it in order to support himself in times of distress, or in order to obtain meat for the worship of the gods and manes, or at the order of the king. Nand. remarks, 'As the Dasyus are many, there are also many Sairandhras, and that is indicated by the addition of a different mode of subsistence.'

34. Gov. and K. read Mâgadha instead of Mârgava. Gov. thinks that, as the section treats of Pratilomas, the Nishâda mentioned here is the Pratiloma Nishâda enumerated by Vyâsa.

35. I follow Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K., who read mṛitavāstrabhṛīṣvanârīyāsu, 'who wear the clothes of the dead, are wicked,' instead of mṛitavāstrabhṛīṣu nârīṣu, 'women who wear the clothes of the dead' (editions). Kull. also seems to have had the

36. From a Nishâda springs (by a woman of the Vaideha caste) a Kârâvara, who works in leather; and from a Vaidehaka (by women of the Kârâvara and Nishâda castes), an Andhra and a Meda, who dwell outside the village.

37. From a *Kandâla* by a Vaideha woman is born a Pândusopâka, who deals in cane; from a Nishâda (by the same) an Âhindîka.

38. But from a *Kandâla* by a Pukkasa woman is born the sinful Sopâka, who lives by the occupations of his sire, and is ever despised by good men.

39. A Nishâda woman bears to a *Kandâla* a son (called) Antyâvasâyin, employed in burial-grounds, and despised even by those excluded (from the Âryan community).

40. These races, (which originate) in a confusion (of the castes and) have been described according to their fathers and mothers, may be known by their occupations, whether they conceal or openly show themselves.

former reading, as he copies the explanation sukrûrâsu, 'very cruel,' which Gov. gives. Medh. explains anâryâsu by 'not to be touched by Âryans.'

36. Thus according to Medh. and Kull. But Gov. and Râgh. understand in the second line with 'from a Vaidehaka,' the words 'by women of the Vaideha caste.' Nâr., who in the preceding verse takes the words *ete trayaḥ*, 'those three,' in the sense of 'the following three other races,' assumes of course that the mothers of Kârâvaras, Medas, and Andhras are Âyogava females. The latter two 'castes' are the well-known nations inhabiting *Mevâd* (*Medapâṭa*) in south-eastern Râgputâna, and the eastern Dekkan.

38. Râgh. and Nand. read *Paulkasa* instead of *Pukkasa*. *Mûla-vyasanavṛttimân* means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'who lives by executing criminals,' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'who lives by digging roots,' i. e. 'in order to sell them as medicine,' or 'by curing hemorrhoids' (Nand.). Medh. gives both explanations. The translation, given above, follows the Petersburg Dict., sub voce.

41. Six sons, begotten (by Âryans) on women of equal and the next lower castes (Anantara), have the duties of twice-born men; but all those born in consequence of a violation (of the law) are, as regards their duties, equal to Sûdras.

42. By the power of austerities and of the seed (from which they sprang), these (races) obtain here among men more exalted or lower rank in successive births.

43. But in consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and of their not consulting Brâhmanas, the following tribes of Kshatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sûdras;

44. (Viz.) the Paundrakas, the Kodas, the Dravidas, the Kâmbogas, the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Pâradas, the Pahlavas, the Kînas, the Kirâtas, and the Daradas.

41. Medh. adds, 'The mention of the Anantaras is intended to include all Anulomas.'

42. 'These,' i. e. 'those born of wives of equal castes and Anantaras' (Gov., Kull.). Medh. and Nâr. include all Anulomas, and Râgh. even Pratilomas, sprung from Âryan fathers. Yuge yuge, 'in successive births' (Medh., Nâr., Nand.), means according to Kull. 'in each of the ages of the world.' Kull. refers to the stories regarding Visvâmitra and Rishyasrînga, while Medh. points to the discussion, given below, verse 64 seq.

43. Medh. and Gov. read brâhmanâtikramena, 'by disrespect towards Brâhmanas,' instead of brâhmanâdarsanena, 'by not consulting Brâhmanas' (Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., K.).

44. Instead of Paundrakas (Kull.), Medh., Nâr., Nand., and K. read Pundrakas, and Gov. Paundhrakas. My reading Kodas is a correction of Komdra, which is found in some MSS. of Medh. and in K. We have plainly Kola in Nand., while some MSS. of Medh. and Gov. read Kâmdra or Kâmdra, and the editions give Kaudra. Sir W. Jones' opinion that kaudra stands for ka Odra is improbable, because the particle 'and' is clearly not wanted after the first word. Instead of Pahlava, some MSS. of Medh. and some editions

45. All those tribes in this world, which are excluded from (the community of) those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahman), are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the *Mlekkhas* (barbarians) or that of the *Âryans*.

46. Those who have been mentioned as the base-born (offspring, *apasada*) of *Âryans*, or as produced in consequence of a violation (of the law, *apadhvasaga*), shall subsist by occupations reprehended by the twice-born.

47. To *Sûtas* (belongs) the management of horses and of chariots; to *Ambashthas*, the art of healing; to *Vaidehakas*, the service of women; to *Mâgadhas*, trade;

48. Killing fish to *Nishâdas*; carpenters' work to the *Âyogava*; to *Medas*, *Andhras*, *Kuñkus*, and *Madgus*, the slaughter of wild animals;

read *Pahnava*. Gov. gives *Pallava*. The editions give the *Khasas* after the *Daradas*. But Medh., Gov., Nand., and K. have *tathâ* at the end of the verse. The commentators state that the names enumerated in the first instance denote countries, and next, particular races living in them.

45. 'Those born from the mouth, &c.,' i.e. the four *Varnas*; see above, I, 87.

46. 'Base-born offspring of *Âryans*;' see above, verses 17 and 41.

47. 'The service of women,' i.e. 'the office of guardians in the harem.'

48. Instead of *Kuñku* (editions, Râgh.), Medh., Gov., and Nâr. seem to have read *Kûku*. Nand. reads *Mamsu* for *Madgu*. Nâr. says that these two words are synonyms of *Ghalla* and *Malla*; see above, verse 22. But Gov. quotes a verse of *Yama*, according to which the *Kûkuka* is the son of a *Vaisya* by a *Kshatriya* female, and the *Madgu* the offspring of a *Sûdra* and a *Kshatriyâ*. Kull.'s and Râgh.'s reference to *Baudh.* is, according to the MSS. of the *Baudh. Dharmasûtra*, erroneous.

49. To Kshattris, Ugras, and Pukkasas, catching and killing (animals) living in holes ; to Dhigvanas, working in leather ; to Venas, playing drums.

50. Near well-known trees and burial-grounds, on mountains and in groves, let these (tribes) dwell, known (by certain marks), and subsisting by their peculiar occupations.

51. But the dwellings of *Kandâlas* and *Svapakas* shall be outside the village, they must be made *Apapâtras*, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys.

52. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place.

53. A man who fulfils a religious duty, shall not seek intercourse with them ; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals.

54. Their food shall be given to them by others (than an Âryan giver) in a broken dish ; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns.

49. Nand. omits this verse.

50. Nand. places verse 50 after verse 52.

51. Medh. and Nâr. read *avapâtrâh* instead of *apapâtrâh* (Kull., Râgh., K., and Gov.?), and Medh. gives three explanations of the term : 1. vessels used by them must be thrown away ; 2. if food is given to them, it must not be placed in vessels which they hold in their hands, but in such as stand on the ground or are held by others ; 3. they shall use bad, i. e. broken vessels, as is stated in the next verse. The other commentators adopt the first explanation, which is no doubt the correct one.

53. Gov. and Nand. say, 'A righteous man,' instead of 'A man who fulfils a religious duty.'

54. Gov. and Nâr. take the beginning of the verse differently,

55. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives; that is a settled rule.

56. By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals, in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds, and the ornaments of (such) criminals.

57. A man of impure origin, who belongs not to any caste, (*varna*, but whose character is) not known, who, (though) not an *Āryan*, has the appearance of an *Āryan*, one may discover by his acts.

58. Behaviour unworthy of an *Āryan*, harshness, cruelty, and habitual neglect of the prescribed duties betray in this world a man of impure origin.

59. A base-born man either resembles in character his father, or his mother, or both; he can never conceal his real nature.

60. Even if a man, born in a great family, sprang from criminal intercourse, he will certainly possess the faults of his (father), be they small or great.

61. But that kingdom in which such bastards, sully (the purity of) the castes, are born, perishes quickly together with its inhabitants.

'Their food shall be given to them by others in a broken vessel,' i. e. 'they shall not cook for themselves in their houses.'

55. 'Distinguished by marks,' i. e. 'by a thunderbolt and the like, or by axes, adzes, and so forth, used for executing criminals, and carried on the shoulder' (*Medh.*), or 'by sticks and so forth' (*Gov.*), or 'by iron ornaments and peacock's feathers and the like' (*Nâr.*). *Râgh.* thinks that they are to be branded on the forehead and on other parts of the body. In olden times the depressed races of Gujarat used to wear a horn as their distinguishing mark.

57-59. Vas. XVIII, 7; Vi. XVI, 17.

62. Dying, without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brâhmanas and of cows, or in the defence of women and children, secures beatitude to those excluded (from the Âryan community, *vâhya*).

63. Abstention from injuring (creatures), veracity, abstention from unlawfully appropriating (the goods of others), purity, and control of the organs, Manu has declared to be the summary of the law for the four castes.

64. If (a female of the caste), sprung from a Brâhmana and a Sûdra female, bear (children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.

62. Vi. XVI, 18.

63. Gaut. VIII, 23; Yâgñ. I, 122; and above, IV, 246, V, 107. Nand. reads *sarvavarṇe*, 'for all castes,' instead of *kâturvarṇye*, 'for the four castes.'

64. Âp. II, 10-11; Gaut. IV, 22; Yâgñ. I, 96. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., the meaning is that, if the daughter of a Brâhmana and of a Sûdra female and her descendants all marry Brâhmanas, the offspring of the sixth female descendant of the original couple will be a Brâhmana. While this explanation agrees with Haradatta's comment on the parallel passage of Gautama, Nâr. and Nand. take the verse very differently. They say that if a Pârasava, the son of a Brâhmana and of a Sûdra female, marries a most excellent Pârasava female, who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brâhmana. Nand. quotes in support of his view Baudhâyana I, 16, 13-14 (left out in my translation of the Sacred Books of the East, II, p. 197), *nishâdena nishâdyâm â pañkāmâg grâter apahanti [grâto 'pahanti] sūdratām | tam upanayet shashtham yâgayet*, '(Offspring), begotten by a Nishâda on a Nishâdî, removes within five generations the Sûdra-hood; one may initiate him (the fifth descendant), one may sacrifice for the sixth.' This passage of Baudhâyana, the reading of which is supported by a new MS. from Madras, clearly shows that Baudhâyana allowed the male offspring of Brâhmanas and Sûdra females to be raised to the level of Âryans. It is also not impossible

65. (Thus) a *Sûdra* attains the rank of a *Brâhmaṇa*, and (in a similar manner) a *Brâhmaṇa* sinks to the level of a *Sûdra*; but know that it is the same with the offspring of a *Kshatriya* or of a *Vaisya*.

66. If (a doubt) should arise, with whom the pre-eminence (is, whether) with him whom an *Āryan* by chance begot on a non-*Āryan* female, or (with the son) of a *Brâhmaṇa* woman by a non-*Āryan*,

67. The decision is as follows: 'He who was begotten by an *Āryan* on a non-*Āryan* female, may become (like to) an *Āryan* by his virtues; he whom an *Āryan* (mother) bore to a non-*Āryan* father (is and remains) unlike to an *Āryan*.'

that the meaning of Manu's verse may be the same, and that the translation should be, 'If the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Sûdra* female begets children with a most excellent (male of the *Brâhmaṇa* caste or female of the *Pāraṣava* tribe), the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste in the seventh generation.' The chief objection to this version, which consists in the fact that *sregasâ*, 'with a most excellent,' stands in the masculine, may be met by Manu's peculiar use of the masculine instead of the feminine above in verse 32, where *âyogave* is used for *âyogavyâm*.

65. The manner in which a *Brâhmaṇa* sinks to the level of a *Sûdra* is, according to Medh., Gov., and Kull., the following. If the son of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Sûdra* female and his descendants marry *Sûdra* wives, the seventh descendant will be a pure *Sûdra*. Medh., Gov., and Kull. hold that the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Kshatriya* female obtains the higher or lower rank in the third generation, and the offspring of a *Brâhmaṇa* and of a *Vaisya* female in the fifth. Medh. and Gov. expressly state that 'they,' i.e. the older commentators, give this explanation.

66. 'A non-*Āryan* female,' i.e. 'a *Sûdra* female' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'the daughter of a *Vrâtya* and the like' (Nâr.). 'By chance,' i.e. even on an unmarried one (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nand.), or 'unknowingly' (Nâr.). 'An *Āryan* female,' i.e. 'a *Brâhmaṇi*' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., Nâr., Nand.).

67. 'May become (like to) an *Āryan* by his virtues,' i.e. 'may become most excellent or praiseworthy by offering the *Pākayagñas*

68. The law prescribes that neither of the two shall receive the sacraments, the first (being excluded) on account of the lowness of his origin, the second (because the union of his parents was) against the order of the castes.

69. As good seed, springing up in good soil, turns out perfectly well, even so the son of an Âryan by an Âryan woman is worthy of all the sacraments.

70. Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field; again others (assert that) the seed and the field (are equally important); but the legal decision on this point is as follows:

71. Seed, sown on barren ground, perishes in it; a (fertile) field also, in which no (good) seed (is sown), will remain barren.

72. As through the power of the seed (sons) born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important.

73. Having considered (the case of) a non-Âryan who acts like an Âryan, and (that of) an Âryan who acts like a non-Âryan, the creator declared, 'Those two are neither equal nor unequal.'

and the like, which according to other Smṛitis are permitted to him' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.). 'Unlike to an Âryan,' i. e. 'unworthy of praise or respect' (Gov., Kull.).

69-72. See also the discussion which occurs above, IX, 33-41.

71. Gov., Kull., and Nand. say 'a field in which no seed (is sown) remains barren.' The translation follows Medh. The commentators refer to the stories of Mandapâla and *Rishyasṛṅga*, see above, IX, 23.

72. 'Not equal,' i. e. because they differ in caste; 'not unequal,' i. e. because both do what is forbidden to them. Hence nobody should do acts which are not permitted to him (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

74. Brāhmaṇas who are intent on the means (of gaining union with) Brahman and firm in (discharging) their duties, shall live by duly performing the following six acts, (which are enumerated) in their (proper) order.

75. Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brāhmaṇa.

76. But among the six acts (ordained) for him three are his means of subsistence, (viz.) sacrificing for others, teaching, and accepting gifts from pure men.

77. (Passing) from the Brāhmaṇa to the Kshatriya, three acts (incumbent on the former) are forbidden, (viz.) teaching, sacrificing for others, and, thirdly, the acceptance of gifts.

78. The same are likewise forbidden to a Vaisya, that is a settled rule; for Manu, the lord of creatures (Pragâpati), has not prescribed them for (men of) those two (castes).

79. To carry arms for striking and for throwing (is prescribed) for Kshatriyas as a means of subsistence; to trade, (to rear) cattle, and agriculture

74-80. Âp. II, 10, 4-7; Gauṣ. X, 1-7, 49; Vas. II, 13-19; Baudh. I, 18, 1-4; Vi. II, 1-7; Yāgyñ. I, 118-119; see also above, I, 88-90.

74. Brahmayonisthâḥ, 'who are intent on the means of gaining union with Brahman' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), means according to Nâr. and Râgh. 'who are of pure Brāhmaṇical race,' according to Nand. 'who abide by that which springs from the Veda, i.e. the sacred law,' or 'who are the dwelling-place of the Veda.'

77. Nâr. reads brāhmaṇâḥ kshatriyaṃ prati, 'To a Kshatriya three acts incumbent on a Brāhmaṇa' are forbidden,' instead of brāhmaṇât kshatriyaṃ prati. Nand., whose text is corrupt, seems to have had the same reading as Nâr.

for Vaisyas; but their duties are liberality, the study of the Veda, and the performance of sacrifices.

80. Among the several occupations the most commendable are, teaching the Veda for a Brâhmaṇa, protecting (the people) for a Kshatriya, and trade for a Vaisya.

81. But a Brâhmaṇa, unable to subsist by his peculiar occupations just mentioned, may live according to the law applicable to Kshatriyas; for the latter is next to him in rank.

82. If it be asked, 'How shall it be, if he cannot maintain himself by either (of these occupations?)' the answer is), he may adopt a Vaisya's mode of life, employing himself in agriculture and rearing cattle.

83. But a Brâhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, living by a Vaisya's mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture, (which causes) injury to many beings and depends on others.

84. (Some) declare that agriculture is something excellent, (but) that means of subsistence is blamed

80. Vârttâ, 'trade' (Nand.), means according to Kull. 'trade and rearing cattle,' and according to Gov. 'trade, rearing cattle, and agriculture.' But the context makes it probable that one occupation only is intended.

81-98. Âp. I, 20, 10-21, 4; Gaut. VII, 1-26; Vas. II, 22-39; Baudh. II, 4, 16-21; Vi. II, 15; LIV, 18-21; Yâgñ. III, 35-40.

82. Nâr. thinks that *krîshi*, 'agriculture,' means here *asvayamkrîtâ*, 'at which the Brâhmaṇa does not work personally,' while Gov. and Kull. hold the contrary opinion. For according to them the *asvayamkrîtâ krîshi* has been permitted even for ordinary times, above, IV, 4-5.

83. 'Depends on others,' i. e. 'on bullocks and so forth' (Gov., Kull.). It has been taught above, IV, 159-160, that a Snâtaka is to avoid all that depends upon others.

84. Medh. points out that this verse is directed against the teaching of Vas. II, 32-36.



by the virtuous; (for) the wooden (implement) with iron point injures the earth and (the beings) living in the earth.

85. But he who, through a want of means of subsistence, gives up the strictness with respect to his duties, may sell, in order to increase his wealth, the commodities sold by Vaisyas, making (however) the (following) exceptions.

86. He must avoid (selling) condiments of all sorts, cooked food and sesamum, stones, salt, cattle, and human (beings),

87. All dyed cloth, as well as cloth made of hemp, or flax, or wool, even though they be not dyed, fruit, roots, and (medical) herbs ;

88. Water, weapons, poison, meat, Soma, and perfumes of all kinds, fresh milk, honey, sour milk, clarified butter, oil, wax, sugar, Kusa-grass ;

89. All beasts of the forest, animals with fangs or tusks, birds, spirituous liquor, indigo, lac, and all one-hoofed beasts.

90. But he who subsists by agriculture, may at pleasure sell unmixed sesamum grains for sacred

86. Medh. says, 'and cooked food, mixed with sesamum grains.' The same commentator thinks that, as salt which is also a condiment is specially forbidden, other condiments may be sold optionally. But Gov. and Kull. point out that it is specially named, because the penance is heavier. Nâr. explains rasân, 'condiments,' by 'exudations of leaves, wood, and so forth.'

88. Nâr. reads kshâram, 'alkaline substances,' instead of kshîram, 'fresh milk,' but mentions the latter reading, and Nand. kshâram for kshaudram.

89. Nâr. reads maggâ, 'marrow,' instead of madyam, 'spirituous liquor.' Medh. says that some read ekasaphân bahûn, 'many one-hoofed beasts,' and permit the sale of a single one. Nand. reads parûn, 'animals.'

90. Suddhân, 'unmixed' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means

purposes, provided he himself has grown them and has not kept them long.

91. If he applies sesamum to any other purpose but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born (again) as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into the ordure of dogs.

92. By (selling) flesh, salt, and lac a Brâhmaṇa at once becomes an outcast; by selling milk he becomes (equal to) a Sûdra in three days.

93. But by willingly selling in this world other (forbidden) commodities, a Brâhmaṇa assumes after seven nights the character of a Vaisya.

94. Condiments may be bartered for condiments, but by no means salt for (other) condiments; cooked food (may be exchanged) for (other kinds of) cooked food, and sesamum seeds for grain in equal quantities.

95. A Kshatriya who has fallen into distress, may subsist by all these (means); but he must never arrogantly adopt the mode of life (prescribed for his) betters.

according to Nand. 'white,' according to Nâr. 'of good quality.' 'Provided he has not kept them long,' i. e. 'if he has not kept them long after the harvest, in order to increase his profit' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

91. K. reads *krîmîr bhûtvâ sa vish/hâyâm*, 'he will be plunged into ordure;' and Medh. seems likewise to have read *sa*, 'he,' for *sva*, 'dog.'

93. *Kâmatah*, 'willingly,' means according to Medh. and Nand. 'not in times of distress, but in ordinary times.'

94. I read with Medh. and Nand., *krîânnam ka krîânnena* instead of *kâkrîânnena* (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), 'for undressed grain,' because all the other *Smritis* have the former rule. K. reads *vâ krîânnena*, and thus shows how the misreading *kâ°* arose. Nand. reads *na tveva lavanam tilaiḥ*, 'but not salt for sesamum grains,' and Medh. mentions the reading as a var. lect.

96. A man of low caste who through covetousness lives by the occupations of a higher one, the king shall deprive of his property and banish.

97. It is better (to discharge) one's own (appointed) duty incompletely than to perform completely that of another; for he who lives according to the law of another (caste) is instantly excluded from his own.

98. A Vaisya who is unable to subsist by his own duties, may even maintain himself by a Sûdra's mode of life, avoiding (however) acts forbidden (to him), and he should give it up, when he is able (to do so).

99. But a Sûdra, being unable to find service with the twice-born and threatened with the loss of his sons and wife (through hunger), may maintain himself by handicrafts.

100. (Let him follow) those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are (best) served.

101. A Brâhmana who is distressed through a want of means of subsistence and pines (with hunger), (but) unwilling to adopt a Vaisya's mode of life and resolved to follow his own (prescribed) path, may act in the following manner.

97. Nâr. gives as an instance of an ill or incomplete performance of a Brâhmana's duty, which is better than completely discharging the duties of another caste, the acceptance of alms from an impure person. Nand. omits this verse, which, indeed, is here out of place and ought to stand in the discussion beginning verse 101.

98. 'Acts forbidden to him,' i. e. 'eating the leavings of the others and so forth' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.), or 'eating forbidden food and the like' (Nand.).

99-100. Vi. III, 14; Gaut. X, 60.

101-114. Gaut. VII, 4-5, 23; Âp. I, 18, 5-8, 14-15.

102. A Brâhmaṇa who has fallen into distress may accept (gifts) from anybody; for according to the law it is not possible (to assert) that anything pure can be sullied.

103. By teaching, by sacrificing for, and by accepting gifts from despicable (men) Brâhmaṇas (in distress) commit not sin; for they (are as pure) as fire and water.

104. He who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever, is no more tainted by sin than the sky by mud.

105. Agîgarta, who suffered hunger, approached in order to slay (his own) son, and was not tainted by sin, since he (only) sought a remedy against famishing.

106. Vâmadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger), he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life.

107. Bharadvâga, a performer of great austerities, accepted many cows from the carpenter Brîbu, when he was starving together with his sons in a lonely forest.

102. 'Anything pure,' i. e. 'the Ganges and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'fire and the like' (Nâr., Râgh.).

103. Vas. XXVII, 9.

105. Regarding the story of Agîgarta, see Aitareya-brâhmaṇa VII, 13-16.

107. I read with Gov. and Sâyana on Rig-veda VI, 45, 31, Brîbu instead of Vridhu (Kull., Râgh., K.), and Brîhat (Nâr., Nand.). The corrected copies of Medh. have Vridhu, but the oldest reads vridhha in the text, and in the commentary drîbu, i. e. brîbu. It is not doubtful that Brîbu is the correct reading. For in the hymn quoted that personage is described as the carpenter of the Panis, and his liberality is highly praised. Moreover the Sâṅkhâyana

108. Visvâmitra, who well knew what is right or wrong, approached, when he was tormented by hunger, (to eat) the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a *Kandâla*.

109. On (comparing) the acceptance (of gifts from low men), sacrificing (for them), and teaching (them), the acceptance of gifts is the meanest (of those acts) and (most) reprehensible for a Brâhmaṇa (on account of its results) in the next life.

110. (For) assisting in sacrifices and teaching are (two acts) always performed for men who have received the sacraments; but the acceptance of gifts takes place even in (case the giver is) a Sûdra of the lowest class.

111. The guilt incurred by offering sacrifices for teaching (unworthy men) is removed by muttering (sacred texts) and by burnt offerings, but that incurred by accepting gifts (from them) by throwing (the gifts) away and by austerities.

112. A Brâhmaṇa who is unable to maintain himself, should (rather) glean ears or grains from (the field of) any (man); gleaning ears is better than accepting gifts, picking up single grains is declared to be still more laudable.

113. If Brâhmaṇas, who are Snâtakas, are pining with hunger, or in want of (utensils made of) common metals, or of other property, they may ask the

Srauta-sûtra (see the Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce *Brîbu*) alludes to the legend mentioned by Manu.

108. Regarding the legend of Visvâmitra, see Mahâbh. XII, 141, 28 seqq.

110. Nâr. says, 'a Sûdra (or) one of the lowest class, i. e. a *Kandâla*.'

111. Âp. I, 28, 11; Vas. XX, 45; Vi. LIV, 28. 'By austerities,' i. e. 'by penances,' see below, XI, 194.

113. Kupyam, '(utensils made of) common metals,' includes

king for them ; if he is not disposed to be liberal, he must be left.

114. (The acceptance of) an untilled field is less blamable than (that of) a tilled one ; (with respect to) cows, goats, sheep, gold, grain, and cooked food, (the acceptance of) each earlier-named (article is less blamable than of the following ones).

115. There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, (viz.) inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men.

according to Medh. 'pots, kettles, wooden stools, and the like ; according to Gov. 'all property of small value such as beds, seats ;' according to Kull., Râgh., and Nand. 'also grain and clothes.' But Nâr. takes it in its usual sense, 'common metals such as brass and copper.' I translate the last clause according to the first explanation of Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Râgh., who think that all Brâhmanas should leave the realm of a king who does not support famishing Snâtakas. Nand., however, says that such a king is to be excluded from instruction and admission to sacrifices. Medh.'s second interpretation, according to which *tyâgaḥ* means *dharma-hâniḥ*, 'a loss of spiritual merit,' agrees with Nand.'s view. Kull. finally takes the phrase very differently, 'but he who does not wish to give anything, being known for his avarice, must be left to himself, i. e. must not be asked.' Kull. and Gov. hold that 'the prince' meant here is a Kshatriya king who does not follow the Sâstras, or a Sûdra king (see note on IV, 33), and that the verse thus rescinds the prohibition given above, IV, 84 seq.

114. Vas. XII, 3.

115. Gaut. X, 39-42. *Lâbha*, 'finding or friendly donation' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), refers according to Nâr. and Nand. to the acquisition of treasure-trove alone, not to the acceptance of presents from friends, from a father-in-law, &c. *Gaya*, 'conquest,' means according to Nand. 'gaining lawsuits.' The same commentator takes *prayoga*, 'lending money at interest,' in the sense of 'teaching,' and *karma-yoga*, 'performance of labour,' in the sense of 'sacrificing for others.' All the commentators, except Nand., point out that the first three modes of acquisition are lawful for all castes, the fourth for Ksha-

116. Learning, mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little), alms, and receiving interest on money, are the ten modes of subsistence (permitted to all men in times of distress).

117. Neither a Brâhmana, nor a Kshatriya must lend (money at) interest; but at his pleasure (either of them) may, in times of distress (when he requires money) for sacred purposes, lend to a very sinful man at a small interest.

118. A Kshatriya (king) who, in times of distress, takes even the fourth part (of the crops), is free from guilt, if he protects his subjects to the best of his ability.

119. His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not turn back in danger; having protected the Vaisyas by his weapons, he may cause the legal tax to be collected;

120. (Viz.) from Vaisyas one-eighth as the tax on

triyas, the fifth and sixth for Vaisyas (or the fifth for Vaisyas, the sixth for Sûdras, Nâr.), and the seventh for Brâhmanas.

116. 'Learning,' i. e. (teaching) other than Vedic sciences, e. g. logic, exorcising evil spirits, or charms against poison (Medh., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). Gov. thinks that 'teaching for a stipulated fee' is also permissible under this rule.

117. Vas. II, 40-43. Gov., Nâr., and K. read *alpakam* instead of *alpakâm*, and with this var. lect. the last clause might be translated with Nâr. by '... (either of them) ... may lend a small (sum) to a very sinful man.'

119. I read with Gov. and K. *na bhaye* instead of *nâhave* (editions). Medh.'s text has the latter reading, but the commentary *bhaye upasthite parânmukho yuddhe na syât*, 'when danger threatens he shall not turn back in battle,' indicates that his reading was *bhaye*. The same inference may be drawn from Kull.'s commentary. Nand. gives *na bhaye*, probably a mistake for *na bhaye*.

120. According to Medh., the first line refers to the profits of

grain, one-twentieth (on the profits on gold and cattle), which amount at least to one Kârshâpana; Sûdras, artisans, and mechanics (shall) benefit (the king) by (doing) work (for him).

121. If a Sûdra, (unable to subsist by serving Brâhmanas,) seeks a livelihood, he may serve Kshatriyas, or he may also seek to maintain himself by attending on a wealthy Vaisya.

122. But let a (Sûdra) serve Brâhmanas, either

subjects dealing in corn or in gold. From the former the king may take in times of distress one-eighth, and from the latter one-twentieth. The second line indicates that artisans who, according to VII, 138, in ordinary times furnish one piece of work in each month, may be made to work more for the king. According to Gov. and Kull., husbandmen (*krishigîvinâm*, Gov.) shall give from the increments on grain (*upakaya*) one-eighth (instead of one-twelfth, and in the direst distress one-fourth, according to verse 118, Kull.), from all increments on gold and so forth amounting to more than a Kârshâpana one-twentieth instead of one-fiftieth, as prescribed above, VII, 130. Râgh. in substance agrees with this explanation. Nâr. and Nand. read, as it would seem, *vimsatkârshâpanâvaram* (*nâparam*, Nand.), and take the verse differently. Nâr. says that the tax on grain is to be one-fourth in the case of Sûdras, and one-eighth in the case of Vaisyas, that the tax on everything else is to be at least one Kârshâpana in twenty, and that artisans who work for wages shall pay the same rate (*vimsatkârshâpanam iti dhanyâd anyeshu vimsad vimsatikârshâpanamûlyam tâdrisalâbhe kârshâpana eko râgnâ grâhya ity avaraḥ pakshaḥ | sambhave tv adhikam api grâhyam ity arthaḥ | dharmopakaraṇāḥ [karmo°] dharmibhir [karmabhir] visvam upakurvantas tantuvâyâdayaḥ | sûdrâḥ kâravo varṇavâhyâ naḥakitrakârâdyâḥ | silpinas ka rathakârâdyâs te 'pi karma krîtâ bhîrûitve 'pi vimsatikârshâpanalâbhe kârshâpanâvaram sulkam dadyur iti seshāḥ*). According to Nâr. the translation would be: '(Viz.) one-eighth as the tax (payable) by Vaisyas on grain, (and on everything else) at least one Kârshâpana out of twenty; Sûdra artisans and mechanics who benefit (men) by their work (shall pay the same rate).' Nâr. adds that some read *trimsatkârshâpanâvaram*, 'at least one Kârshâpana out of thirty.'

121-129. Gaut. X, 50-65; Yâgñ. I, 120-121.

for the sake of heaven, or with a view to both (this life and the next); for he who is called the servant of a Brāhmaṇa thereby gains all his ends.

123. The service of Brāhmaṇas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a Sūdra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit.

124. They must allot to him out of their own family(-property) a suitable maintenance, after considering his ability, his industry, and the number of those whom he is bound to support.

125. The remnants of their food must be given to him, as well as their old clothes, the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

126. A Sūdra cannot commit an offence, causing loss of caste (pāṭaka), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfil) the sacred law (of the Āryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.

127. (Sūdras) who are desirous to gain merit, and know (their) duty, commit no sin, but gain praise, if they imitate the practice of virtuous men without reciting sacred texts.

128. The more a (Sūdra), keeping himself free from envy, imitates the behaviour of the virtuous, the more he gains, without being censured, (exaltation in) this world and the next.

126. 'Cannot commit an offence causing loss of caste,' i.e. 'by eating garlic and the like forbidden fruit' (Gov., Kull.), or 'by (keeping) a slaughter-house' (Rāgh.).

127. In what particulars the practice of the Āryans may be imitated by Sūdras, may be learnt from the parallel passages quoted above.

129. No collection of wealth must be made by a Sûdra, even though he be able (to do it); for a Sûdra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brâhmanas.

130. The duties of the four castes (varṇa) in times of distress have thus been declared, and if they perform them well, they will reach the most blessed state.

131. Thus all the legal rules for the four castes have been proclaimed; I next will promulgate the auspicious rules for penances.

CHAPTER XI.

1. Him who wishes (to marry for the sake of having) offspring, him who wishes to perform a sacrifice, a traveller, him who has given away all his property, him who begs for the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother, a student of the Veda, and a sick man,

2. These nine Brâhmanas one should consider as

129. 'Gives pain to Brâhmanas,' i.e. 'by becoming proud and not serving them' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

XI. 1. Âp. II, 10, 1-2; Gaut. V, 21; Baudh. II, 5, 19. 'He who has given away all his property,' i.e. 'on performing a Virvagit sacrifice' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'other Kratus' (Nâr.). 'For the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother,' i.e. 'in order to maintain them' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'in order to procure the fee for the teacher' (Râgh., Nâr.). The commentators try to excuse the introduction of the miscellaneous rules, contained in verses 1-43, before the discussion of the penances, which according to X, 131 ought to follow at once, either by assuming that the object is to show the necessity of performing penances in case these rules are violated, or by pointing out that, as gifts are the means for removing sin, the enumeration of the Pâtras or worthy recipients is required.

Snâtakas, begging in order to fulfil the sacred law ; to such poor men gifts must be given in proportion to their learning.

3. To these most excellent among the twice-born, food and presents (of money) must be given ; it is declared that food must be given to others outside the sacrificial enclosure.

4. But a king shall bestow, as is proper, jewels of all sorts, and presents for the sake of sacrifices on Brâhmanas learned in the Vedas.

5. If a man who has a wife weds a second wife, having begged money (to defray the marriage expenses, he obtains) no advantage but sensual enjoyment ; but the issue (of his second marriage belongs) to the giver of the money.

6. One should give, according to one's ability, wealth to Brâhmanas learned in the Veda and living alone ; (thus) one obtains after death heavenly bliss.

3. Gaut. V, 22 ; Baudh. II, 5, 20. The translation follows Medh., Gov., and Nâr. The interpretation adopted by Kull. is, 'To these most excellent Brâhmanas food together with presents must be given (inside the sacrificial enclosure).' Nand. reads etebhyo 'pi instead of etebhyo hi, and thinks that bahirvede is to be construed with api, 'To these most excellent among the twice-born food . . . must be given even outside the sacrificial enclosure.' The correct explanation of the force of the word bahirvedi, 'outside the sacrificial enclosure,' is given by Nâr., who adds, vedyâm tu yâkîtam sarvam eva deyam, 'but near the fire-altar everything asked for must be given to them.' The meaning of the verse, therefore, is that the nine mendicants, mentioned in verses 1-2, shall always receive what they ask for, and other mendicants ordinary food only, but that if they beg at the performance of a sacrifice, other property also must be given to them.

5. Âp. II, 10, 3. The object of the verse is to forbid that alms shall be asked or given for such a purpose (Gov., Kull.). Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., and K. omit this verse. It looks very much like an interpolation, intended to explain the preceding rule.

7. He who may possess (a supply of) food sufficient to maintain those dependant on him during three years or more than that, is worthy to drink the Soma-juice.

8. But a twice-born man, who, though possessing less than that amount of property, nevertheless drinks the Soma-juice, does not derive any benefit from that (act), though he may have formerly drunk the Soma-juice.

✓ 9. (If) an opulent man (is) liberal towards strangers, while his family lives in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets (of fame, but afterwards) make him swallow the poison (of punishment in hell).

✓ 10. If (a man) does anything for the sake of his happiness in another world, to the detriment of those whom he is bound to maintain, that produces evil results for him, both while he lives and when he is dead.

11. If a sacrifice, (offered) by (any twice-born) sacrificer, (and) especially by a Brâhmana, must remain incomplete through (the want of) one requisite, while a righteous king rules,

7. Vas. VIII, 10; Vi. LIX, 8; Yâgñ. I, 124. 'Drink the Soma-juice,' i.e. 'perform a Soma-sacrifice, in order to obtain the fulfilment of some wish' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

8. 'Though he formerly may have drunk the Soma,' i.e. 'at the nitya (i.e. the annual, see above, IV, 26, VI, 10) Soma-sacrifice' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). The same commentators and Medh. point out that this and the preceding verses do not forbid the performance of the nitya Soma-sacrifices, but only of those called kâmya. He who performs the latter without possessing the requisite property, loses also the rewards for the former.

11-15. Gaut. XVIII, 24-27.

11. 'While a righteous king rules,' i.e. 'because such a king will not punish a man who acts in accordance with the Sâstras' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

12. That article (required) for the completion of the sacrifice, may be taken (forcibly) from the house of any Vaisya, who possesses a large number of cattle, (but) neither performs the (minor) sacrifices nor drinks the Soma-juice ;

13. (Or) the (sacrificer) may take at his pleasure two or three (articles required for a sacrifice) from the house of a Sûdra ; for a Sûdra has no business with sacrifices.

14. If (a man) possessing one hundred cows, kindles not the sacred fire, or one possessing a thousand cows, drinks not the Soma-juice, a (sacrificer) may unhesitatingly take (what he requires) from the houses of those two, even (though they be Brâhmaṇas or Kshatriyas) ;

15. (Or) he may take (it by force or fraud) from one who always takes and never gives, and who refuses to give it ; thus the fame (of the taker) will spread and his merit increase.

16. Likewise he who has not eaten at (the time of) six meals, may take at (the time of) the seventh meal (food) from a man who neglects his sacred

12. Nâr. and Nand. think that 'the king' is the agent to be understood with the verb 'may be taken.' The latter relies on the parallel passage of the Mahâbhârata, where the last Pâda of the verse is *yagñârtham pâthivo haret*. 'The (minor) sacrifices,' i.e. 'the Pâkayagñas and so forth' (Kull.), or 'the five great sacrifices' (Nâr.).

14. Gov. thinks that this verse refers to a Kshatriya alone, while Medh., Kull., Râgh. refer it to Brâhmaṇas also.

15. Gov., Kull., and Râgh. explain âdânanitya, 'one who always takes,' by 'a Brâhmaṇa who always accepts presents,' while Medh. and Nâr. refer the word to men of all castes who constantly amass wealth.

16-23. Gaut. XVIII, 28-32 ; Yâgñ. III, 43-44.

16. 'At the seventh meal-time,' i.e. 'on the fourth day of his starving.'

duties, without (however) making a provision for the morrow,

17. Either from the threshing-floor, or from a field, or out of the house, or wherever he finds it; but if (the owner) asks him, he must confess to him that (deed and its cause).

18. (On such occasions) a Kshatriya must never take the property of a (virtuous) Brâhmaṇa; but he who is starving may appropriate the possessions of a Dasyu, or of one who neglects his sacred duties.

19. He who takes property from the wicked and bestows it on the virtuous, transforms himself into a boat, and carries both (over the sea of misfortune).

20. The property of those who zealously offer sacrifices, the wise call the property of the gods; but the wealth of those who perform no sacrifices is called the property of the Âsuras.

21. On him (who, for the reasons stated, appropriates another's possessions), a righteous king shall not inflict punishment; for (in that case) a Brâhmaṇa pines with hunger through the Kshatriya's want of care.

22. Having ascertained the number of those dependent on such a man, and having fully considered his learning and his conduct, the king shall allow him, out of his own property, a maintenance whereon he may live according to the law;

23. And after allotting to him a maintenance, the

18. 'A Dasyu,' see above, X, 45. According to Nâr., this verse too refers to the king.

19. 'Both,' i. e. 'him from whom he takes it by saving him from sin (or, from the trouble of protecting his property, Gov.), and the recipient' (Kull., Gov.). Nand. omits verses 19-21.

21-22. See above, VII, 134-135.

23. See above, VIII, 304.

king must protect him in every way; for he obtains from such (a man) whom he protects, the sixth part of his spiritual merit.

24. A Brâhmana shall never beg from a Sûdra property for a sacrifice; for a sacrificer, having begged (it from such a man), after death is born (again) as a *Kandâla*.

25. A Brâhmana who, having begged any property for a sacrifice, does not use the whole (for that purpose), becomes for a hundred years a (vulture of the kind called) *Bhâsa*, or a crow.

26. That sinful man, who, through covetousness, seizes the property of the gods, or the property of Brâhmanas, feeds in another world on the leavings of vultures.

27. In case the prescribed animal and Soma-sacrifices cannot be performed, let him always offer at the change of the year a *Vairvânart Ishî* as a penance (for the omission).

28. But a twice-born, who, without being in distress, performs his duties according to the law for times of distress, obtains no reward for them in the next world; that is the opinion (of the sages).

29. By the *Visve-devas*, by the *Sâdhya*s, and by the great sages (of the) Brâhmana (caste), who were afraid of perishing in times of distress, a substitute was made for the (principal) rule.

24. Vi. LIX, 11; Yâgñ. I, 127.

25. Yâgñ. I, 127. Medh., Gov., and Nâr. say, 'A Brâhmana who . . . does not give the whole of it (to Brâhmanas).'

26. Pare loka, 'in another world,' means according to Gov. and Kull., 'in his next birth.'

27. Vi. LIX, 10; Yâgñ. I, 126. The *Vairvânart Ishî* is according to Medh., a rite described in the *Grîhya-sûtras*. Regarding the prescribed *Srauta* sacrifices, see above, IV, 25-26.

30. That evil-minded man, who, being able (to fulfil) the original law, lives according to the secondary rule, reaps no reward for that after death.

31. A Brâhmana who knows the law need not bring any (offence) to the notice of the king ; by his own power alone he can punish those men who injure him.

32. His own power is greater than the power of the king ; the Brâhmana, therefore, may punish his foes by his own power alone.

33. Let him use without hesitation the sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and by Aṅgiras ; speech, indeed, is the weapon of the Brâhmana, with that he may slay his enemies.

34. A Kshatriya shall pass through misfortunes which have befallen him by the strength of his arms, a Vaisya and a Sûdra by their wealth, the chief of the twice-born by muttered prayers and burnt-oblations.

35. The Brâhmana is declared (to be) the creator (of the world), the punisher, the teacher, (and hence) a benefactor (of all created beings) ; to him let no man say anything unpropitious, nor use any harsh words.

31. This and the following verses rescind the rules given above, IX, 290.

32. See above, IX, 313-321.

33. 'The sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and Aṅgiras,' i. e. the charms and incantations contained in the Atharva-veda. Nâr. reads *abhiârayan*, 'using magic,' instead of *aviârayan* (Medh., Gov., Kull., K.). Nand. reads, *srutir atharvâṅgirasîh kuryâd ity abhiâritam*.

34. Vas. XXVI, 16.

35. I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K., *maitro* for *maitrî*, and *suktâm* for *sushkâm* (editions). The commentators differ

36. Neither a girl, nor a (married) young woman, nor a man of little learning, nor a fool, nor a man in great suffering, nor one uninitiated, shall offer an Agnihotra.

37. For such (persons) offering a burnt-oblation sink into hell, as well as he to whom that (Agnihotra) belongs; hence the person who sacrifices (for another) must be skilled in (the performance of) Vaitâna (rites), and know the whole Veda.

much with respect to the explanation of the first line. Vidhâtâ, 'the creator (of the world,' Medh., Nâr.), means according to Gov. and Kull. 'the performer of the prescribed rites;' according to Râgh. 'able to do, to undo, and to change;' according to Nand. 'the performer of magic rites and so forth.' Sâsitâ, 'the punisher' (Medh. Kull., Râgh.), i. e. 'of others, of the king' (Medh.), or 'of his sons, pupils, and so forth' (Kull.), is interpreted by Nâr. to mean 'the instructor in the sacred law,' by Nand. 'the instigator (of incantations).' Vaktâ, 'the teacher' (Gov., Nâr.), means according to Medh. 'the giver of good advice,' according to Kull. and Râgh. 'the expounder of the sacred law.' The explanations of Gov. and Kull. allow also the translation adopted by Sir W. Jones, 'He who performs his duties . . . is truly called a Brâhmaṇa.' As regards the second line Medh. offers two explanations. First he interprets it 'to him, i. e. when he uses magic, let no man say anything unpropitious, i. e. he must not punish him, nor use any harsh words, i. e. admonish or sharply reprimand him.' Gov. and Kull. agree with this explanation, but omit the specification 'when he uses magic.' According to Medh.'s second rendering the line contains an advice, addressed to men of all castes, not to anger or disquiet a Brâhmaṇa; and this view is adopted by Râgh. and Nand., who explain akusalam, 'unpropitious,' by anishṭam, 'anything disagreeable.' Nâr.'s readings seem to have differed. He has kuryât instead of brûyât, and explains the first phrase, 'to him let no man do anything unpropitious,' i. e. anything unbecoming, such as a bodily injury. In the second clause he reads suktam (suktam, MS.), which he explains by paryushitam, 'stale,' but he does not give the remainder of his text.

36-37. Âp. II, 15, 18-19; Gaut. II, 4; Vas. II, 6: see also above, II, 172; V, 155; IX, 18. The Vaitâna rites are those performed in the vitâna, the three sacred fires. Hence it follows that the Agnihotra meant here is the Srauta Agnihotra.

38. A Brâhmaṇa who, though wealthy, does not give, as fee for the performance of an Agnyâdheya, a horse sacred to Pragâpati, becomes (equal to one) who has not kindled the sacred fires.

39. Let him who has faith and controls his senses perform other meritorious acts, but let him on no account offer sacrifices at which he gives smaller fees (than those prescribed).

40. The organs (of sense and action), honour, (bliss in) heaven, longevity, fame, offspring, and cattle are destroyed by a sacrifice at which (too) small sacrificial fees are given; hence a man of small means should not offer a (Srauta) sacrifice.

41. A Brâhmaṇa who, being an Agnihotrin, voluntarily neglects the sacred fires, shall perform a lunar penance during one month; for that (offence) is equal to the slaughter of a son.

42. Those who, obtaining wealth from Sûdras, (and using that) offer an Agnihotra, are priests officiating for Sûdras, (and hence) censured among those who recite the Veda.

38. The translation of prâgâpatya, 'sacred to Pragâpati,' follows Gov., Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. Medh. says that the epithet may be used merely by way of laudation, or may mean that the animal is to be neither very good nor very bad, or that it may be derived from a phrase current among the people. Nand. explains it by 'to be given to the Brahman priest.'

40. Gov. and Kull. explain, here and above, IV, 94, yasaḥ, 'honour,' by 'a good name during one's life,' and kîrtim, 'fame,' by 'fame after death.' Nâr. takes the former as 'being known to others for one's virtues,' and the latter as 'being praised by others.'

41. Gaut. XXII, 34; Vas. I, 18; XXI, 27; Vi. LIV, 13. Nand. explains vîra, 'son' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), by a Kshatriya, and Râgh. says that it may also mean 'a deity.'

42. See above, XI, 24.

43. Treading with his foot on the heads of those fools who worship a fire (kindled at the expense) of a Śûdra, the giver (of the wealth) shall always pass over his miseries (in the next world).

44. A man who omits a prescribed act, or performs a blamable act, or cleaves to sensual enjoyments, must perform a penance.

45. (All) sages prescribe a penance for a sin unintentionally committed; some declare, on the evidence of the revealed texts, (that it may be performed) even for an intentional (offence).

46. A sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, but that which (men) in their folly commit intentionally, by various (special) penances.

47. A twice-born man, having become liable to perform a penance, be it by (the decree of) fate or by (an act) committed in a former life, must not, before the penance has been performed, have intercourse with virtuous men.

48. Some wicked men suffer a change of their

43. Nand. reads the first line differently, *pâpânâm satatam teshâm agnim sûdrasya guhvatâm*, but the general sense remains the same.

44-46. Gaut. XIX; Vas. XX, 1-3; XXII; Baudh. III, 10; Yâgyñ. III, 219, 226.

45. Vedic texts which prescribe penances for offences committed intentionally, are quoted Gaut. XIX, 7-10. The commentators adduce also Aitareya-brâhmana VII, 28.

47. Daivât, 'by (the decree of) fate,' i.e. 'through carelessness' (Medh., Nâr., Kull., Râgh.). Medh. mentions a var. lect. *mohât*, 'through delusion of mind.' 'By (an act) committed in a former life,' i.e. 'if he has black teeth or some other bodily defect from which his having committed a crime in a former birth may be inferred.'

48-54. Vas. I, 18; XX, 6; XXI, 43-44; Vi. XLV; Yâgyñ. III, 207-215.

(natural) appearance in consequence of crimes committed in this life, and some in consequence of those committed in a former (existence).

49. He who steals the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa) has diseased nails; a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, black teeth; the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, consumption; the violator of a Guru's bed, a diseased skin;

50. An informer, a foul-smelling nose; a calumniator, a stinking breath; a stealer of grain, deficiency in limbs; he who adulterates (grain), redundant limbs;

51. A stealer of (cooked) food, dyspepsia; a stealer of the words (of the Veda), dumbness; a stealer of clothes, white leprosy; a horse-stealer, lameness.

52. The stealer of a lamp will become blind; he who extinguishes it will become one-eyed; injury (to sentient beings) is punished by general sickness; an adulterer (will have) swellings (in his limbs).

53. Thus in consequence of a remnant of (the guilt of former) crimes, are born idiots, dumb, blind, deaf, and deformed men, who are (all) despised by the virtuous.

54. Penances, therefore, must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those

51. 'A stealer of the words (of the Veda),' i. e. 'one who learns the Veda without permission, by hearing another man recite it' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Nâr. 'a plagiarist.'

52. Gov., Nâr., Nand., and K. omit this verse, and Râgh. says that it is found kvâpi, in some MSS.

53. I read with Nâr., Nand., and K., karmâvasesheṇa instead of karmavisesheṇa (editions). The explanations of Medh., Gov., and Kull. likewise point to the former reading.

whose sins have not been expiated, are born (again) with disgraceful marks.

55. Killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ, stealing (the gold of a Brâhmaṇa), adultery with a Guru's wife, and associating with such (offenders), they declare (to be) mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

56. Falsely attributing to oneself high birth, giving information to the king (regarding a crime), and falsely accusing one's teacher, (are offences) equal to slaying a Brâhmaṇa.

57. Forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food, or (swallowing substances) unfit for food, are six (offences) equal to drinking Surâ.

58. Stealing a deposit, or men, a horse, and silver, land, diamonds and (other) gems, is declared to be equal to stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa).

59. Carnal intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with (unmarried) maidens, with females of

55-71. Âp. I, 21, 7-19; Gaut. XXI, 1-12; Vas. I, 19-23; Baudh. II, 2, 1-8; 12-13; 15-16; Vi. XXXIV, 1; XXXV-XXXVIII, 6; XXXIX-XLII; Yâgñ. III, 227-242.

55. See above, IX, 235.

56. Guros kâlikanirbandhaḥ, 'falsely accusing one's teacher' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean according to Medh. 'wrongfully going to law with the teacher.' Nâr. and Nand. explain it by 'persevering in doing what is disagreeable to the teacher.'

57. Garhitânâdya, 'forbidden food and (substances) unfit for food' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), means according to Medh. 'forbidden food and such which one has resolved not to eat;' according to Nâr. and Nand. 'food blemished by the contact with impure men or things, and such as is by its nature unfit for eating, e. g. garlic.'

59. The commentators point out that, though the crimes enumerated in verses 56-59 are stated to be equal to mortal sins, the penances are not always the same, but frequently less heavy.

the lowest castes, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, they declare to be equal to the violation of a Guru's bed.

60. Slaying kine, sacrificing for those who are unworthy to sacrifice, adultery, selling oneself, casting off one's teacher, mother, father, or son, giving up the (daily) study of the Veda, and neglecting the (sacred domestic) fire,

61. Allowing one's younger brother to marry first, marrying before one's elder brother, giving a daughter to, or sacrificing for, (either brother),

62. Defiling a damsel, usury, breaking a vow, selling a tank, a garden, one's wife, or child,

63. Living as a Vrâtya, casting off a relative, teaching (the Veda) for wages, learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher, and selling goods which one ought not to sell,

64. Superintending mines (or factories) of any

60. 'Selling oneself,' i.e. 'for money into slavery' (Medh.), 'refers to Âryans only' (Nâr.). Medh. mentions another reading, *pâradâryam avikrayaḥ*, 'adultery and the sale of forbidden merchandise.' Medh. and Nâr. say, 'forgetting the sacred texts required for the daily private recitation;' and Medh. adds that, as the same offence has been mentioned above, verse 57, 'forgetting the Veda,' may be either reckoned as equal to a Mahâ-pâtaka or as an Upapâtaka crime. Nâr. refers the term 'the fire' to the three sacred Srauta fires.

62. 'Breaking a vow,' i.e. 'any vow voluntarily undertaken' (Medh., Nâr.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'breaking the vow of studentship.'

63. 'Living as a Vrâtya,' see above, X, 20. 'Casting off a relative,' i.e. 'not supporting him in distress, though one possesses money enough to do so' (Medh.). Medh. takes *bândhava* in the sense of 'maternal relatives,' and understands that it includes the mother, sisters, maternal uncles, &c., while the other commentators take it in a wider sense.

64. *Mahâyantrapravartana*, 'executing great mechanical works,'

sort, executing great mechanical works, injuring (living) plants, subsisting on (the earnings of) one's wife, sorcery (by means of sacrifices), and working (magic by means of) roots, (and so forth),

65. Cutting down green trees for firewood, doing acts for one's own advantage only, eating prohibited food,

66. Neglecting to kindle the sacred fires, theft, non-payment of (the three) debts, studying bad books, and practising (the arts of) dancing and singing,

67. Stealing grain, base metals, or cattle, inter-

e. g. 'constructing dams across rivers in order to stop the water' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh., K.), means according to Nâr. 'making machines for killing great animals such as boars,' according to Nand. '(making) great machines such as sugar-mills.' Stryâgiva, 'subsisting on (the earnings of) one's wife, i. e. by making her go into service (Nâr., Nand.), or by forcing her to become a harlot' (Kull.), means according to Medh. 'subsisting on (the separate property of) one's wife,' according to Râgh. 'living on (the money obtained by selling one's wife.' Nand. reads *himśraushadhistry-upâgîvaḥ*, 'subsisting on (money earned by the sale of) noxious herbs or on (the earnings of) one's wife.'

65. 'Doing acts for one's own advantage only,' i. e. 'cooking only for oneself, and so forth' (Medh., Nâr., Kull., Nand., Râgh.); see above, III, 118. By *ninditâṇṇa*, 'forbidden food,' Medh. understands the same kinds, mentioned above, verse 57; Kull., 'forbidden food such as garlic,' Nâr., Râgh., and Nand., 'food given by persons from whom it must not be accepted, e. g. by a king, a gambler, &c.' Medh. and Kull. state expressly that, if such food be eaten once and unintentionally, the offence is an *Upapâtaka*, but in worse cases equal to a *Mahâpâtaka*.

66. 'Theft,' i. e. 'of valuable objects' (Kull.), 'excepting gold and the other articles specially mentioned' (Medh., Râgh.), e. g. 'of clothes' (Nâr.). Regarding the three debts, see Vas. XI, 45. 'Bad books,' i. e. 'those of the *Kârvâkas*, *Nirgranthas* (Gaiṇas,' Medh.), or 'of heretics in general' (Nâr.).

67. 'Cattle,' i. e. other than cows; see above, verse 60.

course with women who drink spirituous liquor, slaying women, Sûdras, Vaisyas, or Kshatriyas, and atheism, (are all) minor offences, causing loss of caste (Upapâtaka).

68. Giving pain to a Brâhmaṇa (by a blow), smelling at things which ought not to be smelt at, or at spirituous liquor, cheating, and an unnatural offence with a man, are declared to cause the loss of caste (Gâtibhramsa).

69. Killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, a sheep, a fish, a snake, or a buffalo, must be known to degrade (the offender) to a mixed caste (Samkarikarāṇa).

70. Accepting presents from blamed men, trading, serving Sûdras, and speaking a falsehood, make (the offender) unworthy to receive gifts (Apâtra).

71. Killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating anything kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruit, firewood, or flowers, (are offences) which make impure (Malāvaha).

72. Learn (now) completely those penances, by means of which all the several offences mentioned (can) be expiated.

73. For his purification the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa shall make a hut in the forest and dwell (in it)

68. 'Things which ought not to be smelt at,' e. g. 'garlic, onions, ordure, &c.' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

70. 'Blamed men,' i. e. those from whom no gifts must be accepted; see above, IV, 84 seq.

73-87. Âp. I, 24, 10-25; 25, 11-12; 28, 21-29, 1; Gaut. XXII, 2-10; Vas. XX, 25-28; Baudh. II, 1, 2-6; Vi. XXV, 6; L, 1-6, 15; Yâgyñ. III, 243-250.

73. According to Kull., Nâr., and Râgh. this penance is to be performed in case the homicide was committed unintentionally.

during twelve years, subsisting on alms and making the skull of a dead man his flag ;

74. Or let him, of his own free will, become (in a battle) the target of archers who know (his purpose); or he may thrice throw himself headlong into a blazing fire ;

75. Or he may offer a horse-sacrifice, a Svargit, a Gosava, an Abhigit, a Visvagit, a Trivrit, or an Agnishut ;

76. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) slaying a Brâhmana, he may walk one hundred yoganâs, reciting one of the Vedas, eating little, and controlling his organs ;

77. Or he may present to a Brâhmana, learned in

74. Vidushâm, 'who know (his purpose),' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), may also mean according to Medh. 'who are expert in archery,' and Nand. adopts this explanation. Nâr. thinks that this penance must be performed by one who intentionally murdered a Brâhmana, and that it must end in his death. According to the Bhavishyapurâna which Kull. and Râgh. quote, these two penances and that mentioned in the next verse are to be performed by a Kshatriya who slew a Brâhmana, those ending in death by an offender who himself, destitute of good qualities, killed a learned Srotiya, and the lighter ones by an eminent king who unintentionally caused the death of a worthless Brâhmana.

75. According to the Bhavishyapurâna, Nâr. and Kull., Svargit is the name of a sacrifice, but Medh. (on verse 78) and Râgh. take the word as an adjective qualifying Gosava. Regarding the Gosava, see Kâtyâyana Sr. Sûtras XXII, 11, 3 ; regarding the Abhigit, Âsv. Sr. Sûtras VIII, 5, 13. According to Gov. and Nâr., Trivrit is equivalent to Trivritstoma, and to be taken separately; but according to Medh. and Râgh., trivritâ qualifies Agnishut. Regarding the Agnishut, see Âsv. Sr. Sûtras IX, 7, 22-25.

76. According to Nâr., Kull., and Râgh. (the latter two quoting the Bhavishyapurâna as their authority), this penance suffices to expiate the unintentional slaughter of one who has nothing but the name of a Brâhmana.

77. I read with Medh., Gov., and K., dhanam hi instead of

the Vedas, his whole property, as much wealth as suffices for the maintenance (of the recipient), or a house together with the furniture ;

78. Or, subsisting on sacrificial food, he may walk against the stream along (the whole course of the river) Sarasvati; or, restricting his food (very much), he may mutter thrice the *Samhitâ* of a Veda.

79. Having shaved off (all his hair), he may dwell at the extremity of the village, or in a cow-pen, or in a hermitage, or at the root of a tree, taking pleasure in doing good to cows and *Brâhmanas*.

dhanam vâ (Nâr., Nand., Râgh., editions), 'or as much wealth as.' Kull.'s explanation, too, points to the former reading, the meaning of which is that 'the whole property' must be sufficient to maintain the recipient. According to the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., the penance is prescribed for the case that a rich, unlearned *Brâhmana* who keeps no sacred fire, unintentionally slew an utterly worthless *Brâhmana*.

78. According to the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, quoted by Kull. and Râgh., the first penance is to be performed by an unlearned *Brâhmana* who intentionally killed an utterly worthless caste-fellow, the second by an exceedingly distinguished *Srotriya* who unintentionally caused the death of a man merely a *Brâhmana* in name. Medh. and Gov. attach their views regarding the particular cases to their explanations of this *Sûtra*. Gov. does not go beyond generalities. But Medh. says that the penance mentioned in verse 73 and the first described in verse 74 may be optionally performed for intentionally slaying an ordinary *Brâhmana*. If a *Srotriya* or one who is performing a *Srauta* sacrifice has been killed, the offender is to burn himself. The sacrifices will atone for the guilt of a homicide committed unintentionally, by a most distinguished member of the *Âryan* castes, provided that the person slain was a *Brâhmana* in name only.

79. Medh., Kull., and Gov. think that the rule allows an option with respect to the residence during the penance of twelve years (verse 73). Nâr. says that the verse contains a general rule for all penances.

80. He who unhesitatingly abandons life for the sake of Brāhmaṇas or of cows, is freed from (the guilt of) the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, and (so is he) who saves (the life of) a cow, or of a Brāhmaṇa.

81. If either he fights at least three times (against robbers in defence of) a Brāhmaṇa's (property), or reconquers the whole property of a Brāhmaṇa, or if he loses his life for such a cause, he is freed (from his guilt).

82. He who thus (remains) always firm in his vow, chaste, and of concentrated mind, removes after the lapse of twelve years (the guilt of) slaying a Brāhmaṇa.

83. Or he who, after confessing his crime in an assembly of the gods of the earth (Brāhmaṇas), and the gods of men (Kshatriyas), bathes (with the priests) at the close of a horse-sacrifice, is (also) freed (from guilt).

84. The Brāhmaṇa is declared (to be) the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top; hence he who has confessed his sin before an assembly of such men, becomes pure.

85. By his origin alone a Brāhmaṇa is a deity even for the gods, and (his teaching is) authoritative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that.

80. This holds good also before the twelve years' penance is finished (Gov., Kull., Nār.).

83. Gov. holds that this penance is efficacious only if the offender is engaged in the performance of the twelve years' penance. Kull. and Rāgh. think that it is a separate penance, because the subject of the twelve years' penance has been finished in the preceding verse, and because the Bhavishyapurāṇa specially prescribes it for an eminent Brāhmaṇa who unintentionally causes the death of a worthless caste-fellow. Medh. mentions both opinions, and states that he believes the penance to be efficacious in any case.

86. (If) only three of them who are learned in the Veda proclaim the expiation for offences, that shall purify the (sinners); for the words of learned men are a means of purification.

87. A Brâhmana who, with a concentrated mind, follows any of the (above-mentioned) rules, removes the sin committed by slaying a Brâhmana through his self-control.

88. For destroying the embryo (of a Brâhmana, the sex of which was) unknown, for slaying a Kshatriya or a Vaisya who are (engaged in or) have offered a (Vedic) sacrifice, or a (Brâhmana) woman who has bathed after temporary uncleanness (Âtreyî), he must perform the same penance,

89. Likewise for giving false evidence (in an important cause), for passionately abusing the teacher, for stealing a deposit, and for killing (his) wife or his friend.

90. This expiation has been prescribed for unin-

88-89. Âp. I, 24, 6-9, 23; Gaut. XXII, 11-14; Vas. XX, 34-36; Baudh. II, 1, 12; Vi. L, 7-10; LII, 4; Yâgñ. III, 251.

88. Medh. and several other commentators propose, in explanation of the term Âtreyî, besides the interpretation given above, also the erroneous one, 'a female of the tribe of Atri.'

89. 'Giving false evidence,' i.e. 'in a case where the life of the accused is involved' (Medh., Gov., Nâr.), or 'where gold, land and the like is at stake' (Kull., Râgh.). 'Abusing the teacher,' see above, verse 56. 'Stealing a deposit,' i.e. 'gold belonging to a Kshatriya or Vaisya, or silver and other property belonging to a Brâhmana' (Kull., Nâr., Râgh.), or property belonging to a poor Brâhmana (Medh.). Strî, 'his wife' (Nâr., Nand.), means according to Gov., Kull., and Râgh. 'the virtuous wife of a distinguished Brâhmana who keeps sacred fires.' Medh. (on verse 88) seems to agree to a similar explanation. 'His friend,' i.e. 'though he may not be a Brâhmana' (Nâr.).

90. The verse is identical with Baudh. II, 1, 6. The correct

tentionally killing a Brâhmana ; but for intentionally slaying a Brâhmana no atonement is ordained.

91. A twice-born man who has (intentionally) drunk, through delusion of mind, (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ shall drink that liquor boiling-hot; when his body has been completely scalded by that, he is freed from his guilt;

92. Or he may drink cow's urine, water, milk, clarified butter or (liquid) cowdung boiling-hot, until he dies;

93. Or, in order to remove (the guilt of) drinking Surâ, he may eat during a year once (a day) at night grains (of rice) or oilcake, wearing clothes made of cowhair and his own hair in braids and carrying (a wine cup as) a flag.

interpretation of this verse is that Manu, just as Âp. I, 24, 24, held the intentional murder of a true Brâhmana to be inexpiable during the criminal's life, and meant to teach that the murderer had either to perform a penance which caused his death or to live according to the twelve years' rule during the term of his natural life. This is the doctrine attributed to Manu by Gaut. XXI, 7. While Gov. and Nâr. agree with this explanation, Medh., 'others' quoted by Gov., Kull., Nand., and Râgh. refer *iyam*, 'this,' to verse 73, and hold that in the case of wilful murder the penance has only to be made severer by doubling or trebling the term of twelve years.

91-98. Âp. I, 25, 3, 10; 27, 10; Gaut. XXIII, 10-12; Vas. XX, 19, 22; Baudh. II, 1, 18-22; Vi. LI, 1-4; Yâgyñ. III, 253-254.

91. This and the next penances are prescribed for an intentional offence; see below, verse 147. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh. (the latter two quoting the Bhavishyapurâna), the spirituous liquor here intended is the paishîkî surâ, that distilled from ground rice. According to Nâr. the penance ending in death must be performed by all Âryans who have drunk paishîkî surâ, and by Brâhmanas who have drunk any of the three kinds of surâ mentioned in verse 95. Nand. reads *amohât*, and explains it by *matipûrvakam*, 'intentionally.'

93. According to Gov., Kull., Nand., and Râgh., this penance is prescribed for drinking unintentionally paishîkî surâ; according

94. Surâ, indeed, is the dirty refuse (mala) of grain, sin also is called dirt (mala); hence a Brâhmana, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya shall not drink Surâ.

95. Surâ one must know to be of three kinds, that distilled from molasses (gaudî), that distilled from ground rice, and that distilled from Madhûka-flowers (mâdhvî); as the one (named above) even so are all (three sorts) forbidden to the chief of the twice-born.

96. Surâ, (all other) intoxicating drinks and decoctions and flesh are the food of the Yakshas, Râkshasas, and Pisâkas; a Brâhmana who eats (the remnants of) the offerings consecrated to the gods, must not partake of such (substances).

97. A Brâhmana, stupefied by drunkenness, might fall on something impure, or (improperly) pronounce Vedic (texts), or commit some other act which ought not to be committed.

98. When the Brahman (the Veda) which dwells in his body is (even) once (only) deluged with spirituous liquor, his Brahmanhood forsakes him and he becomes a Sûdra.

to 'others' quoted by Medh. and Râgh., for drinking gaudî or mâdhvî surâ; according to Nâr., for intentionally drinking water mixed with madhusurâ. Medh. himself says idam prânâtyaya aushadhârtham, 'this (is intended) as a medicine for death.'

94. This verse shows, as the commentators point out, the distinction between spirituous liquor distilled from ground grain, paishâkî surâ, and the other two sorts mentioned in the next verse. The first alone is forbidden to all Âryans, the other two sorts to Brâhmanas; see also Gaut. II, 20.

95. Mâdhvî, 'distilled from Madhûka (Mauâ) flowers' (Kull.), means according to Medh. 'distilled from honey,' according to Nâr. 'distilled either from grapes or from Madhûka flowers or from honey.'

99. The various expiations for drinking (the spirituous liquors called) Surâ have thus been explained; I will next proclaim the atonement for stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa).

100. A Brâhmaṇa who has stolen the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa) shall go to the king and, confessing his deed, say, 'Lord, punish me!'

101. Taking (from him) the club (which he must carry), the king himself shall strike him once, by his death the thief becomes pure; or a Brâhmaṇa (may purify himself) by austerities.

102. He who desires to remove by austerities the guilt of stealing the gold (of a Brâhmaṇa), shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the slayer of a Brâhmaṇa, (living) in a forest and dressed in (garments made of) bark.

103. By these penances a twice-born man may remove the guilt incurred by a theft (of gold); but he may atone for connexion with a Guru's wife by the following penances.

104. He who has violated his Guru's bed, shall,

100-101. See above, VIII, 314-316.

101. At the end of the verse Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *vâ* instead of *tu* (Medh.(?) editions), which is variously explained. According to Nâr. and Nand., it means 'but.' Kull. thinks that it indicates that, while a Brâhmaṇa must never be slain by the king, other Âryans also may perform austerities. According to Râgh., it refers to the optional recitation of the Gâyatrî, repeated 700,000 times; according to Nâr., to other penances, even such as end in death. But Gov. is probably right in assuming that 'the austerities' meant are those prescribed in the next verse.

102. Âp. I, 25, 10; Yâgñ. III, 258; Vi. LII, 3. According to Nâr., this verse refers to an 'unintentional' offence; according to Kull. and Râgh., to the theft of a small sum.

104-107. Âp. I, 25, 1-2, 10; 28, 15-18; Gaut. XXIII, 8-12;

after confessing his crime, extend himself on a heated iron bed, or embrace the red-hot image (of a woman); by dying he becomes pure;

105. Or, having himself cut off his organ and his testicles and having taken them in his joined hands, he may walk straight towards the region of Nirriti (the south-west), until he falls down (dead);

106. Or, carrying the foot of a bedstead, dressed in (garments of) bark and allowing his beard to grow, he may, with a concentrated mind, perform during a whole year the *Krikkhra* (or hard, penance), revealed by Pragâpati, in a lonely forest;

107. Or, controlling his organs, he may during three months continuously perform the lunar penance, (subsisting) on sacrificial food or barley-gruel, in order to remove (the guilt of) violating a Guru's bed.

108. By means of these penances men who have committed mortal sins (Mahâpâtaka) may remove their guilt, but those who committed minor offences, causing loss of caste, (Upapâtaka, can do it) by the various following penances.

Vas. XX, 13-14; Baudh. II, 1, 13-15; Vi. XXXIV, 2; LIII, 1; Yâgñ. III, 259-260.

104. According to Medh., the term 'Guru' denotes here 'the teacher or the father;' according to Kull., Nâr., and Râgh., 'the father;' and Nâr. particularly excludes an offence with a step-mother.

106. According to Medh., Kull., Râgh., this penance expiates incest committed by mistake; according to Nâr., the rule applies to the case when the offence was committed with a stepmother. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, verse 212.

107. According to Medh. and Râgh., the rule refers to an offence committed with the wife of a paternal or of a maternal uncle, or of other minor Gurus; according to Kull., to an offence with an unfaithful or low-caste wife of a Guru. Regarding the lunar penance or *Kândrâyana*, see below, verse 217.

108. Nâr. takes mahâpâtakinaḥ, 'those who committed mortal

109. He who has committed a minor offence by slaying a cow (or bull) shall drink during (the first) month (a decoction of) barley-grains; having shaved all his hair, and covering himself with the hide (of the slain cow), he must live in a cow-house.

110. During the two (following) months he shall eat a small (quantity of food) without any factitious salt at every fourth meal-time, and shall bathe in the urine of cows, keeping his organs under control.

111. During the day he shall follow the cows and, standing upright, inhale the dust (raised by their hoofs); at night, after serving and worshipping them, he shall remain in the (posture, called) *virâsana*.

112. Controlling himself and free from anger, he must stand when they stand, follow them when they walk, and seat himself when they lie down.

113. (When a cow is) sick, or is threatened by danger from thieves, tigers, and the like, or falls, or sticks in a morass, he must relieve her by all possible means:

114. In heat, in rain, or in cold, or when the wind blows violently, he must not seek to shelter himself, without (first) sheltering the cows according to his ability.

115. Let him not say (a word), if a cow eats (anything) in his own or another's house or field or on the threshing-floor, or if a calf drinks (milk).

116. The slayer of a cow who serves cows in this

sins, in the sense of 'those equal to mortal sinners,' i.e. those offenders who have been enumerated above, verse 56 seq.

109-117. Âp. I, 26, 1; Gaut. XXII, 18; Vi. L, 16-24; Yâgy. III, 263-264.

111. 'In the (posture, called) *virâsana*,' i.e. 'seated without leaning against a wall or the like' (Kull., Nand.).

manner, removes after three months the guilt which he incurred by killing a cow.

117. But after he has fully performed the penance, he must give to (Brâhmanas) learned in the Veda ten cows and a bull, (or) if he does not possess (so much property) he must offer to them all he has.

118. Twice-born men who have committed (other) minor offences (Upapâtaka), except a student who has broken his vow (Avakīrṇin), may perform, in order to purify themselves, the same penance or also a lunar penance.

119. But a student who has broken his vow shall offer at night on a crossway to Nirṛiti a one-eyed ass, according to the rule of the Pākayagñas.

120. Having offered according to the rule oblations in the fire, he shall finally offer (four) oblations of clarified butter to Vâta, to Indra, to the teacher (of the gods, Bṛihaspati) and to Agni, reciting the *Rik* verse 'May the Maruts grant me,' &c.

121. Those who know the Veda declare that a voluntary effusion of semen by a twice-born (youth) who fulfils the vow (of studentship constitutes) a breach of that vow.

122. The divine light which the Veda imparts to

117. *Yâgñ.* III, 265.

118-124. *Âp.* I, 26, 8; *Gaut.* XXV, 1-4; *Vas.* XXIII, 1-4; *Baudh.* II, 1, 30-35; *Vi.* XXVIII, 49-50; *Yâgñ.* III, 280.

118. According to Nâr. and Nand., the lunar penance is to be performed if the offence was committed unintentionally.

119. 'According to the rule of the Pākayagñas,' i. e. 'according to the *Parukalpa*, found in *Âsvalâyana's* and other *Grihya Sûtras*,' *Âsv. Gri. Sûtras* I, 11 (Nâr.).

120. The verse is found *Taittirîya Âranyaka* II, 18, 4.

122. I read with Medh., Gov., and K., *marutaḥ*, instead of *mârutam* (Nand., editions).

the student, enters, if he breaks his vow, the Maruts, Puruhûta (Indra), the teacher (of the gods, *Bṛihaspati*) and Pāvaka (Fire).

123. When this sin has been committed, he shall go begging to seven houses, dressed in the hide of the (sacrificed) ass, proclaiming his deed.

124. Subsisting on a single (daily meal that consists) of the alms obtained there and bathing at (the time of) the three savanas (morning, noon, and evening), he becomes pure after (the lapse of) one year.

125. For committing with intent any of the deeds which cause loss of caste (*Gâtibhramsakara*), (the offender) shall perform a *Sântapana Krikkhra*; (for doing it) unintentionally, (the *Krikkhra*) revealed by *Pragâpati*.

126. As atonement for deeds which degrade to a mixed caste (*Samkara*), and for those which make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*Apâtra*), (he shall perform) the lunar (penance) during a month; for (acts) which render impure (*Malintkarantya*) he shall scald himself during three days with (hot) barley-gruel.

127. One-fourth (of the penance) for the murder of a *Brâhmana* is prescribed (as expiation) for (intentionally) killing a *Kshatriya*, one-eighth for

125. Regarding the offences called *Gâtibhramsakara*, see above, verse 68. The *Sântapana Krikkhra* is described below, verse 213.

126. Regarding the three classes of offences, see above, 69-71. The penance of subsisting on barley-gruel is described Vi. XLVIII; Baudh. III, 6.

127-131. Âp. I, 24, 1-4; Gaut. XXII, 14-16; Vas. XX, 31-33; Baudh. I, 19, 1-2; II, 8-10; Vi. L, 12-14; Yâgñ. III, 266-267.

127. The word 'virtuous' is, according to the commentators, to be understood with 'a *Kshatriya*' and 'a *Vaisya*,' and the rule

killing a Vaisya ; know that it is one-sixteenth for killing a virtuous Sûdra.

128. But if a Brâhmana unintentionally kills a Kshatriya, he shall give, in order to purify himself, one thousand cows and a bull ;

129. Or he may perform the penance prescribed for the murderer of a Brâhmana during three years, controlling himself, wearing his hair in braids, staying far away from the village, and dwelling at the root of a tree.

130. A Brâhmana who has slain a virtuous Vaisya, shall perform the same penance during one year, or he may give one hundred cows and one (bull).

(verse 66), according to which the murder of a Sûdra, a Vaisya, and a Kshatriya is an Upapâtaka, to be expiated by a three months' Govrata or a lunar penance, refers to the cases of persons who do not live in accordance with the sacred law.

128. I read with Medh., Gov., Kull. (commentary), Nand., K., *suddhyartham âtmanaḥ*, instead of *suḥaritavrataḥ* (editions), which latter reading is evidently wrong.

129. According to Medh. and Râgh., this verse is merely a repetition of the rule given in verse 127. But others, mentioned by him, Gov., Kull., and Nâr., think that the special observances prescribed during the twelve years' penance, e. g. carrying a skull instead of a flag, which this verse does not expressly mention, need not be kept. Nand. reads *dvyabdam*, 'two years,' instead of *tryabdam*.

130. I read with Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., and K. *dadyâd vaikasatam*, instead of *dadyâḥkaikasatam* (Medh., editions, and probably mentioned by Nâr.). According to Gov. and Kull. the two penances are to be performed optionally, in case a virtuous Vaisya has been killed unintentionally. Râgh. seems to hold the same opinion. But Medh. says that the first penance is to be performed for the murder of a Vaisya who was less distinguished than the one referred to in verse 127. Nâr. finally thinks that the verse refers to a Vaisya engaged in the performance of a sacrifice, and that the

131. He who has slain a *Sûdra*, shall perform that whole penance during six months, or he may also give ten white cows and one bull to a *Brâhmaṇa*.

132. Having killed a cat, an ichneumon, a blue jay, a frog, a dog, an iguana, an owl, or a crow, he shall perform the penance for the murder of a *Sûdra*;

133. Or he may drink milk during three days, or walk one hundred *yoganas*, or bathe in a river, or mutter the hymn addressed to the Waters.

134. For killing a snake, a *Brâhmaṇa* shall give a spade of black iron, for a eunuch a load of straw and a *mâsha* of lead;

particle *vâ*, 'or,' takes the place of the copula, and thus one penance only is prescribed.

131. Gov. and Kull. hold that these penances, too, are to be performed in the case of an unintentional homicide. Medh. explains *sitâh*, 'white,' to mean 'not white in colour, but (called so) because they resemble in purity (white substances), and give much milk and are accompanied by their calves.'

132. Âp. I, 25, 13; Gaut. XXII, 19; Vas. XXI, 24; Vi. L, 30-32; *Yâgñ.* III, 270. Gov., Kull., Nand. expressly state that the penance for the murder of a *Sûdra* is to be performed for intentionally (thus also *Nâr.*) killing any single one of these animals, while Medh. thinks that the rule holds good only if one has killed all of them. The penance intended is, according to Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*, and *Râgh.*, not that mentioned in the preceding verse, but the lunar penance (Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or the *Govrata* (Gov., Kull.), or the *Tapta Krikhṛa* (*Nâr.*).

133. According to Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, these penances are to be performed if the animal has been killed unintentionally; according to Medh. they serve to expiate the slaughter of a single animal. The choice among the four penances depends according to Kull. and *Râgh.* on the strength of the offender, according to Gov. and *Nâr.* on his caste and other circumstances. 'A *yogana*,' i. e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ -9 miles. The hymn mentioned is found *Rig-veda* X, 9.

134. Gaut. XXII, 23, 25; Vi. L, 34-35; *Yâgñ.* III, 273. 'A *Brâhmaṇa*,' i. e. 'even a *Brâhmaṇa*' (*Nâr.*). The recipient of the gift is in every case a *Brâhmaṇa*.

135. For a boar a pot of clarified butter, for a partridge a *drona* of sesamum-grains, for a parrot a calf two years old, for a crane (a calf) three years old.

136. If he has killed a *Hamsa*, a *Balâka*, a heron, a peacock, a monkey, a falcon, or a *Bhâsa*, he shall give a cow to a *Brâhmana*.

137. For killing a horse, he shall give a garment, for (killing) an elephant, five black bulls, for (killing) a goat, or a sheep, a draught-ox, for killing a donkey, (a calf) one year old;

138. But for killing carnivorous wild beasts, he shall give a milch-cow, for (killing) wild beasts that are not carnivorous, a heifer, for killing a camel, one *krishnala*.

139. For killing adulterous women of the four castes, he must give, in order to purify himself, respectively a leathern bag, a bow, a goat, or a sheep.

140. A twice-born man, who is unable to atone by gifts for the slaughter of a serpent and the other (creatures mentioned), shall perform for each of them, a *Krikkhra* (penance) in order to remove his guilt.

141. But for destroying one thousand (small)

135. Gaut. XXII, 24; Vi. L, 36-39; *Yâgñ.* III, 271, 273-274. *Kumbha*, 'a pot,' i. e. 'of 200 palas' (Nâr.). A *drona*, i. e. four *âdhakas* (Medh.), or 128 palas (Nâr.).

136. Vi. L, 33; *Yâgñ.* III, 272.

137. Vi. L, 25-28; *Yâgñ.* III, 271, 274.

138. Vi. L, 29, 40-41; *Yâgñ.* III, 272-273. 'A *krishnala*,' i. e. 'of gold' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.).

139. Gaut. XXII, 26; *Yâgñ.* III, 268. 'Respectively,' i. e. according to the order of the castes. Râgh. adds 'unintentionally.'

140. *Yâgñ.* III, 274; Vas. XXI, 26.

141. Gaut. XXII, 20-21; Âp. I, 26, 2; Vas. XXI, 25; Vi. L, 46;

animals that have bones, or a whole cart-load of boneless (animals), he shall perform the penance (prescribed) for the murder of a *Sûdra*.

142. But for killing (small) animals which have bones, he should give some trifle to a *Brâhmaṇa*; if he injures boneless (animals), he becomes pure by suppressing his breath (*prāṇâyāma*).

143. For cutting fruit-trees, shrubs, creepers, lianas, or flowering plants, one hundred *Rikas* must be muttered.

144. (For destroying) any kind of creature, bred in food, in condiments, in fruit, or in flowers, the expiation is to eat clarified butter.

145. If a man destroys for no good purpose plants produced by cultivation, or such as spontaneously spring up in the forest, he shall attend a cow during one day, subsisting on milk alone.

146. The guilt incurred intentionally or unintentionally by injuring (created beings) can be removed by means of these penances; hear (now, how) all

Yâgñ. III, 269. '(Small) animals that have bones,' i. e. 'lizards and the like' (Gov., Kull., *Nâr.*).

142. Vi. L, 47; *Yâgñ.* III, 275; Gaut. XXII, 22. The rule refers in each case to the destruction of a single animal (Medh., Gov., Kull., *Râgh.*), or of a number less than that mentioned in the preceding verse (*Nâr.*). 'Something,' i. e. one *para* (*Nâr.*) or 'eight handfuls of grain' (*Nand.*).

143. Vi. L, 48; *Yâgñ.* III, 276. According to Kull. this penance must be performed for an offence committed once and unintentionally, because 'the cutting of green trees' has been declared above, verse 65, to be an *Upapâtaka* for which at least a lunar penance has to be performed. 'One hundred *Rikas*,' 'the *Gâyatrî* and the like' (Kull.), or 'the *Gâyatrî* one hundred times' (*Nâr.*).

144. Vi. L, 49; *Yâgñ.* III, 275. *Rasa*, 'condiments,' i. e. 'molasses, butter-milk and the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull.).

145. Vi. L, 50; *Yâgñ.* III, 144.

(sins) committed by partaking of forbidden food (or drink, can be expiated).

147. He who drinks unintentionally (the spirituous liquor, called) *Vāruṇī*, becomes pure by being initiated (again); (even for drinking it) intentionally (a penance) destructive to life must not be imposed; that is a settled rule.

148. He who has drunk water which has stood in a vessel used for keeping (the spirituous liquor, called) *Surâ*, or other intoxicating drinks, shall drink during five (days and) nights (nothing but) milk in which the *Saṅkha* (plant) has been boiled.

147. Âp. I, 25, 10; Gaut. XXIII, 2; Vas. XX, 19; Baudh. II, 1, 19; Vi. LI, 1, 4; Yâgy. III, 255. 'Vāruṇī,' i. e. 'liquor distilled from molasses or *Mauâ* flowers (*gaudī mādhvī ka*), not that distilled from ground grain, because another penance has been prescribed above, verse 93' (Medh., Gov.). The other commentators agree with this explanation, as well as with the additional rule that a *Tapta Krikkhṛa* must be performed before the second initiation. Râgh. and Kull. quote also the *Bhaviṣyapurâṇa*, which gives the same interpretation. The explanation of the second part of the verse is everywhere that which the translation follows except in Medh.'s and Nand.'s commentaries, where it is rendered '(for drinking even these two kinds of *Surâ*) intentionally (this penance) must not be prescribed, (but) one whereby death ensues.' In my opinion the commentators are totally wrong. I think that *Vāruṇī* means here, as elsewhere, *Surâ*, and that the first half of the verse prescribes the performance of a second initiation after the penance, mentioned in verse 93, has been performed, while the second line teaches that the intentional drinking of *Surâ* can be expiated by death alone. I would therefore propose, 'If a man unintentionally drinks *Surâ*, he becomes pure only by being initiated again; but (the guilt of him who drinks it) intentionally, cannot be expiated, it remains as long as he lives, that is a settled rule.' The correctness of my interpretation of the words *anirdesyam prâṇāntikam* follows from Gaut. XXI, 7.

148. Vas. XX, 21; Vi. LI, 23-24; Baudh. II, 1, 22.

149. He who has touched spirituous liquor, has given it away, or received it in accordance with the rule, or has drunk water left by a *Sûdra*, shall drink during three days water in which *Kusa*-grass has been boiled.

150. But when a *Brâhmaṇa* who has partaken of *Soma*-juice, has smelt the odour exhaled by a drinker of *Surâ*, he becomes pure by thrice suppressing his breath in water, and eating clarified butter.

151. (Men of) the three twice-born castes who have unintentionally swallowed ordure or urine, or anything that has touched *Surâ*, must be initiated again.

152. The tonsure, (wearing) the sacred girdle, (carrying) a staff, going to beg, and the vows (incumbent on a student), are omitted on the second initiation of twice-born men.

153. But he who has eaten the food of men, whose food must not be eaten, or the leavings of women and *Sûdras*, or forbidden flesh, shall drink barley(-gruel) during seven (days and) nights.

149. 'According to the rule,' i. e. 'pronouncing a benediction (on the giver),' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*), or 'at a *Sautrâmanî* sacrifice' (*Nand.*).

150. *Gaut.* XXIII, 6; *Vi.* LI, 25.

151. *Gaut.* XXIII, 3; *Vas.* XX, 20; *Vi.* LI, 2; *Yâgy.* III, 235.

152. *Vas.* XX, 18; *Baudh.* II, 1, 20; *Vi.* LI, 5. 'The vows,' i. e. 'serving the fire, avoiding meat, honey and so forth' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), and 'the *Veda*-vows' (*Nâr.*).

153. *Vas.* XIV, 33; *Vi.* LI, 50, 54, 56. See above, IV, 222, where another penance is prescribed for unknowingly eating food given by persons whose food must not be eaten. According to *Kull.* the two penances may be performed optionally, but according to *Medh.* and *Nâr.* this rule refers to an offence committed intentionally.

154. A twice-born man who has drunk (fluids that have turned) sour, or astringent decoctions, becomes, though (these substances may) not (be specially) forbidden, impure until they have been digested.

155. A twice-born man, who has swallowed the urine or ordure of a village pig, of a donkey, of a camel, of a jackal, of a monkey, or of a crow, shall perform a lunar penance.

156. He who has eaten dried meat, mushrooms growing on the ground, or (meat, the nature of) which is unknown, (or) such as had been kept in a slaughter-house, shall perform the same penance.

157. The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a *Tapta Krikkhra* (penance).

158. If a twice-born man, who has not returned

154. 'Astringent decoctions,' i.e. 'those known to physicians are prepared from various herbs' (Medh.). Râgh. and Nand. think that *pîtâmedhyânyapi* stands for *pîtâ amedhyâni api*, and explain *amedhya* by 'garlic and the like.'

156. Vi. LI, 27, 34. Gov. and Râgh. take *agñâtam*, 'the nature of which is unknown,' to mean 'unintentionally.' Râgh. takes *bhaumâni*, 'growing on the ground,' separately, and interprets *kavakâni*, 'mushrooms,' by 'mushrooms growing on trees.' But Medh. says 'the word *bhaumâni* is used in order to exclude those growing in the holes (of trees) from the prohibition,' while Nâr. thinks that according to another *Smṛiti* another penance, the *Prasṛitiyâvaka*, shall be performed for eating the latter.

157. Gaut. XXIII, 4-5; Vas. XXIII, 30; Vi. LI, 3-4. With respect to this verse and the preceding one, see also above, V, 19-21, where other penances are prescribed. Kull. and Râgh. think that this rule refers to an offence committed once, while those given in the fifth chapter apply to a relapse. Regarding the *Tapta Krikkhra*, see below, verse 215.

158. Vi. LI, 43-44. The commentators state that the term

(home from his teacher's house), eats food, given at a monthly (Śrāddha), he shall fast during three days and pass one day (standing) in water.

159. But a student who on any occasion eats honey or meat, shall perform an ordinary *Krikkhra* (penance), and afterwards complete his vow (of studentship).

160. He who eats what is left by a cat, by a crow, by a mouse (or rat), by a dog, or by an ichneumon, or (food) into which a hair or an insect has fallen, shall drink (a decoction of) the *Brahmasuvarṅalā* (plant).

161. He who desires to be pure, must not eat forbidden food, and must vomit up such as he has eaten unintentionally, or quickly atone for it by (various) means of purification.

162. The various rules respecting penances for eating forbidden food have been thus declared; hear now the law of those penances which remove the guilt of theft.

māsika, 'a monthly (Śrāddha),' refers to a so-called *Ekoddishā Śrāddha*. According to Medh., 'others' thought that, because a student is allowed to partake of a Śrāddha by II, 189, the inviter should perform the penance. According to Medh., the student shall on the fourth day stand in water; but according to Gov., Kull., on one of the three fast days; according to Nār., on the first.

159. Vi. LI, 45; Vas. XXIII, 12; Yāgñ. III, 282. Instead of *brahmaṅgārī*, 'a student,' Medh., Gov., Nār., and Nand. read *vratāṅgārī*, 'a man performing a vow,' and Nār. explains it by 'a student, a hermit, a widow, an ascetic and so forth,' while the other commentators refer the term to a student alone.

160. Vi. LI, 46; Vas. XXIII, 11. 'Food into which an insect or a hair has fallen,' i. e. 'without scattering earth on it' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. adds during one day.

161. Gaut. XXIII, 26. 'Means of purification,' i. e. 'penances' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Rāgh.), or 'purgative decoctions' ('others,' Medh., Nār., Nand.).

163. The chief of the twice-born, having voluntarily stolen (valuable) property, grain, or cooked food, from the house of a caste-fellow, is purified by performing *Krikkhra* (penances) during a whole year.

164. The lunar penance has been declared to be the expiation for stealing men and women, and (for wrongfully appropriating) a field, a house, or the water of wells and cisterns.

165. He who has stolen objects of small value from the house of another man, shall, after restoring the (stolen article), perform a *Sâmtapana Krikkhra* for his purification.

166. (To swallow) the five products of the cow (*pañkagavya*) is the atonement for stealing eatables of various kinds, a vehicle, a bed, a seat, flowers, roots, or fruit.

163. Vi. LII, 5. According to Medh. and Nâr. it is meant that others stealing the same articles from caste-fellows must perform the same penance. Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand., and Nâr. think that the verse gives the extreme limit of the penance, and that under special circumstances it may be reduced.

164. Vi. LII, 6. 'Men and women,' i. e. 'slaves' (Medh.). Râgh. mentions a var. lect. *tadâgânâm*, 'or a tank,' instead of *galânâm*, 'of the water.' Nâr. and Râgh. think that the penance is intended for an offence committed unintentionally.

165. Vi. LII, 7. 'Objects of small value,' i. e. 'earthen vessels, wooden ones, e. g. a trough, or iron utensils, e. g. a hoe' (Medh.), or 'tin, lead and the like' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 'straw and the like' (Nâr.). K. omits 'after restoring,' and reads *tatpâpasya visudhaye*, 'for the expiation of that sin.'

166. Vi. LII, 8. Medh. says that the penance is to last one day only. Nâr. thinks that the *Mahâsâmtapana* penance is indicated by the mention of the *pañkagavya*, and that this holds good in the case of an unintentional offence only. Nand. adds, 'With this and the following rules the words "after restoring the property" have still their force;' so also Kull. on verse 165.

167. Fasting during three (days and) nights shall be (the penance for stealing) grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather, and meat.

168. To subsist during twelve days on (uncooked) grains (is the penance for stealing) gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, brass, or stone.

169. (For stealing) cotton, silk, wool, an animal with cloven hoofs, or one with uncloven hoofs, a bird, perfumes, medicinal herbs, or a rope (the penance is to subsist) during three days (on) milk.

170. By means of these penances, a twice-born man may remove the guilt of theft; but the guilt of approaching women who ought not to be approached (agamyâ), he may expiate by (the following) penances.

171. He who has had sexual intercourse with sisters by the same mother, with the wives of a friend, or of a son, with unmarried maidens, and with females of the lowest castes, shall perform the penance, prescribed for the violation of a Guru's bed.

167. Vi. LII, 9. According to Nâr. the rule refers to an unintentional offence.

168. Vi. LII, 10. According to Medh. the penance may be shortened according to the special circumstances of the case. Nâr. says, 'This refers to cases when the theft is not committed in times of distress.'

169. Vi. LII, 11. According to Nâr. this rule holds good if the theft is committed in times of distress and very small quantities are taken. Gov. and Kull. observe on this verse and the preceding ones, that the apparent inequality of the penances, which are prescribed equally for great and small things, will disappear if special circumstances, such as the frequency of the offence, time and place, the character of the owner and so forth, are taken into account.

171. Gaut. XXIII, 12-13, 32; Vas. XX, 15-16; Baudh. II, 1, 13; Vi. XXXIV, 2; XXXVI, 7; LIII, 1; Yâgñ. III, 233. See also above, verse 59. According to Medh., Gov., Kull., and Râgh., the penance to be performed is that mentioned above in verse 106, while self-immolation is prescribed for repeated intentional offences only. Nâr. speaks of a twelve years' penance.

172. He who has approached the daughter of his father's sister, (who is almost equal to) a sister, (the daughter) of his mother's sister, or of his mother's full brother, shall perform a lunar penance.

173. A wise man should not take as his wife any of these three; they must not be wedded because they are (*Sapindā*-)relatives, he who marries (one of them), sinks low.

174. A man who has committed a bestial crime, or an unnatural crime with a female, or has had intercourse in water, or with a menstruating woman, shall perform a *Sāmtapana Krikkhṛa*.

175. A twice-born man who commits an unnatural offence with a male, or has intercourse with a female in a cart drawn by oxen, in water, or in the day-time, shall bathe, dressed in his clothes.

176. A *Brāhmaṇa* who unintentionally approaches a woman of the *Kandāla* or of (any other) very low caste, who eats (the food of such persons) and accepts

172. I read with all the commentators and K. in the second line *mātus ka bhrātur āptasya* (*āptām ka*, Nand.) instead of *mātus ka bhrātus tanayām* (editions). According to Kull. and Nār. the rule refers to an offence committed by mistake and, as the former says, once only.

173. This verse is directed against the custom of the southerners, mentioned by Baudh. I, 2, 3. 'Sinks low,' i.e. 'falls into hell or begets base-born offspring' (Medh.). Gov. and Kull. adopt the former explanation, while Nār. says 'he becomes an outcast.'

174. Gaut. XXII, 36; XXIII, 34; Vi. LIII, 4, 7; *Yāgñ.* III, 288. A bestial crime with a cow is excepted, see Vi. LIII, 3. Medh. mentions a var. lect., *gale khe ka*, instead of *gale kaiva*, which agrees with Vishṇu's text.

175. Vi. LIII, 4; *Yāgñ.* III, 291. Nār. says that the verse refers to an unintentional offence.

176. Vas. XXIII, 41; Baudh. II, 4, 13-14; Vi. LIII, 5-6. 'Very low caste,' i.e. '*Mlekkhas* or barbarians, *Sabaras* and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or '*Sūtas* and the like' (Nār.), or '*Gavanas*

(presents from them) becomes an outcast ; but (if he does it) intentionally, he becomes their equal.

177. An exceedingly corrupt wife let her husband confine to one apartment, and compel her to perform the penance which is prescribed for males in cases of adultery.

178. If, being solicited by a man (of) equal (caste), she (afterwards) is again unfaithful, then a *Krikkhra* and a lunar penance are prescribed as the means of purifying her.

179. The sin which a twice-born man commits by dallying one night with a *Vrishali*, he removes in three years, by subsisting on alms and daily muttering (sacred texts).

180. The atonement (to be performed) by sinners (of) four (kinds) even, has been thus declared ; hear now the penances for those who have intercourse with outcasts.

181. He who associates with an outcast, himself becomes an outcast after a year, not by sacrificing

(i. e. Mahommedans) and the like' (Râgh.). In the first case the penance for a *Patita* must be performed ; in the second, no penance can be prescribed.

177. Vas. XXI, 8, 12-13 ; Vi. LIII, 8. Adultery is an *Upapâ-taka* according to verse 60, and to be expiated, according to verse 118, by a *Govrata* or a *Kândrâyana*, which latter seems to be here intended. The commentators add that the penance must be lighter or heavier, according to the caste of the male offender.

178. I read with Gov., *Nâr. upamantritâ* instead of *upayantritâ* (editions, K., Nand.). Medh. seems to have read *anumantritâ*.

179. Âp. I, 27, 11 ; Baudh. II, 2, 11 ; Vi. LIII, 9. 'A *Vrishali*,' i. e. a *Kandâli* (Medh., Kull., Râgh.). But others, mentioned by Medh., Gov., and *Nâr.*, think that a *Sûdra* female is meant. Nand. places this verse before verse 178.

181. Gaut. XXI, 3 ; Vas. I, 22 ; Baudh. II, 2, 35 ; *Yâgy.* III, 261 ; Vi. XXXV, 3-5. Gov. and *Nâr.* explain the verse differently, 'He who associates with an outcast by sacrificing for him or by forming

for him, teaching him, or forming a matrimonial alliance with him, but by using the same carriage or seat, or by eating with him.

182. He who associates with any one of those outcasts, must perform, in order to atone for (such) intercourse, the penance prescribed for that (sinner).

183. The *Sapindas* and *Samānodakas* of an outcast must offer (a libation of) water (to him, as if he were dead), outside (the village), on an inauspicious day, in the evening and in the presence of the relatives, officiating priests, and teachers.

184. A female slave shall upset with her foot a pot filled with water, as if it were for a dead person; (his *Sapindas*) as well as the *Samānodakas* shall be impure for a day and a night;

185. But thenceforward it shall be forbidden to converse with him, to sit with him, to give him a share of the inheritance, and to hold with him such intercourse as is usual among men;

186. And (if he be the eldest) his right of primogeniture shall be withheld and the additional share,

a matrimonial alliance with him, himself becomes an outcast after a year, but not by using the same carriage or seat or eating with him.' In the latter case four years are required. The parallel passage of *Vishṇu* shows, however, clearly what is meant.

182. Vi. LIV, 1.

183-186. Gaut. XX, 4-7; Vas. XV, 12-16; Baudh. II, 1, 36; *Yāgñ.* III, 295.

183. 'In the presence of the relatives, &c.,' i. e. 'of those who perform the ceremony, not of those of the outcast' (Medh.).

184. 'As if it were for a dead person,' i. e. 'saying, "This is for N. N."' (Medh.), 'turning to the south' (Gov., Kull., Nâr., Nand., Râgh.).

185. I prefer K.'s reading *nivarterams tatas tasmât*. According to Medh. 'others' explained *dâyâdya*, 'a share of the inheritance,' by 'money,' and thought that all sums due to him were to be given to his heirs.

due to the eldest son; and in his stead a younger brother, excelling in virtue, shall obtain the share of the eldest.

187. But when he has performed his penance, they shall bathe with him in a holy pool and throw down a new pot, filled with water.

188. But he shall throw that pot into water, enter his house and perform, as before, all the duties incumbent on a relative.

189. Let him follow the same rule in the case of female outcasts; but clothes, food, and drink shall be given to them, and they shall live close to the (family-)house.

190. Let him not transact any business with unpurified sinners; but let him in no way reproach those who have made atonement.

191. Let him not dwell together with the murderers of children, with those who have returned evil for good, and with the slayers of suppliants for protection or of women, though they may have been purified according to the sacred law.

192. Those twice-born men who may not have been taught the *Sâvitṛī* (at the time) prescribed by the rule, he shall cause to perform three *Krikkhra* (penances) and afterwards initiate them in accordance with the law.

187-188. Gaut. XX, 10-14; Vas. XV, 17-21; Baudh. II, 1, 36; *Yâgñ.* III, 296.

188. Thus Gov., Kull., Râgh., and others quoted by Medh. But the latter commentator himself refers *sa tu*, 'but he,' to one of the relatives, and Nâr. seems to agree with him.

189. *Yâgñ.* III, 297.

190-191. Vi. LIV, 32-33; *Yâgñ.* III, 299.

192. Âp. I, 1, 23-2, 10; Vas. XI, 76-79; Vi. LIV, 26. Regarding the times of the initiation, see above, II, 38.

193. Let him prescribe the same (expiation) when twice-born men, who follow forbidden occupations or have neglected (to learn) the Veda, desire to perform a penance.

194. If Brāhmaṇas acquire property by a reprehensible action, they become pure by relinquishing it, muttering prayers, and (performing) austerities.

195. By muttering with a concentrated mind the Sāvitrī three thousand times, (dwelling) for a month in a cow-house, (and) subsisting on milk, (a man) is freed from (the guilt of) accepting presents from a wicked man.

196. But when he returns from the cow-house, emaciated with his fast, and reverently salutes, (the Brāhmaṇas) shall ask him, 'Friend, dost thou desire to become our equal?'

197. If he answers to the Brāhmaṇas, 'Forsooth, (I will not offend again),' he shall scatter (some) grass for the cows; if the cows hallow that place (by eating the grass) the (Brāhmaṇa) shall re-admit him (into their community).

193. Vi. LIV, 27.

194. Vi. LIV, 24, 28; Yâgñ. III, 290. 'By a reprehensible action,' i.e. 'by receiving presents from wicked men or, according to others, by acquiring money in any manner forbidden to him. The latter extend the rule to other Âryans' (Medh.). Gov., Kull., and Nâr. refer the verse to Brāhmaṇas and to their accepting presents from wicked men and similar acts.

195. Medh. remarks that according to some the offender shall daily recite the Gâyatrī three thousand times, according to others three thousand times in the whole month.

196-197. Yâgñ. III, 300.

197. The beginning of the verse is explained differently by Nâr. and Nand.: 'If he tells the truth to the Brāhmaṇas, i.e. with respect to his offence and his penance.' Medh. takes tīrtha in its usual sense, 'a bathing-place,' and connects it with pratigrahaṁ kuryuḥ,

198. He who has sacrificed for Vrātyas, or has performed the obsequies of strangers, or a magic sacrifice (intended to destroy life) or an Ahīna sacrifice, removes (his guilt) by three *Krikkh*ra (penances).

199. A twice-born man who has cast off a suppliant for protection, or has (improperly) divulged the Veda, atones for his offence, if he subsists during a year on barley.

200. He who has been bitten by a dog, a jackal, or a donkey, by a tame carnivorous animal, by a man, a horse, a camel, or a (village-)pig, becomes pure by suppressing his breath (*Prāṇāyāma*).

201. To eat during a month at each sixth meal-time (only), to recite the *Samhitā* (of a Veda), and (to perform) daily the *Sākala* oblations, are the means of purifying those excluded from society at repasts (*Apāṅktya*).

‘they shall re-admit at the bathing-place.’ *Nār.* says it means *vya-vahāravartman*. The translation follows *Gov.*, *Kull.*, and *Rāgh.*

198. *Āp.* I, 26, 7; *Vi.* LIV, 25; *Yāgñ.* III, 289. *Vrātyas*, see above, X, 20. ‘A magic rite (intended to destroy life),’ i.e. ‘a *Syena* sacrifice and the like.’ The *Ahīna* sacrifices are those lasting between two and twelve days; see *Weber*, *Ind. Stud.* X, 355. *Medh.* thinks that the rule refers to the person who offers the sacrifices (*yagamāna*), while others mentioned by him hold that it applies to the officiating priests.

199. *Yāgñ.* III, 289. *Vedaṃ viplāvya*, ‘having (improperly) divulged the Veda,’ i.e. ‘having taught people who ought not to be taught’ (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nand.*), means according to *Nār.* ‘having improperly interpreted the Veda or perverted its sense by omitting *Anusvāras*, *Visargas*, and the like,’ according to *Rāgh.* ‘having intentionally forgotten it.’

200. *Gaut.* XXIII, 7; *Vas.* XXIII, 31; *Vi.* LIV, 12; *Yāgñ.* III, 277. ‘A tame carnivorous animal,’ i.e. ‘a cat, an ichneumon, and so forth’ (*Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Rāgh.*). *Nār.* reads *agrāmyaiḥ* (*grāmyaiḥ*) *kravyādbhiḥ*, and gives as an instance ‘a wolf.’

201. Regarding the *Apāṅktyas*, elsewhere called *Pāṅktidūṣhas*,

202. A Brāhmaṇa who voluntarily rode in a carriage drawn by camels or by asses, and he who bathed naked, become pure by suppressing his breath (Prāṇâyâma).

203. He who has relieved the necessities of nature, being greatly pressed, either without (using) water or in water, becomes pure by bathing outside (the village) in his clothes and by touching a cow.

204. Fasting is the penance for omitting the daily rites prescribed by the Veda and for neglecting the special duties of a Snâtaka.

205. He who has said 'Hum' to a Brāhmaṇa, or has addressed one of his betters with 'Thou,' shall bathe, fast during the remaining part of the day, and appease (the person offended) by a reverential salutation.

206. He who has struck (a Brāhmaṇa) even with a blade of grass, tied him by the neck with a cloth, or conquered him in an altercation, shall appease him by a prostration.

'defilers of the company,' see above, III, 151 seq. Nâr. remarks that this penance is to be performed by those only for whom no other expiation is specially prescribed. The Sâkala-homas are oblations offered with the eight verses Vâgasaneyi-saṃhitâ VIII, 13.

202. Vi. LIV, 23; Yâgñ. III, 291. Medh. and Kull. remark that he who rides on the back of camels or donkeys has to perform more than one Prāṇâyâma.

203. Vi. LIV, 10. 'Outside the village,' i.e. 'in a river or the like' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.).

204. Vi. LIV, 29. The rules for a Snâtaka are those given in the fourth chapter. The daily rites are the Agnihotra and so forth. The fasting is to last one day (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

205. Yâgñ. III, 292. 'One's betters ought to be addressed with "You"' (Medh.).

206. Yâgñ. III, 292. See above, IV, 166. Gov. and Nâr. say, 'a Brāhmaṇa more venerable than himself.'

207. But he who, intending to hurt a Brāhmaṇa, has threatened (him with a stick and the like) shall remain in hell during a hundred years; he who (actually) struck him, during one thousand years.

208. As many particles of dust as the blood of a Brāhmaṇa causes to coagulate, for so many thousand years shall the shedder of that (blood) remain in hell.

209. For threatening a Brāhmaṇa, (the offender) shall perform a *Krikkhra*, for striking him an *Atikrikkhra*, for shedding his blood a *Krikkhra* and an *Atikrikkhra*.

210. For the expiation of offences for which no atonement has been prescribed, let him fix a penance after considering (the offender's) strength and the (nature of the) offence.

211. I will (now) describe to you those means, adopted by the gods, the sages, and the manes, through which a man may remove his sins.

212. A twice-born man who performs (the *Krikkhra* penance), revealed by Praṣāpati, shall eat during three days in the morning (only), during (the next) three days in the evening (only), during the (following) three days (food given) unasked, and shall fast during another period of three days.

207–208. See above, IV, 165, 167–169, where slightly different versions of these verses occur. I read with all the commentators and K. *dvīganmanaḥ*, 'of a Brāhmaṇa,' instead of *mahitale*, 'on the ground' (editions).

209. Vi. LIV, 30; Yāgñ. III, 293. Medh. points out that these offences have already been dealt with above in verses 67 and 125, and thinks that the penance prescribed in the latter verse may be performed optionally instead of those mentioned here.

210. Vi. LIV, 34; Yāgñ. III, 294.

212. Âp. I, 27, 7; Gaut. XXVI, 2–5; Vas. XXI, 20; Baudh. II,

213. (Subsisting on) the urine of cows, cowdung, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, and a decoction of Kusa-grass, and fasting during one (day and) night, (that is) called a *Sântapana Krikkhra*.

214. A twice-born man who performs an *Atikrikkhra* (penance), must take his food during three periods of three days in the manner described above, (but) one mouthful only at each meal, and fast during the last three days.

215. A *Brâhmana* who performs a *Taptakrikkhra* (penance) must drink hot water, hot milk, hot clarified butter and (inhale) hot air, each during three days, and bathe once with a concentrated mind.

216. A fast for twelve days by a man who controls himself and commits no mistakes, is called a *Parâka Krikkhra*, which removes all guilt.

217. If one diminishes (one's food daily by) one

2, 38; IV, 5, 6-7; Vi. XLVI, 10; *Yâgñ.* III, 320. According to Medh., food which a wife brings unasked is also 'food given unasked.'

213. Baudh. IV, 5, 13; Vi. XLVI, 19; *Yâgñ.* III, 313. There are two ways of performing this penance: Either the penitent may eat the six substances during one day and fast on the next, or he may subsist one day on each of the six and fast on the seventh day (Medh., Gov.). The other commentators give the first explanation only.

214. Gaut. XXV, 18-19; Vas. XXIV, 1-2; Baudh. II, 2, 40; IV, 5, 8; *Yâgñ.* III, 320. 'Above,' i.e. in verse 213.

215. Vas. XXI, 18; Baudh. II, 2, 37; IV, 5, 10; Vi. XLVI, 11; *Yâgñ.* III, 318.

216. Baudh. IV, 5, 15; Vi. XLVI, 18; *Yâgñ.* III, 221. 'Commits no mistakes,' i.e. 'with respect to the general rules to be followed during the performance of a *Krikkhra*,' see Vas. XXIV, 5 (Medh., Nâr.).

217-226. Gaut. XXVII; Vas. XXIV, 45-47; XXVII, 21; Baudh. III, 8; IV, 5, 17-21; Vi. XLVII; *Yâgñ.* III, 324-327.

217. The form of the lunar penance described in this verse is

mouthful during the dark (half of the month) and increases (it in the same manner) during the bright half, and bathes (daily) at the time of three libations (morning, noon, and evening), that is called a lunar penance (*Kândrâyana*).

218. Let him follow throughout the same rule at the (*Kândrâyana*, called) *yavamadhyama* (shaped like a barley-corn), (but) let him (in that case) begin the lunar penance, (with a) controlled (mind), on the first day of the bright half (of the month).

219. He who performs the lunar penance of ascetics, shall eat (during a month) daily at midday eight mouthfuls, controlling himself and consuming sacrificial food (only).

220. If a *Brâhmaṇa*, with concentrated mind, eats (during a month daily) four mouthfuls in a morning and four after sunset, (that is) called the lunar penance of children.

221. He who, concentrating his mind, eats during a month in any way thrice eighty mouthfuls of sacrificial food, dwells (after death) in the world of the moon.

222. The *Rudras*, likewise the *Âdityas*, the *Vasus* and the *Maruts*, together with the great sages, practised this (rite) in order to remove all evil.

223. Burnt oblations, accompanied by (the recitation of) the *Mahâvyâhṛitis*, must daily be made (by

the so-called *pipṣikâmadhya* or ant-shaped one, where the fast or lean days lie in the middle.

218. It will be advisable to read with *Medh.* and *Gov.*, in the second line, *ĵaret* instead of *ĵaran*. *Gov.* has *ĵaran* in the first line. *Nand.* reads the last words quite differently, (*niyatas*) *ĵândrâyana* *athâparam*.

221. 'In any way,' i. e. 'without observing any particular limit as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten on each day' (*Nâr.*).

the penitent) himself, and he must abstain from injuring (sentient creatures), speak the truth, and keep himself free from anger and from dishonesty.

224. Let him bathe three times each day and thrice each night, dressed in his clothes; let him on no account talk to women, Sûdras, and outcasts.

225. Let him pass the time standing (during the day) and sitting (during the night), or if he is unable (to do that) let him lie on the (bare) ground; let him be chaste and observe the vows (of a student) and worship his Gurus, the gods, and Brâhmaṇas.

226. Let him constantly mutter the Sâvitṛī and (other) purificatory texts according to his ability; (let him) carefully (act thus) on (the occasion of) all (other) vows (performed) by way of penance.

227. By these expiations twice-born men must be purified whose sins are known, but let him purify those whose sins are not known by (the recitation of) sacred texts and by (the performance of) burnt oblations.

224. Medh. remarks that the penitent may however talk to the female members of his household, if an occasion requires it.

225. Vratī syât, 'observe the vows (of a student),' i. e. 'wear the girdle of Muṅga-grass, a staff and so forth' (Gov., Kull. Nâr.), means according to Medh. 'let him resolve to abstain from that which is not forbidden by good men.'

226. 'Purificatory texts,' i. e. 'the Aghamarshaṇa, the Pâvamânīs and so forth;' see Vi. LVI. '(Other) vows,' i. e. 'the Kṛikkṛas.'

227. Vas. XXV, 3. Penances are usually imposed by a parishad, an assembly of learned Brâhmaṇas. In the case of secret sins the penances shall be settled by the learned in a general way, not with reference to a special case. By this interpretation the commentators get over the difficulty which the reading sodhayet, 'let him purify,' offers. But Nâr. reads anāvishkṛitapâpâs tu mantrair homais ka sodhanaiḥ, 'but those whose sins are not known, by sacred texts and burnt oblations, (declared to be) means of purification.'

228. By confession, by repentance, by austerity, and by reciting (the Veda) a sinner is freed from guilt, and in case no other course is possible, by liberality.

229. In proportion as a man who has done wrong, himself confesses it, even so far he is freed from guilt, as a snake from its slough.

230. In proportion as his heart loathes his evil deed, even so far is his body freed from that guilt.

231. He who has committed a sin and has repented, is freed from that sin, but he is purified only by (the resolution of) ceasing (to sin and thinking) 'I will do so no more.'

232. Having thus considered in his mind what results will arise from his deeds after death, let him always be good in thoughts, speech, and actions.

233. He who, having either unintentionally or intentionally committed a reprehensible deed, desires to be freed from (the guilt of) it, must not commit it a second time.

234. If his mind be uneasy with respect to any act, let him repeat the austerities (prescribed as a penance) for it until they fully satisfy (his conscience).

235. All the bliss of gods and men is declared by the sages to whom the Veda was revealed, to have

228. Âpadi, 'in case no other course is possible,' i.e. 'if the offender is unable to perform penances or to recite Vedic texts.'

230. 'His body,' i. e. 'the soul in his body' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), or 'the subtle body' (Nâr.).

231. Instead of *naivam*, 'so no (more),' Nâr. reads *nainah* ('I will) not sin (any more),' and K.'s reading *nainam* points to the same var. lect. Gov., Nand., and the best MS. of Medh. read *naitat kuryât punar iti*, and the translation would then be 'but he is purified (only) by ceasing (to sin), thereby that he does so no more.'

235. 'To have austerity for its root, austerity for its middle, and

austerity for its root, austerity for its middle, and austerity for its end.

236. (The pursuit of sacred) knowledge is the austerity of a Brâhmaṇa, protecting (the people) is the austerity of a Kshatriya, (the pursuit of) his daily business is the austerity of a Vaisya, and service the austerity of a Sûdra.

237. The sages who control themselves and subsist on fruit, roots, and air, survey the three worlds together with their moving and immovable (creatures) through their austerities alone.

238. Medicines, good health, learning, and the various divine stations are attained by austerities alone; for austerity is the means of gaining them.

239. Whatever is hard to be traversed, whatever is hard to be attained, whatever is hard to be reached, whatever is hard to be performed, all (this) may be accomplished by austerities; for austerity (possesses a power) which it is difficult to surpass.

240. Both those who have committed mortal sin (Mahâpâtaka) and all other offenders are severally freed from their guilt by means of well-performed austerities.

241. Insects, snakes, moths, bees, birds and beings, bereft of motion, reach heaven by the power of austerities.

austerity for its end,' i. e. 'to be produced, to continue, and to end in consequence of austerities performed' (Medh., Kull., Nâr.).

238. Medh. explains aushadhâni, 'medicines,' by 'elixirs.' Instead of agado (Kull., K., Râgh.) Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. read agadâh, and explain it by 'medicines' (Medh., Nand.), 'remedies or charms against poison' (Gov., Nâr.).

241. Instead of ki/âs ka, 'insects,' Nâr. reads svânas ka, 'dogs.' Gov. and Nand. say that the verse refers to the Kî/opâkhyâna and the Kapotâkhyâna, told in the Iuhâsas (Mahâbhârata XII).

242. Whatever sin men commit by thoughts, words, or deeds, that they speedily burn away by penance, if they keep penance as their only riches.

243. The gods accept the offerings of that Brâhmana alone who has purified himself by austerities, and grant to him all he desires.

244. The lord, Pragâpati, created these Institutes (of the sacred law) by his austerities alone ; the sages likewise obtained (the revelation of) the Vedas through their austerities.

245. The gods, discerning that the holy origin of this whole (world) is from austerity, have thus proclaimed the incomparable power of austerity.

246. The daily study of the Veda, the performance of the great sacrifices according to one's ability, (and) patience (in suffering) quickly destroy all guilt, even that caused by mortal sins.

247. As a fire in one moment consumes with its bright flame the fuel that has been placed on it, even so he who knows the Veda destroys all guilt by the fire of knowledge.

248. The penances for sins (made public) have been thus declared according to the law ; learn next the penances for secret (sins).

249. Sixteen suppressions of the breath (Prânâyâma) accompanied by (the recitation of) the Vyâhr̥itis

245. I read with all the commentators and K. at the end of the verse, *udbhavam*, instead of *uttamam* (editions).

246. Vas. XXVII, 7 ; Yâgñ. III, 311.

247. Vas. XXVII, 1-2.

248. Kull. and Râgh. state that Gov. omits this verse, while Medh. gives it. The accessible MS. of Gov., however, shows it, but without a commentary. Medh. says only that 'some' read it. Nâr. and Nand. omit it.

249. Vas. XXVI, 4 ; Vi. LV, 5 ; Baudh. IV, 1, 29. The best

and of the syllable Om, purify, if they are repeated daily, after a month even the murderer of a learned Brâhmana.

250. Even a drinker of (the spirituous liquor called) Surâ becomes pure, if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa, 'Removing by thy splendour our guilt, O Agni,' &c., (that seen) by Vasishtha, 'With their hymns the Vasishthas woke the Dawn,' &c., the Mâhitra (hymn) and (the verses called) Suddhavatis.

251. Even he who has stolen gold, instantly becomes free from guilt, if he once mutters (the hymn beginning with the words) 'The middlemost brother of this beautiful, ancient Hotri-priest' and the Sivasamkalpa.

252. The violator of a Guru's bed is freed (from sin), if he repeatedly recites the Havishpântiya (hymn), (that beginning) 'Neither anxiety nor misfortune,' (and that beginning) 'Thus, verily, thus,' and mutters the hymn addressed to Purusha.

253. He who desires to expiate sins great or

explanation of the words 'accompanied by (the recitation of) the Vyâhr̥tis and (of) the syllable Om' is Nâr.'s, who asserts that they indicate the necessity of reciting the Gâyatrî with the Siras text during the performance of each Prânâyâma; see Vas. XXV, 13.

250. Vas. XXVI, 5. The hymn seen by Kutsa, i. e. Rig-veda I, 97; that seen by Vasishtha, i. e. Rig-veda VII, 80. The Mâhitra hymn, i. e. Rig-veda X, 185. The Suddhavatis, i. e. Rig-veda VIII, 84, 7-9. Medh., Gov., Nâr., and K. read mâhendram for mâhitram, and Nâr. adds that some give the latter reading. The hymns are to be recited during a month sixteen times (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), or 108 times a day (Nâr.).

251. Vas. XXVI, 6. The hymn is found Rig-veda I, 164; the Sivasamkalpa, Vâg. Samh. XXXIV, 1. 'Once,' i. e. 'once daily during a month' (Gov., Kull., Nâr.).

252. Vas. XXVI, 7; Yâgyñ. III, 305. The four hymns are Rig-veda X, 88; X, 126; X, 119; and X, 90.

253. The two verses are found Rig-veda I, 24, 14, and VII, 89, 5.

small, must mutter during a year the *Rik*-verse 'May we remove thy anger, O Varuna,' &c., or 'Whatever offence here, O Varuna,' &c.

254. That man who, having accepted presents which ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the Taratsamandīya (*Rikas*), becomes pure after three days.

255. But he who has committed many sins, becomes pure, if he recites during a month the (four verses) addressed to Soma and Rudra, and the three verses (beginning) 'Aryaman, Varuna, and Mitra,' while he bathes in a river.

256. A grievous offender shall mutter the seven verses (beginning with) 'Indra,' for half a year; but he who has committed any blamable act in water, shall subsist during a month on food obtained by begging.

257. A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter with the sacred texts belonging to the Sākala-homas, or by muttering the *Rik*, (beginning) 'Adoration.'

258. He who is stained by mortal sin, becomes pure, if, with a concentrated mind, he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāṇī (hymns) and subsisting on alms.

254. Gaut. XXIV, 2-3; Baudh. IV, 2, 4-5. The verses are found Rig-veda IX, 58, 1-4.

255. The verses are found Rig-veda VI, 74, 1-4, and IV, 2, 4-6.

256. The verses are found Rig-veda I, 106, 1-7.

257. The Mantras for the Sākala-homas, i.e. Vâg. Samh. VIII, 13. The verse is found Rig-veda VI, 51, 8. According to Nâr. the Mantras must be muttered 108 times.

258. The Pāvamāṇī hymns, i.e. the ninth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda.

259. Or if, pure (in mind and in body), he thrice repeats the *Samhitâ* of the Veda in a forest, sanctified by three *Parâka* (penances), he is freed from all crimes causing loss of caste (*pâtaka*).

260. But if (a man) fasts during three days, bathing thrice a day, and muttering (in the water the hymn seen by) *Aghamarshana*, he is (likewise) freed from all sins causing loss of caste.

261. As the horse-sacrifice, the king of sacrifices, removes all sin, even so the *Aghamarshana* hymn effaces all guilt.

262. A *Brâhmaṇa* who retains in his memory the *Rig-veda* is not stained by guilt, though he may have destroyed these three worlds, though he may eat the food of anybody.

263. He who, with a concentrated mind, thrice recites the *Riksamhitâ*, or (that of the) *Yagur-veda*, or (that of the) *Sâma-veda* together with the secret(texts, the *Upanishads*), is completely freed from all sins.

264. As a clod of earth, falling into a great lake, is quickly dissolved, even so every sinful act is engulfed in the threefold Veda.

265. The *Rikas*, the *Yagus*(-formulas) which differ (from the former), the manifold *Sâman*(-songs), must

259. 'The *Samhitâ*,' i. e. the Mantras and *Brâhmaṇas* (Kull., Râgh.), the former alone (Nâr.). 'Parâka penances,' see above, verse 216. The verse seems to refer to the *Anasnatpârâyana*, fully described by Baudh. III, 9.

260-261. Gaut. XXIV, 10-12; Vas. XXVI, 8; Baudh. III, 5; IV, 2, 15; Vi. LV, 7; Yâgy. III, 302. The *Aghamarshana* is found *Rig-veda* X, 190.

262. Vas. XXVII, 3.

263. Baudh. IV, 5, 29.

264. I read with Gov., Nand., and K. pr. manu 'kshipram' instead of 'kshiptam' (Medh., K. sec. manu, editions).

265. Medh. and Gov. read âdyâni, 'chief,' instead of anyâni, 'which differ.' Medh. explains it as 'either those found in the

be known (to form) the triple Veda ; he who knows them, (is called) learned in the Veda.

266. The initial triliteral Brahman on which the threefold (sacred science) is based, is another triple Veda which must be kept secret ; he who knows that, (is called) learned in the Veda.

CHAPTER XII.

1. 'O sinless One, the whole sacred law, (applicable) to the four castes, has been declared by thee ; communicate to us (now), according to the truth, the ultimate retribution for (their) deeds.'

2. To the great sages (who addressed him thus) righteous Bhṛigu, sprung from Manu, answered, 'Hear the decision concerning this whole connexion with actions.'

3. Action, which springs from the mind, from speech, and from the body, produces either good or evil results ; by action are caused the (various) conditions of men, the highest, the middling, and the lowest.

4. Know that the mind is the instigator here

Samhitâ, not those read in the *Brâhmaṇa* or those recited according to the *Samhitâpâṭha*, not those recited according to the Pada or *Kramapâṭha*.' Gov. gives the first explanation only.

266. K. omits this verse, and inserts in its stead the following lines:

esha vo vadita[*bhihita*]s sarvaḥ prâyaścittavinirṇayaḥ ।
naiḥsreyasaṁ karmavidhim viprasayitam nibodhata ॥
ataḥ param pravakshyâmi saṁsâraavidhim uttamam ।

Nand. gives the first two lines after verse 266, reading, however, *ityeshâ(?)bhihitaḥ*.

XII. 1. Râgh. takes *tattvataḥ parâm* separately and explains the second line as follows : 'communicate to us (now) the retribution for (their) deeds (and) supreme (liberation, which springs) from (the recognition of) truth.'

4. 'Of three kinds,' i.e. 'good, middling, or bad.' 'Has three

below, even to that (action) which is connected with the body, (and) which is of three kinds, has three locations, and falls under ten heads.

5. Coveting the property of others, thinking in one's heart of what is undesirable, and adherence to false (doctrines), are the three kinds of (sinful) mental action.

6. Abusing (others, speaking) untruth, detracting from the merits of all men, and talking idly, shall be the four kinds of (evil) verbal action.

7. Taking what has not been given, injuring (creatures) without the sanction of the law, and holding criminal intercourse with another man's wife, are declared to be the three kinds of (wicked) bodily action.

8. (A man) obtains (the result of) a good or evil mental (act) in his mind, (that of) a verbal (act) in his speech, (that of) a bodily (act) in his body.

9. In consequence of (many) sinful acts committed with his body, a man becomes (in the next birth) something inanimate, in consequence (of sins) com-

locations,' i. e. 'the mind, speech, and the body.' 'Falls under ten heads,' i. e. 'those mentioned in verses 5-7.' The mind, which is here called the instigator, is the internal organ, which has the faculty of *samkalpa*, 'volition.'

5. 'Thinking in one's heart what is undesirable,' means according to Medh. either 'thinking of or wishing anything that may be injurious to others or what is forbidden.' Gov. and Nâr. give the first explanation, the other commentators the second. Others mentioned by Medh. explained *vitathâbhinivesam*, 'adherence to false doctrines' (i. e. the denial of a future state, of the authority of the Vedas and so forth), by 'a constant deep hatred.' In their remarks on this verse and the next two, the commentators point out that the opposites of the acts mentioned are the different kinds of good actions.

5-9. *Yâgñ.* III, 131, 134-136.

mitted by speech, a bird, or a beast, and in consequence of mental (sins he is re-born in) a low caste.

10. That man is called a (true) *tridandīn* in whose mind these three, the control over his speech (*vâg-danda*), the control over his thoughts (*manodanda*), and the control over his body (*kâyadanda*), are firmly fixed.

11. That man who keeps this threefold control (over himself) with respect to all created beings and wholly subdues desire and wrath, thereby assuredly gains complete success.

12. Him who impels this (corporeal) Self to action, they call the *Kshetragñā* (the knower of the field); but him who does the acts, the wise name the *Bhûtâtman* (the Self consisting of the elements).

13. Another internal Self that is generated with all embodied (*Kshetragñās*) is called *Gīva*, through which (the *Kshetragñā*) becomes sensible of all pleasure and pain in (successive) births.

10. Usually an ascetic who wears three staves (*danda*) tied together, is called a *tridandīn*. According to our verse this outward sign avails nothing. That man only deserves the name *tridandīn* who keeps a threefold control (*danda*) over himself.

11. 'Complete success,' i. e. 'final liberation.'

12. 'This (corporeal) Self,' i. e. 'the body' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'the gross visible body which includes the three sheaths' (Râgh., Nâr.). 'The *Kshetragñā* (the knower of the field),' i. e. 'the individual Soul (*Gīva*),' (Medh. on verse 13, Nâr.), the *Paramâtman* (Nand.); Râgh. quotes, in explanation of the term 'the field,' *Bhagavadgītā* XIII, 5-6. 'The *Bhûtâtman* (the Self consisting of the elements),' i. e. 'the body which is composed of or a modification of the elements, i. e. of earth and so forth' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'the Self which has the form of the non-sentient, the elements and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'the *Gīva*' (Nand.).

13. According to Medh. 'some' understand by the term *Gīva* 'the subtle body (*liṅga sarīra*) which is overspread by Mahat, the Great One,' because the individual soul, which is usually called

14. These two, the Great One and the Kshetragnā, who are closely united with the elements, pervade him who resides in the multiform created beings.

Giva, has been mentioned in verse 12 under the appellation Kshetragnā. He adds that 'others' explain Giva by 'the internal organ, which has the form of mind, intelligence, and egoism.' The former view is adopted by Rāgh., while Gov., who paraphrases Giva by *manaḥ*, 'the mind,' and Kull. as well as Nār., who render it by 'Mahat,' 'the Great One or intelligence,' lean towards the second. Nand. says, '*givasamgñāḥ* means "he who fully knows the Givas," i. e. the omniscient.' *Sahagaḥ*, 'that is generated with,' means according to Medh. and Gov. 'that is associated with until the period of destruction (pralaya) or until final liberation is obtained.'

14. The term mahān, 'the Great One,' is referred by Medh., Gov., Kull., Nār., Rāgh. to the Giva mentioned in the preceding verse, and hence is explained by each in accordance with the view expressed on verse 13. *Bhūtasampriktau*, 'closely united with the elements' (Medh., Gov., Kull.), or 'enveloped by the elements' (Rāgh.), means according to Nār. 'united with the Bhūtātman.' *Sthitam tam vyāpya tish/hataḥ*, 'pervade him who resides,' i. e. 'pervade' (Gov.), or 'rest on' (Kull.), or 'conceal through illusion' (Nār.) him, i. e. 'the Paramātman, the Supreme Soul' (Gov., Kull., Nār.), 'who resides in all created beings' (Gov., Nār.) 'as the witness' (Kull., Nār.). Gov. adds 'or (the expression *vyāpya tish/hataḥ*) "they pervade" is used because the Supreme Soul pervades everything.' This latter explanation probably refers to Medh.'s rendering, according to which the verse must be translated 'Those two, the Great One and the Knower of the Field, who are closely united, rest on him who resides in the multiform created beings, pervading (them).' Medh. expressly declares that *tish/hataḥ* is to be taken as a transitive verb (*sarvakarmatvam* [sakarmatvam] *tish/hater anekārthatvāt*). He explains 'him' by 'the Supreme Soul,' and adds that the expression 'rest on' is justified, because the Paramātman is the cause of the whole world, and the product rests on its cause. Rāgh. differs very much, and says, 'Those two, the Great One (i. e. the Intelligence and by implication the subtle body) and the Knower of the Field, i. e. the individual soul enveloped by the five elements (and) pervading him who is found in the manifold created beings, i. e. the gross bodies, and reside, i. e. there, as the enjoyers.' Nand. finally has the following explanation: 'Those two, i. e. the

15. From his body innumerable forms go forth, which constantly impel the multiform creatures to action.

16. Another strong body, formed of particles (of the) five (elements and) destined to suffer the torments (in hell), is produced after death (in the case) of wicked men.

17. When (the evil-doers) by means of that body have suffered there the torments imposed by Yama, (its constituent parts) are united, each according to its class, with those very elements (from which they were taken).

individual and the Supreme Soul; united with the elements, i. e. residing in the body; the Great One, i. e. the Supreme Soul and the Knower of the Field; in the manifold, i. e. in the gross and in the subtle; him who is found, i. e. the field (*kshetra*), pervading they reside. The meaning is that the individual soul pervades the body and the Supreme Soul pervades the individual soul.'

15. 'From his body,' i. e. 'from nature or the form of the Supreme Soul (*Paramâtman*, *Medh.*, *Nâr.*) or from the body of Brahman which is endowed with the qualities' (*Râgh.*), 'like waves from the ocean or sparks from fire, in the manner mentioned in the Vedânta philosophy' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*). 'Others,' mentioned by *Medh.*, and *Nand.* explain the expression by 'from the root-evolvent or matter (*prakṛiti*) which is the body of the Supreme Soul.' *Mûrtayañ*, 'forms,' i. e. '*Kshetragñas*' (*Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*), or 'souls limited by subtle bodies' (*Râgh.*), or 'portions which are the causes of the production of forms' (*Nand.*).

16. *Dhruvam*, 'strong,' i. e. 'able to withstand the supernatural torments' (*Medh.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*). *Gov.* and *Nand.* read *dridham*.

17. The translation follows *Medh.*, *Gov.*, and *Râgh.*, with whom *Nâr.* seems to agree, and it presupposes that the construction of the verse is ungrammatical. *Kull.* and *Nand.*, who wish to show that *Manu's* text does not depart from the ordinary rules of grammar, assume that the subject of both clauses is *dushkrîto givâh*, 'the evil-doing souls.' The former says, 'The evil-doing souls that are subtle, having suffered by means of that produced body those torments imposed by Yama, are individually dissolved on the disappearance of the gross body, in those very constituent portions of

18. He, having suffered for his faults, which are produced by attachment to sensual objects, and which result in misery, approaches, free from stains, those two mighty ones.

the elements;’ the meaning is, ‘they remain being united with them.’ Nand.’s explanation is more intelligible. According to him the translation must be as follows: ‘(The individual souls) having suffered by means of that body the torments of Yama, are dissolved (on the termination of their sufferings, as far as that body is concerned), in those very (five) elements according to the proportion of their works’ (*vibhāgaras tatkarmavibhāgânurûpam*). But it seems to me that these attempts to save the grammatical reputation of the author are useless.

18. The translation follows the reading of Gov. (comm.), Kull., Nand., and Râgh., *anubhūyāsukhodarkân*. Medh., Gov. (text), and K. read *anubhūya sukhodarkân*, ‘(after the expiation) of which happiness is the result’ (Medh.). ‘He,’ i. e. ‘the individual soul’ (*kshe-tragñā*, Medh., Gov., Nand.), or ‘the individual soul limited by the subtle body’ (Kull., Râgh.), refers according to Nâr. to ‘the Great One’ (Mahân). ‘Those two mighty ones,’ i. e. ‘the Great One and the Supreme Soul’ (Medh. ‘others,’ Gov., Kull.), are according to Medh. and Râgh. ‘the Great One and the *Kshetragñā*’ (mentioned verse 14), according to Nâr. and Nand. (on verse 19) ‘the Giva and the Paramâtman or Supreme Soul.’ Medh. adds that under his explanation the verse looks as if it were self-contradictory, because the end to be attained and the attainer are the same, but that the distinction is merely figurative. For the expression ‘he approaches’ means ‘he becomes nothing else but that’ [i. e. after the dissolution of the body, assumed in order to suffer the punishments, he remains purely *Kshetragñā* and Mahân]. His words are, *atah kshetragñām abhyetīti prāptam taḥ ka viruddham sa eva prāpya[h] prāpakas ka | satyam aupakāriko bhedo 'bhipretaḥ | abhyetīty ayam arthaḥ | etāvanmātrasesho bhavati yad uta kshetragñātayā prāptādisamghātmakena mahân iti vyapadish/ena phaleshu tāvanmātraḥ parishiṣyate | līngagīvas ka kshetragñāḥ ||* Râgh., the only other commentator, who occupies himself with the ulterior meaning of the verse, renders *abhyeti*, ‘he approaches,’ by *anugakṣhati*, ‘he follows,’ and adds ‘in order to produce a new body’ (*sarīrāntarārambhāya*). He further quotes *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa* XIV, 7, 2, 5, in order to show that according to the Veda the individual soul, united with the subtle body, makes for itself another body.

19. Those two together examine without tiring the merit and the guilt of that (individual soul), united with which it obtains bliss or misery both in this world and the next.

20. If (the soul) chiefly practises virtue and vice to a small degree, it obtains bliss in heaven, clothed with those very elements.

21. But if it chiefly cleaves to vice and to virtue in a small degree, it suffers, deserted by the elements, the torments inflicted by Yama.

22. The individual soul, having endured those torments of Yama, again enters, free from taint, those very five elements, each in due proportion.

23. Let (man), having recognised even by means of his intellect these transitions of the individual soul (which depend) on merit and demerit, always fix his heart on (the acquisition of) merit.

24. Know Goodness (sattva), Activity (ragas), and Darkness (tamas) to be the three qualities of the

19. 'Those two,' i. e. 'the Great One and the Supreme Soul' (mahatparamâtmânau, Gov., Kull.), are according to Medh., who modifies the explanation given on the preceding verse, the Mahân and the Paramâtman; according to Râgh., the Mahân and the Kshetragña. Pasyatah, 'examine,' means according to Râgh. 'by their presence cause to be performed.' 'The guilt,' i. e. 'which remains after the sufferings (in hell,' Kull.). Nand. explains the first line very differently: 'Those two (merit and demerit) watchfully attend him (the Kshetragña) who is bent on performing good and evil.' 'United with which,' i. e. 'with merit and guilt' (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), refers in Râgh.'s opinion to the Mahân and the Kshetragña.

20. 'With those very elements,' i. e. 'with a gross body consisting of the before-mentioned five elements.'

21. 'Deserted by the elements,' i. e. 'after death' (Kull., Nâr.).

22. Medh. and K. read abhyeti for apyeti.

24. Yâgñ. III, 182. 'Of the Self,' i. e. 'of the Mahat' (Kull.,

Self, with which the Great One always completely pervades all existences.

25. When one of these qualities wholly predominates in a body, then it makes the embodied (soul) eminently distinguished for that quality.

26. Goodness is declared (to have the form of) knowledge, Darkness (of) ignorance, Activity (of) love and hatred; such is the nature of these (three) which is (all-)pervading and clings to everything created.

27. When (man) experiences in his soul a (feeling) full of bliss, a deep calm, as it were, and a pure light, then let him know (that it is) among those three (the quality called) Goodness.

28. What is mixed with pain and does not give satisfaction to the soul one may know (to be the quality of) Activity, which is difficult to conquer, and which ever draws embodied (souls towards sensual objects).

Râgh., Nâr., Nand.), the latter two saying mahattattvasya, 'of the (Sâmkhya) principle, called Mahat.' Medh.'s somewhat longer discussion arrives at the same result.

25. 'In a body,' i. e. 'in a subtle body' (Râgh.). Medh. and Gov. add to the first clause 'in consequence of acts done in a former life.'

26. Kull. takes *etat*, 'such,' in the sense of 'as follows.' Nâr. and Nand. take the last line somewhat differently: 'The nature of these three is pervaded by the (three characteristics just mentioned and) clings to all created beings.'

27. 'A (feeling) full of bliss,' i. e. 'without any particular cause for such a sensation' (Gov.). I take *tatra*, which Gov. and Kull. explain by *tasmin* and construe with *âtmani*, in the sense of *teshu*, 'among those three.' Râgh. says *tatreti tribhiḥ*.

28. Medh. has *apratipam*, which he explains by *apratyaksham*, 'not perceptible by the senses,' instead of *apratigham*, 'difficult to conquer.'

29. What is coupled with delusion, what has the character of an undiscernible mass, what cannot be fathomed by reasoning, what cannot be fully known, one must consider (as the quality of) Darkness.

30. I will, moreover, fully describe the results which arise from these three qualities, the excellent ones, the middling ones, and the lowest.

31. The study of the Vedas, austerity, (the pursuit of) knowledge, purity, control over the organs, the performance of meritorious acts and meditation on the Soul, (are) the marks of the quality of Goodness.

32. Delighting in undertakings, want of firmness, commission of sinful acts, and continual indulgence in sensual pleasures, (are) the marks of the quality of Activity.

33. Covetousness, sleepiness, pusillanimity, cruelty, atheism, leading an evil life, a habit of soliciting favours, and inattentiveness, are the marks of the quality of Darkness.

29. I follow Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh., and K., who read *avyakta-vishayâtmakam* instead of *avyaktaṁ vishayâtmakam* (Nand., editions). Medh.'s reading is doubtful. 'What is coupled with delusion,' i. e. 'where it is impossible to decide if the (thing) is real or unreal' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). *Avyaktavishayâtmakam*, 'what has the character of an undiscernible mass' (*asphu/avishayâkârâsva-bhâvam*, Kull., Râgh.), or 'what has the form of an undiscernible mass and the nature of which is unreal' (*aspash/avishayâkârâsatsva-bhâvam*, Gov.), means according to Nâr. 'where the mass and the soul are not luminous' (*aprakâso vishaya âtmâ ka yatra*).

31. The last words of the verse, which have been translated according to Medh., mean according to Nâr. literally '(are the result) of Goodness (and) the marks of (that) quality' (*sâttvikam sattvaganyam gunasya tasyaiva lakshanam kîhnam*).

32. *Adhairyam*, 'want of firmness,' means according to Nâr. 'want of a contented disposition.'

33. *Bhinnavrittîṭā*, 'leading an evil life,' i. e. 'omitting to live

34. Know, moreover, the following to be a brief description of the three qualities, each in its order, as they appear in the three (times, the present, past, and future).

35. When a (man), having done, doing, or being about to do any act, feels ashamed, the learned may know that all (such acts bear) the mark of the quality of Darkness.

36. But, when (a man) desires (to gain) by an act much fame in this world and feels no sorrow on failing, know that it (bears the mark of the quality of) Activity.

37. But that (bears) the mark of the quality of Goodness which with his whole (heart) he desires to know, which he is not ashamed to perform, and at which his soul rejoices.

38. The craving after sensual pleasures is declared to be the mark of Darkness, (the pursuit of) wealth (the mark) of Activity, (the desire to gain) spiritual

according to the rule of conduct;’ *pramâdah*, ‘inattentiveness,’ i. e. ‘to duty.’

34. Instead of *trishu*, ‘in the three (times,’ *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Râgh.*), *Nand.* reads *nrîshu*, ‘in men.’ *Nâr.*, who reads *trishu*, explains the words *trayânâm gunânâm*, *trishu* as follows: ‘of the three,’ i. e. ‘of the study of the Veda and so forth;’ ‘of the *gunas*, i. e. ‘of the three classes of virtues;’ ‘in the three,’ i. e. ‘in the three original qualities.’

36. *Nand.* has *rikkhati* instead of *ikkati*. I read with *Medh.*, *Gov.*, *Kull.*, *Nâr.*, *Râgh.*, and *Nand.*, *na ka sokati* instead of *sa ka sokati* (editions). *K.* reads *naiva*. ‘And feels no sorrow on failing,’ i. e. ‘if on failing to accomplish his undertaking he begins another, but does not desist from it out of sorrow, that is the meaning’ (*Râgh.*).

37. Instead of *yat sarvena* (*Gov.*, *Kull.*), *Medh.* and *K.* read *yah sarvena*, and *Nand.* *sarvam yene*^o. ‘Which with his whole (heart) he desires to know,’ i. e. ‘the meaning of the Veda and so forth’ (*Kull.*, *Râgh.*).

merit the mark of Goodness; each later (named quality is) better than the preceding one.

39. I will briefly declare in due order what transmigrations in this whole (world a man) obtains through each of these qualities.

40. Those endowed with Goodness reach the state of gods, those endowed with Activity the state of men, and those endowed with Darkness ever sink to the condition of beasts; that is the threefold course of transmigrations.

41. But know this threefold course of transmigrations that depends on the (three) qualities (to be again) threefold, low, middling, and high, according to the particular nature of the acts and of the knowledge (of each man).

42. Immovable (beings), insects, both small and great, fishes, snakes, and tortoises, cattle and wild animals, are the lowest conditions to which (the quality of) Darkness leads.

43. Elephants, horses, Sûdras, and despicable barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars (are) the middling states, caused by (the quality of) Darkness.

44. *Kâranas*, *Suparnas* and hypocrites, *Râkshasas*

40. Yâgñ. III, 137-139.

41. 'Of the knowledge (of each man),' i. e. 'if the acts were committed intentionally or not' (Medh.).

42. 'Immovable (beings),' i. e. 'trees and so forth.' *Paravaḥ*, 'cattle,' i. e. 'cows and so forth' (Nâr.), or 'dogs and so forth' (Râgh.). Instead of *sakakḥapâḥ* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'and tortoises,' Medh., Nâr., and Nand. read *saṛisripâḥ*, 'creeping things,' i. e. 'scorpions and the like' (Nâr.). Instead of *mṛigâs kaiva* (Gov., Kull., Râgh.), 'and wild animals (or deer),' Medh. and Nand. have *srigâlâs ka*, 'and jackals.'

43. *Mlekḥâḥ*, 'barbarians,' i. e. 'Sabaras and so forth' (Nâr.).

44. *Kârana* may denote a caste of men, i. e. 'bards, singers, panders, and the like' (Medh.), or 'rope-dancers' (Nâr.), or 'Naḥas'

and Pisâkas (belong to) the highest (rank of) conditions among those produced by Darkness.

45. *Ghallas*, *Mallas*, *Nâtas*, men who subsist by despicable occupations and those addicted to gambling and drinking (form) the lowest (order of) conditions caused by Activity.

46. Kings and Kshatriyas, the domestic priests of kings, and those who delight in the warfare of disputations (constitute) the middling (rank of the) states caused by Activity.

47. The Gandharvas, the Guhyakas, and the servants of the gods, likewise the Apsarases, (belong all to) the highest (rank of) conditions produced by Activity.

48. Hermits, ascetics, Brâhmanas, the crowds of the Vaimânika deities, the lunar mansions, and the Daityas (form) the first (and lowest rank of the) existences caused by Goodness.

(Gov., Kull.); but it may also, with Râgh., be referred to a class of mythological beings. *Suparnas* are the bird-deities, mentioned above, I, 37.

45. *Ghallas*, *Mallas*, i. e. 'those mentioned above, X, 22 (Kull., Nâr.), who are fencers with sticks or wrestlers and jesters' (Medh., Kull.). *Nâtas*, i. e. 'those exhibiting themselves on the stage' (*raṅgavatâarakâh*, Medh., Kull.). I read with Medh., Gov., Nâr., and Nand. *purushâs ka kuvrîttayaḥ*, 'men who subsist by despicable occupations,' instead of *purushâs sastravîttayaḥ*, 'men living by the trade of arms' (Kull., editions).

46. With respect to the low estimation in which domestic priests are held, see the verse quoted *Pañkatantra* II, 63 (Bombay edition). Nand. reads *dânayuddhapradhânâs ka*, 'very liberal men, and those delighting in strife.'

47. *Guhyakas*, i. e. 'evil spirits who hurt children;' *Yakshas*, i. e. 'the guardians of treasures' (Nâr.). Both are demigods, servants of Kubera. 'The servants of the gods,' i. e. 'Vidyâdharas and so forth.'

48. Medh. mentions an opinion, held by 'others,' according to

49. Sacrificers, the sages, the gods, the Vedas, the heavenly lights, the years, the manes, and the Sâdhyas (constitute) the second order of existences, caused by Goodness.

50. The sages declare Brahmâ, the creators of the universe, the law, the Great One, and the Undiscernible One (to constitute) the highest order of beings produced by Goodness.

51. Thus (the result) of the threefold action, the whole system of transmigrations which (consists) of three classes, (each) with three subdivisions, and which includes all created beings, has been fully pointed out.

which the Yatis, 'ascetics,' are a people living on mount Meru. 'The Vaimânika deities,' i.e. 'those who move in mid-air with their palatial chariots, called vimânas.' Instead of Daityâh, Nâr. mentions as a var. lect. Siddhâh.

49. 'The Vedas,' i.e. 'sounds placed in a certain sequence' (Medh.), or 'the guardian deities or personifications of the Vedas, such as are described in the Itihâsas as belonging to the court of Brahman' (Medh. 'others,' Gov., Kull., Nâr., Râgh.). With respect to the next two terms the commentators vacillate whether the things mentioned or their regents (adhish/hâtrî devatâ) are intended.

50. Brahmâ, i.e. 'Hiranyagarbha' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). 'The creators of the universe,' i.e. 'Marîçi and the rest;' see above, I, 35; 'the law,' i.e. 'either the meaning of the Veda or the incarnate law' (Medh.); according to the other commentators, the latter only. 'The Great One,' i.e. 'the deity presiding over the principle (of the Sâmkhya philosophy) called the Great One (or Intellect,' Gov., Kull., Râgh.); 'the Undiscernible One,' i.e. 'the deity presiding over the root-evolvent or chief cause of the Sâmkhya philosophy' (Gov., Kull., Râgh.). Medh., who discusses and rejects these explanations of the last two terms, holds that they refer to the Supreme Soul (paramâtman). Nâr. explains 'the Undiscernible' by 'egoism.' Medh., Gov., and K. read avyakta eva ka instead of avyaktam eva ka.

51. Medh. and K. read esha dharma, 'Thus the law with respect to the threefold action, &c.' Nand. places verse 81 immediately after this.

52. In consequence of attachment to (the objects of) the senses, and in consequence of the non-performance of their duties, fools, the lowest of men, reach the vilest births.

53. What wombs this individual soul enters in this world and in consequence of what actions, learn the particulars of that at large and in due order.

54. Those who committed mortal sins (*mahâpâ-taka*), having passed during large numbers of years through dreadful hells, obtain, after the expiration of (that term of punishment), the following births.

55. The slayer of a *Brâhmana* enters the womb of a dog, a pig, an ass, a camel, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a deer, a bird, a *Kandâla*, and a *Pukkasa*.

56. A *Brâhmana* who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) *Surâ* shall enter (the bodies) of small and large insects, of moths, of birds, feeding on ordure, and of destructive beasts.

57. A *Brâhmana* who steals (the gold of a *Brâhmana* shall pass) a thousand times (through the bodies) of spiders, snakes and lizards, of aquatic animals and of destructive *Pisâkas*.

58. The violator of a Guru's bed (enters) a hundred times (the forms) of grasses, shrubs, and creepers, likewise of carnivorous (animals) and of (beasts) with fangs and of those doing cruel deeds.

52. *Yâgñ.* III, 219. 'Fools,' i.e. 'those who do not perform penances' (Gov., Kull.).

55. *Yâgñ.* III, 207. Nand. reads *Pulkasa*, Medh. and Gov. *Pukhka* with a *Gihvâmûliya* which looks like *śh*.

56. *Yâgñ.* III, 207.

57. *Yâgñ.* III, 208. 'Aquatic animals,' i.e. 'crocodiles and so forth' (Gov.). Gov. explains *lûta*, 'spider,' by 'scorpion.' K. omits this verse.

58. *Yâgñ.* III, 208. The commentators explain 'carnivorous

59. Men who delight in doing hurt (become) carnivorous (animals); those who eat forbidden food, worms; thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; those who have intercourse with women of the lowest castes, Pretas.

60. He who has associated with outcasts, he who has approached the wives of other men, and he who has stolen the property of a Brâhmaṇa become Brahmarâkshasas.

61. A man who out of greed has stolen gems, pearls or coral, or any of the many other kinds of precious things, is born among the goldsmiths.

62. For stealing grain (a man) becomes a rat, for stealing yellow metal a Hamsa, for stealing water a Plava, for stealing honey a stinging insect, for stealing milk a crow, for stealing condiments a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon;

63. For stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a winged animal (of the

(animals)' by 'vultures and the like,' '(beasts) with fangs' by 'lions or tigers and the like.' 'Those doing cruel deeds' are, according to Gov., 'men such as Sabaras;' according to Kull., 'animals such as tigers.'

59. 'Creatures consuming their own kind,' i.e. 'fish and the like.' Nand. places verse 60 before verse 59.

60. Yâgñ. III, 212. 'A Brahmarâkshasa,' lit. 'a Brâhmanical Râkshasa,' is an evil spirit. K. omits this verse.

61. Yâgñ. III, 213. According to another explanation, which Medh. considers the only admissible one, and which the other commentators mention as an alternative, hemakartṛi, 'a goldsmith,' is the name of a bird.

62. Yâgñ. III, 214, 215; Vi. XLIV, 15-20. Rasam, 'condiments,' i.e. the juice of sugar-cane, &c. (Kull.), means according to Nâr. 'quicksilver.'

63. Yâgñ. III, 211, 215; Vi. XLIV, 21-25. I read with Medh., Gov., and Nand., vasâm, 'fat,' instead of vapâm (Kull., editions);

kind called) Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing sour milk a bird (of the kind called) Balākā.

64. For stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog, for stealing cotton-cloth a crane, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a flying-fox ;

65. For stealing fine perfumes a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine, for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog.

66. For stealing fire he becomes a heron, for stealing household-utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed clothes a francolin-partridge ;

67. For stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruit and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing water a black-white cuckoo, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat.

68. That man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another, or who has eaten sacrificial food (of) which (no portion) had been offered, inevitably becomes an animal.

which latter word Nār. also gives, but explains by *medaḥ*. The Tailapaka is probably the cockroach. *Kīrīvāka*, 'a cricket,' may also mean 'a cicada.' Nand. reads *Kakravāka*, 'a Brāhmaṇī duck.'

64. *Yāgñ.* III, 215 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 25-30. Regarding *Vāgguda*, 'the flying-fox,' see note on *Gaut.* XVII, 34. *Rāgh.* confirms the explanation given there, as he says that it is a bird flying at night. *Medh.* and *Nand.* seem to have had a different reading at the end of the verse. The MSS. of the former have *krauṇko godhā māmsāshu valgutīḥ* (?), and that of the latter *godhā gavyam dado sallam* (?).

65. *Yāgñ.* III, 213 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 31-34.

66. *Yāgñ.* III, 214-215 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 35-37.

67. *Yāgñ.* III, 214 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 38-43.

68. *Yāgñ.* III, 217 ; *Vi.* XLIV, 44.

69. Women, also, who in like manner have committed a theft, shall incur guilt; they will become the females of those same creatures (which have been enumerated above).

70. But (men of the four) castes who have relinquished without the pressure of necessity their proper occupations, will become the servants of Dasyus, after migrating into despicable bodies.

71. A Brâhmaṇa who has fallen off from his duty (becomes) an Ulkâmukha Preta, who feeds on what has been vomited; and a Kshatriya, a Kaṭapûtana (Preta), who eats impure substances and corpses.

72. A Vaisya who has fallen off from his duty becomes a Maitrâkshagyotika Preta, who feeds on pus; and a Sûdra, a Kailâsaka (Preta, who feeds on moths).

69. Vi. XLIV, 45. 'In like manner,' i. e. 'intentionally' (Gov., Kull.).

70. I follow Medh., Gov., Nâr., Nand., Râgh., and K., who read dasyushu instead of satrushu, 'of their enemies' (editions). Gov. explains dasyushu by satrushu, and the same explanation is given by Kull.; while according to Medh., 'thieves and robbers' are meant; and according to Nâr., 'forest-tribes, such as Sabaras.' Nand. reads pretatâm (MS. prenatâm) for preshyatâm, and explains it by 'will become Pisâkas among the Dasyus.' His reading looks like a correction made on account of the next verses.

71. Ulkâmukha, i. e. 'with flaming mouth' (Medh.). Medh. prefers Kûṭapûtana, 'with a stinking nose,' to Kaṭapûtana (Kull., Nâr., Râgh., Nand., K.). Gov. reads Kaṭapûtana.

72. Maitrâkshagyotika is, according to Medh., Kull., and Râgh., to be explained as a kind of Preta who has a light in or sees with the anus. Medh. gives another explanation, according to which it simply means 'a Preta,' and adds that 'others' explain it by 'an owl.' Kailâsaka, 'a (Preta) who feeds on moths' (Gov.), means according to Kull., 'who feeds on body-lice.' Kailâsaka is the reading of Gov., Nâr., and Nand.

73. In proportion as sensual men indulge in sensual pleasures, in that same proportion their taste for them grows.

74. By repeating their sinful acts those men of small understanding suffer pain here (below) in various births ;

75. (The torture of) being tossed about in dreadful hells, Tâmisra and the rest, (that of) the Forest with sword-leaved trees and the like, and (that of) being bound and mangled ;

76. And various torments, the (pain of) being devoured by ravens and owls, the heat of scorching sand, and the (torture of) being boiled in jars, which is hard to bear ;

77. And births in the wombs (of) despicable (beings) which cause constant misery, and afflictions from cold and heat and terrors of various kinds,

78. The (pain of) repeatedly lying in various wombs and agonizing births, imprisonment in fetters hard to bear, and the misery of being enslaved by others,

79. And separations from their relatives and dear ones, and the (pain of) dwelling together with the wicked, (labour in) gaining wealth and its loss, (trouble in) making friends and (the appearance of) enemies,

80. Old age against which there is no remedy, the

73. I follow Medh. and Gov., who explain *kusalatâ*, literally 'cleverness' (Kull., Râgh.), by *ekarasiḥhâvaḥ*.

75-76. See above, IV, 88-89 ; Yâgñ. III, 206, 221-225.

76. Medh. reads *karambhavâlukâs taptâḥ*, and explains *karambhaḥ* by *karmadaḥ* (*kardamaḥ* ?), 'heated mud and sand (?)'. The translation follows Kull.'s and Râgh.'s notes. Medh., Gov., Râgh., Nand., and K. read *suduḥsahân*, 'very hard to bear,' which has been given above, instead of *dâruṣân*, 'terrible' (Kull., editions).

pangs of diseases, afflictions of many various kinds, and (finally) unconquerable death.

81. But with whatever disposition of mind (a man) performs any act, he reaps its result in a (future) body endowed with the same quality.

82. All the results, proceeding from actions, have been thus pointed out; learn (next) those acts which secure supreme bliss to a Brâhmaṇa.

83. Studying the Veda, (practising) austerities, (the acquisition of true) knowledge, the subjugation of the organs, abstention from doing injury, and serving the Guru are the best means for attaining supreme bliss.

84. (If you ask) whether among all these virtuous actions, (performed) here below, (there be) one which has been declared more efficacious (than the rest) for securing supreme happiness to man,

85. (The answer is that) the knowledge of the Soul is stated to be the most excellent among all of them; for that is the first of all sciences, because immortality is gained through that.

86. Among those six (kinds of) actions (enumer-

81. E. g. if while a man performs an act his disposition is sâttvika, or 'chiefly penetrated by the quality of Goodness,' he will reap its reward in a body produced chiefly by that quality, e. g. that of a god.

83. Yâgñ. III, 190.

84. Medh. omits this verse.

85. Yâgñ. I, 199. 'The knowledge of the Soul,' i. e. not that of the Kshetragñâ, but that of the Supreme Soul, which is taught in the Upanishads (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.), means according to Nâr., 'meditation' (dhyânam). Nand. asserts that the genitive sarveshâm, 'among all,' stands in the sense of the ablative. According to him the translation should be, 'is more excellent than all those.'

86. Medh. takes the genitive shannâm, 'among those six,' in the

ated above, the performance of) the acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be most efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and the next.

87. For in the performance of the acts prescribed by the Veda all those (others) are fully comprised, (each) in its turn in the several rules for the rites.

88. The acts prescribed by the Veda are of two kinds, such as procure an increase of happiness and

sense of an ablative, and according to him the translation would be, 'The acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be more efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and in the next than all those six (kinds of) actions (enumerated above).' He proposes two explanations for karma vaidikam. 'The acts taught in the Veda' may either be 'the Srauta rites, such as the Gyo-tish/oma,' or 'those called further on, in verses 88-89, *nivṛtta*,' i. e. 'rites performed as a matter of duty, without a desire for rewards.' Nand. accepts the first explanation, and so does Gov., who, however, takes the genitive in its usual sense, 'among those six.' Nār. adopts Medh.'s second explanation, and says, 'acts, taught in the Veda,' i. e. 'sacrifices and so forth, performed without the intention of (gaining) rewards,' and construes the genitives like Gov. The same construction is adopted by Kull., who explains karma vaidikam by 'the knowledge of the Supreme Soul.' Medh.'s second explanation seems to be the best, on account of verses 89 and 90, where 'knowledge,' i. e. 'the knowledge of the Supreme Soul' (see verse 85) and the performance of the *nivṛttam* karma are said to effect final liberation. The explanation of the genitives *śannām* *eteshām* by 'among those six' may perhaps be defended, if vaidikam karma is taken to correspond to *vedābhyāsaḥ*, 'studying the Veda (and obeying its rules),' in verse 83. But Medh.'s explanation of the construction is quite possible.

87. Kull. alters his explanation of vaidikam karma slightly, and interprets it by 'the worship of the Supreme Soul' (*paramātmopāsanā*), and quotes *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upanishad* IV, 4, 22 in support of his view. The other commentators find no difficulty in showing that both 'the Srauta sacrifices' and 'the *nivṛttākhyam* karma' include all the six points mentioned above, verse 83. I read in the first line with K. *hi* instead of *tu* (Medh., Gov., Kull., Nand.).

88. Kull. again changes his explanation of the expression 'acts

cause a continuation (of mundane existence, *pravṛtta*), and such as ensure supreme bliss and cause a cessation (of mundane existence, *nivṛtta*).

89. Acts which secure (the fulfilment of) wishes in this world or in the next are called *pravṛtta* (such as cause a continuation of mundane existence); but acts performed without any desire (for a reward), preceded by (the acquisition) of (true) knowledge, are declared to be *nivṛtta* (such as cause the cessation of mundane existence).

90. He who sedulously performs acts leading to future births (*pravṛtta*) becomes equal to the gods; but he who is intent on the performance of those causing the cessation (of existence, *nivṛtta*) indeed, passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements.

91. He who sacrifices to the Self (alone), equally recognising the Self in all created beings and all created beings in the Self, becomes (independent like) an autocrat and self-luminous.

taught in the Veda,' and takes it to mean 'sacrifices like the *Gyotish/oma* and the worship of images.'

89. Medh. explains *gñānapūrvam*, 'preceded by (the acquisition of true) knowledge,' to mean 'whereof knowledge is the chief (part,' *gñānam ādyam mukhyam yasya*).

90. Kull. remarks that the expression 'becomes equal to the gods' gives only an instance of the rewards attainable by *kāmyāni karmāṇi*. 'Passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements,' i. e. 'casts off the subtle body' (*Nār.*), or 'obtains final liberation' (*Medh., Gov., Kull.*).

91. *Īśa-upanishad*, 6. 'He who sacrifices to the Self (alone),' i. e. 'who connects himself with the nature of one who consists of all deities, i. e. thinks, "Not Agni, nor *Āditya* is the deity, I am here the deity"' (*âtmanam eva sarvadevatâmayatvena yogayate | manyate nâstir [nâgnir] âdityo vâ devatâ | aham iha ka devatâ mati [ihaiva devatâ iti?]*, *Medh.,* similarly *Gov.* and *Nâr.*), means according to *Kull., Râgh.,* and *Nand.,* 'he who performs the *Gyotish/oma* and the like (sacrifices) in the manner of the *Brahmârpâṇa*,' i. e. in such

92. After giving up even the above-mentioned sacrificial rites, a Brâhmaṇa should exert himself in (acquiring) the knowledge of the Soul, in extinguishing his passions, and in studying the Veda.

93. For that secures the attainment of the object of existence, especially in the case of a Brâhmaṇa, because by attaining that, not otherwise, a twice-born man has gained all his ends.

94. The Veda is the eternal eye of the manes, gods, and men ; the Veda-ordinance (is) both beyond the sphere of (human) power, and beyond the sphere of (human) comprehension ; that is a certain fact.

a manner that he understands Brahman to be the object of the worship, and makes over the merit to Brahman. The participial clause means, according to Medh. and Gov., thinking 'I am contained in the whole creation, both the movable and the immovable' (vyavasthitaḥ, Gov.), or 'I am, as it were, the whole world' (aham ivaitaggagat, Medh.) and 'all created beings are contained in me' (mayy avasthitâni, Gov., mayi sthitâni, Medh.). Kull., Râgh., and Nand. (who reads sampāsyān) explain it on pure Vedânta principles. The sacrificer is to recognise his identity with the Supreme Soul, and that through this identity he is one with all created beings, and that all created beings are one with him. The double rendering of the term svârâgyam is based on the double meaning of the verb râg, 'to rule' and 'to shine.' Medh. alone points it out. Kull. gives the second meaning alone, and takes the phrase a little differently: 'attains the state of the self-luminous (Brahman).' Gov., Nâr., and Nand. give Medh.'s first meaning only.

92. 'Above-mentioned,' i.e. 'as securing supreme bliss' (Nand.), or 'the Agnihotra and the rest' (Medh., Gov., Kull.). The last three commentators point out that this verse is not intended to authorise an irregular discontinuance of the daily rites.

93. Nand. omits this verse. Kritakrîtyaḥ, 'has gained all his ends' (Medh.), is taken by Gov. in its other sense, 'has done all he ought to do' (krîtakaramîyaḥ).

94. Instead of asakyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) power,' i.e. 'which cannot have been produced by men' (Gov., Kull.), Nâr. and Nand. read atarkyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) reasoning' (tarkenânyathâsambhavam, Nâr.; îdriṣam ity adhyavasâtum

95. All those traditions (*smṛiti*) and all those despicable systems of philosophy, which are not based on the Veda, produce no reward after death ; for they are declared to be founded on Darkness.

96. All those (doctrines), differing from the (Veda), which spring up and (soon) perish, are worthless and false, because they are of modern date.

97. The four castes, the three worlds, the four orders, the past, the present, and the future are all severally known by means of the Veda.

98. Sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly smell are known through the Veda alone, (their) production (is) through the (Vedic rites, which in this respect are) secondary acts.

asakyam apaurusheyatvât, Nand.). Aprameyam, 'beyond (the sphere of human) comprehension,' may, according to the commentators, mean either that the Veda can never be fully known, on account of the number of its branches and of the depth of its meaning, or that it cannot be understood by human reasoning alone, but requires the help of grammar of the *Mīmāṃsā* and so forth.

95. As an example of false traditions Medh. names 'rules such as "Heavenly bliss is attained by worshipping *Kaityas*," which occur in the *Sobha* and other *Siddhântas* of the *Nirgranthas* (*Digambara Gainas*).' 'Despicable systems of philosophy,' e.g. 'that of the *Kārvākas*' (Kull.). *Pretya*, 'after death' (*paraloke*, Gov., Kull.), means according to Medh. *prakarsham prāpya*, 'after attaining eminence.' Medh. mentions the explanation adopted above as that of 'others,' and adds that it requires the reading *prete*.

97. *Nār.* and *Râgh.* explain *prasidhyati*, 'are made known,' by *gâyate*, 'are produced.' Gov. and Kull. point to III, 76.

98. I read with all the commentators *prasidhyanti* instead of *prasûyante* (Indian editions). The last words of the verse are extremely doubtful. Medh. reads *prasûtir guṇakarmataḥ*, and Gov. seems to have adopted the same version, though the text of the *Pura* MS. has *prabhûtaguṇakarmataḥ*. Kull. and *Râgh.* give *prasûtiguṇakarmataḥ*; Nand. *prasûtiguṇakarmabhiḥ*, and *Nâr.* *prasûtiguṇadharmataḥ*, with which reading a var. lect., mentioned by Medh., *prasûteguṇadharmaḥ* may have originally agreed. In concluding his note on the

99. The eternal lore of the Veda upholds all created beings; hence I hold that to be supreme,

verse Medh. remarks that many other varr. lectt. exist which he omits, because they are useless (*vaiṣṭityapā/hāntarāṇi nishprayogana tvān na likhyante*). The explanations differ still more than the readings. The translation follows Medh.'s interpretation. According to him the verse means that 'sound and the rest are known to be enjoyable and means of obtaining pleasure through the Veda, as they are perceived in the form of melodies and so forth at the performance of Vedic rites,' but that 'the Veda is not their material cause, the Vedic rites being secondary actions only with respect to their production' (*sabḍādīnām bhogyatvena sukhāsāḍhanānām vedād eva prasiddhiḥ* | *vaidikakarmānush/hānād gitādisrabdopapattiḥ* . . . na punar veda upādānakāraṇam . . . etad āha prasūtir guṇakarmataḥ | *prasūtiḥ sabḍādīnām utpattiḥ* | *tadarthaṃ guṇakarma phalārthatvāt pradhānakarme* [ma] *ka kītrādīshu guṇadharmā* [karme] *ty uktam*). Gov.'s short note in substance agrees with this view (*ye svargādivipratā* [shayā] *upabhogyatvenābhimatāḥ sabḍādādayo viśayās te 'bhimataviśhayopabhogotpattiyartham yad upakāraṇam karmāgñihotrādikam tadanush/hānadvāreṇa vedād eva prasidhyanti*). According to Kull. the meaning of the compound is, 'through the Vedic rites, (originating from) the (three) qualities (Goodness and so forth, which are) the sources (of sound and so forth).' Rāgh. gives two explanations: '(The elements which are the substrata of) sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly (of) smell, are known through the Veda according to their origin, their qualities, and their actions.' Afterwards he gives for the last word an alternative version which closely agrees with Kull.'s view. Nand. says, 'Sound and so forth, together with their sources, i. e. ether and so forth, with their qualities, i. e. their manifold subdivisions, e. g. the *śaḍga* (note), and so forth, and with their actions, i. e. attracting the organs of sensation and so forth, are known from the Veda alone.' Nār. finally interprets his reading as follows: '(Sound and so forth) are produced from the Veda alone, which is characterised—the affix *tasi* has the meaning of the third and other cases—by the following, (*viz.*) the origin, i. e. the cause of production, quality, i. e. excessiveness and so forth, property, i. e. fragrance and so forth' (*prasūtiḥ ganmahetuḥ* | *guṇa utkaṭvādi* | *dharmaḥ surabhitvādiḥ* | *trīṭiyādi tasiḥ* | *etair upalakshitād vedāt prasidhyanti gāyante*).

99. In explanation of the first line the commentators point to

which is the means of (securing happiness to) these creatures.

100. Command of armies, royal authority, the office of a judge, and sovereignty over the whole world he (only) deserves who knows the Veda-science.

101. As a fire that has gained strength consumes even trees full of sap, even so he who knows the Veda burns out the taint of his soul which arises from (evil) acts.

102. In whatever order (a man) who knows the true meaning of the Veda-science may dwell, he becomes even while abiding in this world, fit for the union with Brahman.

103. (Even forgetful) students of the (sacred) books are more distinguished than the ignorant, those who remember them surpass the (forgetful) students, those who possess a knowledge (of the meaning) are more distinguished than those who

III, 76, and the corresponding Vedic passages. Gov. and Kull. explain *asya gantoḥ*, 'of these creatures,' by 'of men entitled to perform Vedic rites.' Nār. takes the second line differently: 'Through that, i. e. the Veda alone, I know that highest, i. e. meditation, which is the means, i. e. the means of securing final liberation to these creatures' (*yad asya gantoḥ sâdhanam apavarga-sâdhanam | param dhyânam dhyeyâdi | tad etasmâd vedâd eva manye gâne*).

100. Medh. places this verse later. The order in which the remaining verses of the *Samhitâ* are read in the MSS. differs very much from that adopted by the other commentators. They stand as follows: 106, 107, 108, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122; next both the text and the commentary of 91, 92, 93 are repeated, and then comes the last verse, 126.

101. Vas. XXVII, 2.

103. *Agñebhyaḥ*, 'than the ignorant,' i. e. 'entirely ignorant'

(only) remember (the words), men who follow (the teaching of the texts) surpass those who (merely) know (their meaning).

104. Austerity and sacred learning are the best means by which a Brâhmana secures supreme bliss ; by austerities he destroys guilt, by sacred learning he obtains the cessation of (births and) deaths.

105. The three (kinds of evidence), perception, inference, and the (sacred) Institutes which comprise the tradition (of) many (schools), must be fully understood by him who desires perfect correctness with respect to the sacred law.

106. He alone, and no other man, knows the sacred law, who explores the (utterances) of the sages and the body of the laws, by (modes of) reasoning, not repugnant to the Veda-lore.

(Medh., Nâr.), 'who have not studied the Veda' (Nand.), means according to Gov. and Kull., 'those who have learned a little.' Granthinaḥ, '(forgetful) students' (Kull., Nand.), means according to Medh. and Gov., 'students who learn the texts alone, but do not take very great trouble with them ;' according to Nâr., 'men who know the text only.' Dhârinah, 'those who remember (the texts)' (Kull., Nand.), are according to Medh. and Gov., 'men who are very persevering in studying ;' according to Nâr., 'those who know the meaning of the texts.' Nâr. takes gñânin, 'he who knows (the meaning of the texts),' in the sense of 'he who knows the Soul or Self.'

104. Yâgñ. I, 200.

105. Sâstram, 'the (sacred) Institutes,' i. e. 'the Veda, which has many Sâkhâs' (Gov., Nâr.), or 'the Veda and the Smṛiti' (Medh.), or 'the Smṛiti' (Kull.). Nand. reads siddhim, 'a complete knowledge or accurate performance,' instead of suddhim. The Pura copy of Nâr. stops with this verse, the remaining leaves being lost.

106. 'The utterances of the sages,' i. e. 'the Veda.' 'The body of the laws,' i. e. 'the Smṛiti.' 'The modes of reasoning' are, according to Medh. and Kull., the Mîmâmsâ of Gaimini ; according to 'others' quoted by Medh., all the philosophical schools, excepting

107. Thus the acts which secure supreme bliss have been exactly and fully described; (now) the secret portion of these Institutes, proclaimed by Manu, will be taught.

108. If it be asked how it should be with respect to (points of) the law which have not been (specially) mentioned, (the answer is), 'that which Brâhmanas (who are) Sishṭas propound, shall doubtlessly have legal (force).'

109. Those Brâhmanas must be considered as Sishṭas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.

those which, like the Bauddhas, Nirgranthas, and Lokâyatikas, deny the authority of the Vedas.

108-115. Âp. II, 29, 13-14; Gaut. XXVIII, 48-51; Vas. III, 20; Baudh. I, 1, 5-13, 16; Yâgñ. I, 9-10.

109. 'In accordance with the sacred law,' i. e. 'while observing the rules prescribed for a student.' The expression *srutipratyakshahetavaḥ*, 'who are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts,' is variously interpreted. According to Medh. it means either 'those who possess the revealed texts, (proof through) perception and argument' (*srutipratyakshe hetuḥ ka srutipratyakshahetavaḥ*), or 'those for whom the revealed texts which are perceptible by the senses, are the reason for distinguishing between virtue and sin' (*athavâ sruteḥ pratyakshasruteḥ | pratyakshasabdaḥ sraute pratyaye pratyakshatulyatvât prayuktaḥ | sa ka hetur dharmâdharmaparigñāne kâranam yeshâm ta evam uḥyante*); according to Gov., 'who are the cause of the teaching of the subjects perceptible in the Veda' (*vedagoḥarapadârthopadesakâranabhûtâḥ*); according to Kull., 'who are the causes of making the revealed texts perceptible, by reciting the revealed texts'; and according to Nand., 'those for whose knowledge and exposition of the law hearing and perception by means of the senses are the causes' (*yeshâm sravanam pratyaksham ka dharmagñānavakānayanor hetuḥ te*). 'The appendages,' i. e. 'the Itihâsas and Purânas' (Medh. according to the Mahâbhârata,

110. Whatever an assembly, consisting either of at least ten, or of at least three persons who follow their prescribed occupations, declares to be law, the legal (force of) that one must not dispute.

111. Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mīmāṃsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three orders shall constitute a (legal) assembly, consisting of at least ten members.

112. One who knows the *R̥g*-veda, one who knows the Yagur-veda, and one who knows the Sāma-veda, shall be known (to form) an assembly consisting of at least three members (and competent) to decide doubtful points of law.

113. Even that which one Brāhmaṇa versed in the Veda declares to be law, must be considered (to have) supreme legal (force, but) not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men.

114. Even if thousands of Brāhmaṇas, who have

Nand.), or 'the Aṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, the law-books, the Purāṇas, and so forth' (Gov., Kull.).

110. Medh. and Gov. read *viṭārayet* instead of *viṭālayet* (Kull., Nand.).

111. 'Three men belonging to the first three orders,' i. e. 'a student, a householder, and a hermit' (Gov., Kull., Nand.). Medh. says that some think 'a student, a householder, and an ascetic' to be meant, because the hermit must not enter a village, and because Gautama, in the enumeration of the castes, places the ascetic before the hermit, while others refer the words to Manu's first three orders. The reading *traividyo*, which all the commentaries give, is probably incorrect. It ought to be *traividyaṃ*, *tisrinām vidyānām samāhārah*; see *Yāgy.* I, 9, and compare *kāturvidyam*, *kāturvaidyam*, Baudh. I, 1, 1, 8, and Vas. III, 20.

114. *Avratānām*, 'who have not fulfilled their sacred duties,' i. e. 'who have not fulfilled the vows incumbent on a student' (Gov., Kull.).

not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste, meet, they cannot (form) an assembly (for settling the sacred law).

115. The sin of him whom dunces, incarnations of Darkness, and unacquainted with the law, instruct (in his duty), falls, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.

116. All that which is most efficacious for securing supreme bliss has been thus declared to you ; a Brâhmaṇa who does not fall off from that obtains the most excellent state.

117. Thus did that worshipful deity disclose to me, through a desire of benefiting mankind, this whole most excellent secret of the sacred law.

118. Let (every Brâhmaṇa), concentrating his mind, fully recognise in the Self all things, both the real and the unreal, for he who recognises the universe in the Self, does not give his heart to unrighteousness.

115. Nand. gives yad for yam, instead of tamobhûtâḥ, 'incarnations of Darkness,' the reading of the Dharma-sûtras, tamomûdhâḥ, 'perplexed by Darkness or ignorance.'

118. Sampasyet, 'let (every Brâhmaṇa) fully recognise,' i. e. 'let him clearly realise in his mind' (sâkshâtkuryât, Medh., Kull.), through devotional exercises (upâsanâ, Medh.), or through deep meditation (Kull.), or 'let him vow to be solely intent on that one object of knowledge, to the exclusion of the knowledge of all other knowable objects' (gñeyântaravishayanirâkaraṇena tadeka gñeyanish-*thâ*m anubrûyât, Medh.). Âtmani, 'in the Self,' i. e. 'in the Supreme Self' (Kull., Nand.), or 'in his own individual Self' (Gov.). Medh. remarks that 'the learned dispute regarding the meaning of the term âtman, and that besides the two explanations already given a third was proposed by some, according to which it meant 'the corporeal Self.' Medh. himself considers the first explanation to be the correct one. Sadasat, 'the real and the unreal,' i. e. either 'the

119. The Self alone is the multitude of the gods, the universe rests on the Self; for the Self produces the connexion of these embodied (spirits) with actions.

120. Let him meditate on the ether as identical with the cavities (of the body), on the wind as identical with the organs of motions and of touch, on the most excellent light as the same with his digestive organs and his sight, on water as the same with the (corporeal) fluids, on the earth as the same with the solid parts (of his body);

121. On the moon as one with the internal organ, on the quarters of the horizon as one with his sense of hearing, on Vishnu as one with his (power of) motion, on Hara as the same with his strength, on Agni (Fire) as identical with his speech, on Mitra as identical with his excretions, and on Pragâpati as one with his organ of generation.

122. Let him know the supreme Male (Purusha, to be) the sovereign ruler of them all, smaller even than small, bright like gold, and perceptible by the intellect (only when) in (a state of) sleep(-like abstraction).

123. Some call him Agni (Fire), others Manu, the

products and the causes,' or 'the intelligent and the non-intelligent' (Nand.), means according to Gov., 'that which possesses a shape of certain proportions and its opposite' (mûrtam prithivyâdi yakâ-mûrtam âkâśâdi). Medh. proposes two other explanations, 1. 'that which is both existent and non-existent, i. e. comes into existence and perishes;' 2. 'that which like the hare's horn is non-existent, and that which like ether is eternal.' The word samâhita, 'concentrating himself,' may have, as Medh. thinks, a technical meaning, and refer to the Samâdhi, mentioned in the Yoga and Vedânta systems.

119. In this verse Gov., too, explains âtmâ by paramâtmâ.

120. Medh. explains snehe, 'on the (corporeal) fluids,' by 'on the viscous substances,' e. g. 'the brain and so forth.'

Lord of creatures, others Indra, others the vital air, and again others eternal Brahman.

124. He pervades all created beings in the five forms, and constantly makes them, by means of birth, growth and decay, revolve like the wheels (of a chariot).

125. He who thus recognises the Self through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal(-minded) towards all, and enters the highest state, Brahman.

126. A twice-born man who recites these Institutes, revealed by Manu, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach whatever condition he desires.

124. The five forms are the five great elements, which produce all bodies (Gov., Kull., Nand.).

125. Instead of param padam, 'the highest state,' Nand. reads sanâtanam, 'the eternal (Brahman).'

APPENDIX.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE INSTITUTES OF MANU, IN THE TRANSLATED HINDU LAW-BOOKS¹.

- I, 101. Col. Dig. II, 4, 42.
- II, 96. Mit. II, 1, 22.
 - 140. Sar. Vi. 421, 426, 436-7.
 - 145. Col. Dig. V, 424; Viram. III, 4, 7.
 - 146. Dây. XI, 4, 3.
 - 172. Col. Dig. V, 123.
- III, 4-11. Col. Dig. IV, 185.
 - 5. Datt. Mî. VI, 27.
 - 12. Col. Dig. V, 144; Dây. IX, 2; Mit. I, 8, 7.
 - 14. Col. Dig. V, 147.
 - 15-7. Col. Dig. V, 145; Dây. IX, 9; Viram. II, 1, 25.
 - 18. Col. Dig. IV, 52.
 - 20-1. Dây. IV, 3, 4.
 - 42. Viram. III, 1, 2.
 - 49. Smṛi. K. XI, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 138, 332, 336,
Varad. p. 41.
 - 51. Dây. IV, 3, 24.
 - 55. Col. Dig. IV, 42.
 - 56-9. Col. Dig. IV, 39.
 - 60. Col. Dig. IV, 40, 189, 1; May. IV, 8, 21.
 - 61-2. Col. Dig. IV, 189, 2-3.
 - 81. Dây. XI, 6, 17.

¹ Colebrooke's Digest (Col. Dig.); Vyavahâramayûkha, by Borradaile (Vyav.); Dâyahhâga and Mitâksharâ on Inheritance, by Colebrooke (Dây.; Mit.); Mitâksharâ on Vyavahâra, by Macnaghten (M. Mit.); Dâyakramasamgraha, by Wynch (Dâyakr.); Dattakamîmâmsâ and Dattakandrikâ, by Sutherland (Datt. Mî.; Datt. Kand.); Vivâdaintâmânî, by Prosonno Koomar Tagore (Viv. Kint.); Vîramitrodaya on Inheritance, by Golâpchand Sarkâr (Vîram.); Smṛitîkandrikâ, by T. Kristnaswamy Jyer (Smṛi. K.); Sarasvatîvilâsa, by Foulkes (Sar. Vi.); Vyavahâramâdhava and Varadarâjya on Inheritance, by Burnell (Mâdh.; Varad.).

- IV, 162. M. Mit. II, 8, 21.
 V, 60. Dây. XI, 1, 42; XI, 6, 17; Datt. Mi. VI, 27.
 127. Col. Dig. V, 321.
 147-9. Col. Dig. IV, 86.
 150. Col. Dig. IV, 89.
 153-6. Col. Dig. IV, 103.
 157. Col. Dig. IV, 139; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 345.
 158. Col. Dig. IV, 139; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 159. Col. Dig. IV, 140; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 160. Col. Dig. IV, 141; Mit. I, 10, 9; Datt. Mi. I, 29; Viram. II, 2, 4.
 161. Col. Dig. IV, 142; Mit. I, 10, 9; Viram. II, 2, 4; Sar. Vi. 345.
 162. Col. Dig. IV, 143.
 163. Col. Dig. IV, 161.
 165. Col. Dig. IV, 105.
 VII, 14-28. Viv. Kint. pp. 320-2.
 82. Col. Dig. V, 163; Dây. IX, 20.
 85. Col. Dig. II, 4, 63.
 127-40. Col. Dig. II, 2, 14, 1-13.
 VIII, 1-2. May. I, 1, 5.
 4. Col. Dig. II, 1, 2; May. I, 1, 3; Viv. Kint. p. 4.
 5-7. Col. Dig. II, 1, 2; May. I, 1, 3; M. Mit. I, 2, 5.
 11. M. Mit. I, 1, 12.
 13. M. Mit. I, 1, 15; VI, 1, 59.
 27. Col. Dig. V, 449; Viv. Kint. p. 300.
 28. Col. Dig. V, 480, 1.
 29. Col. Dig. V, 480, 2; May. IV, 10, 10; Smri. K. IX, 2, 27.
 30. Col. Dig. II, 2, 60, 1; May. VII, 8; M. Mit. V, 4.
 31-2. Col. Dig. II, 2, 60, 2-3.
 33. May. VII, 8; M. Mit. V, 5.
 34. Viv. Kint. p. 180.

- (VIII), 35. May. VII, 10; M. Mit. V, 11.
 37-8. M. Mit. V, 9.
 40. May. VII, 11; M. Mit. V, 12.
 43. M. Mit. I, 2, 7.
 45. Col. Dig. II, 4, 68.
 46. Col. Dig. I, 50, 233.
 47. Col. Dig. I, 233.
 48. Col. Dig. I, 234; Viv. *Kint.* p. 43.
 49. Col. Dig. I, 235; Viv. *Kint.* p. 43.
 50. Col. Dig. I, 254.
 51. Col. Dig. I, 264.
 59. Col. Dig. I, 265; Viv. *Kint.* p. 47.
 68. M. Mit. VI, 1, 6.
 70. May. II, 3, 8.
 74. M. Mit. VI, 1, 1.
 79-80. May. II, 3, 14.
 87. May. II, 3, 4.
 102. May. II, 3, 17; M. Mit. VI, 1, 22.
 107. M. Mit. VI, 1, 29.
 108. May. II, 3, 20; M. Mit. VI, 1, 45.
 113. May. II, 3, 17; III, 3; M. Mit. VI, 1, 23;
 VIII, 20, 1.
 115. M. Mit. VIII, 10, 2.
 117. M. Mit. VI, 1, 31.
 120. M. Mit. VI, 1, 49; Viv. *Kint.* p. 221.
 121. M. Mit. VI, 1, 49; Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 122. Viv. *Kint.* p. 221.
 123. M. Mit. III, 4, 9; Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 124-5. M. Mit. III, 4, 4.
 128. M. Mit. I, 1, 6.
 129. M. Mit. III, 4, 3.
 132-4. Col. Dig. III, 1, 77, 1-3.
 138. Viv. *Kint.* p. 222.
 139. Col. Dig. I, 273; Viv. *Kint.* pp. 48, 221.
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9; Sar. Vi. 569; Mâdh. p. 27; Varad.
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188. Col. Dig. V, 442; Dây. XI, 6, 26; Mit. II, 7,
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189. Col. Dig. II, 3, 23, 1; V, 443; Dây. XI, 6,
34; Mit. II, 4, 4; II, 7, 5-6; Viram. III,
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Sar. Vi. 610, 612.
190. Col. Dig. II, 3, 23, 2; May. IV, 10, 8.
191. Col. Dig. V, 344; Dây. X, 16.

- (IX), 192. Col. Dig. V, 485; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 1; Mit. II, 11, 19; Vīram. II, 1, 18; V, 2, 1, 5; Viv. Kint. pp. 226, 266; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 6; Sar. Vi. 309; Mādḥ. p. 43; Varad. p. 43.
193. Col. Dig. V, 498; Mit. II, 11, 17; May. IV, 10, 16; Vīram. V, 2, 1; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 10; Sar. Vi. 285; Mādḥ. p. 43; Varad. p. 43.
194. Col. Dig. V, 462; Dâṃ. IV, 1, 4; Mit. II, 11, 4; May. IV, 10, 1; Vīram. V, 1, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 256; Smṛi. K. IX, 1, 1, 3; Sar. Vi. 260; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 45.
195. May. IV, 10, 13; Vīram. V, 2, 1; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 1; Varad. p. 46.
196. Col. Dig. V, 502; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 27; May. IV, 10, 29; Dâṃakr. II, 3, 14; H, 4, 10; Vīram. V, 2, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 269; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 28; Sar. Vi. 319; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 46.
197. Col. Dig. V, 503; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 27; May. IV, 10, 29; Dâṃakr. II, 3, 19; Vīram. V, 2, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 269; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 47.
198. Col. Dig. V, 495; Dâṃ. IV, 2, 16; IV, 3, 3; Mit. II, 11, 22; May. IV, 10, 19; Dâṃakr. II, 5, 3; Vīram. V, 2, 5; Smṛi. K. IX, 3, 40; Sar. Vi. 307; Mādḥ. p. 44; Varad. p. 45.
199. Col. Dig. V, 474; Vīram. V, 1, 5; Smṛi. K. IX, 1, 14.
200. Col. Dig. V, 473; Mit. I, 4, 19; II, 11, 34; Viv. Kint. p. 260; Smṛi. K. IX, 2, 27; Sar. Vi. 201; Mādḥ. p. 50; Varad. p. 49.
201. Col. Dig. V, 329, 1; Dâṃ. V, 7; Mit. II, 10, 5; May. IV, 11, 3; Dâṃakr. III, 1; Vīram. VIII, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Smṛi. K. V, 4; Sar. Vi. 148; Mādḥ. p. 39; Varad. p. 13.
202. Col. Dig. V, 329, 2; Mit. II, 10, 5; Vīram. VIII, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Smṛi. K. V, 22; Sar. Vi. 159; Varad. p. 13.
203. Col. Dig. V, 329, 3; Vīram. VIII, 9; Viv. Kint. p. 243; Varad. p. 13.

- (IX), 204. Col. Dig. V, 341; Dâ. VI, 1, 54; Mit. I, 4, 13; Varad. p. 30.
205. Col. Dig. V, 73; May. IV, 7, 14; Viv. Kint. p. 254; Varad. p. 30.
206. Col. Dig. V, 345; Dâ. VI, 1, 9, 31, 51; May. IV, 7, 1; Dâ. IV, 2, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 249; Smṛi. K. VII, 26; Varad. p. 28.
207. Col. Dig. V, 107; Dâ. III, 28; Vīram. II, 1, 15; Viv. Kint. p. 237; Smṛi. K. II, 2, 26; Varad. p. 12.
208. Col. Dig. V, 348; Dâ. VI, 1, 3, 31; Mit. I, 4, 10; May. IV, 7, 4; Dâ. IV, 2, 5; Vīram. VII, 1; Viv. Kint. p. 250; Smṛi. K. VII, 27; Sar. Vi. 173; Varad. p. 29.
209. Col. Dig. V, 91; Dâ. II, 21; VI, 2, 32; Mit. I, 5, 11; May. IV, 4, 5; Vīram. II, 1, 17; Viv. Kint. p. 229; Sar. Vi. 223; Mād. p. 13.
210. Col. Dig. V, 35, 406, 1; Dâ. XII, 1; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 2; Vīram. IV, 1, 4; Smṛi. K. XII, 3; Mād. p. 34; Varad. p. 52.
211. Col. Dig. V, 406, 2; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 13; Vīram. IV, 4; Smṛi. K. XI, 1, 51; XII, 17; Sar. Vi. 767; Mād. pp. 35-6; Varad. p. 52.
212. Col. Dig. V, 406, 3; Dâ. XI, 6, 32; Mit. II, 9, 12; May. IV, 9, 13; Vīram. IV, 4, 6; Smṛi. K. XI, 1, 51; XII, 17; Sar. Vi. 767; Mād. pp. 35-6; Varad. p. 52.
213. Col. Dig. V, 52; Mit. I, 9, 5; May. IV, 7, 24; Vīram. II, 1, 7; VI, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 234; Sar. Vi. 781; Mād. p. 52.
214. Col. Dig. V, 317; Dâ. V, 6; May. IV, 11, 9; Vīram. VIII, 11; Viv. Kint. p. 242; Smṛi. K. V, 19; Varad. p. 12.
215. Col. Dig. V, 29; Dâ. II, 86; Vīram. II, 1, 10; Viv. Kint. p. 235.
216. Col. Dig. V, 101; Dâ. I, 46; II, 2; VII, 1;

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- (IX), 217. Col. Dig. V, 424; Dâṃ. XI, 3, 2; Mit. II, 1,
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218. Col. Dig. V, 375; Dâṃ. XIII, 1; Dâṃakr.
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224. May. XXI, 2; Viv. Kint. p. 317.
229. Col. Dig. III, 1, 34.
- 231-2. Viv. Kint. pp. 190-1.
237. Viv. Kint. p. 213.
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276. Viv. Kint. p. 166.
277. Viv. Kint. p. 169.
278. Viv. Kint. p. 177.
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A.

SYNOPSIS

OF

PARALLEL PASSAGES.

By the advice of the editor I add a detailed synopsis of the parallel passages from the six Dharma-sûtras and Smṛitis, as well as of the wholly or partly identical verses from the Mahābhārata, Parāśara, Mānava Śrāddhakalpa, the Upanishads, and some other works. I trust that, though references to the Smṛitis have already been given in the notes to the translation, this addition will not be found useless. The principle on which I have worked is, a different one, and this synopsis shows much more clearly which rules of Manu's work are represented in the older books and which are not. It also shows at a glance which verses I have been able to trace elsewhere. According to what has been said in the Introduction, both points are of some importance. I have used this opportunity to supply some omissions, and to correct the misprints occurring in the figures of the quotations given in the notes. Wherever the notes and the synopsis differ, the latter alone is to be relied on. The addition of an asterisk (*) to a quotation means that the passage is in verse, and that it is thus intimately connected with Manu's Sloka. The passages quoted from the Mahābhārata are all cognate verses. Hence no asterisks have been added.

Abbreviations: Ga.=Gautamiya Dharmaśāstra; Ba.=Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra; Âp.=Âpastambiya Dharma-sûtra; Va.=Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstra; Vi.=Viṣṇu Smṛiti; Yâ.=Yâgñavalkiya Dharmaśāstra; Par.=Parāśara Smṛiti (Calc. ed.); Mâ. Sr.=Mānava-Śrāddhakalpa (Introduction, pp. xl-xliii); Â. Gri.=Ârvalāyana Grīhya-sûtra (Calc. ed.); Sâ. Gri.=Sāṅkhāyana Grīhya-sûtra; Pâ. Gri.=Pāraskara Grīhya-sûtra; Go. Gri.=Gobhiliya Grīhya-sûtra (Calc. ed.); Mai. Up.=Maitrāyaṇīyabrāhmaṇopaniṣad; Îrâ. Up.=Îrāvāsyopaniṣad; Sa. Up.=Saṃhitopaniṣad; Nir.=Nirukta; Mah.=Mahābhārata; V. P.=Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Wilson's translation, edited by Dr. F. E. Hall.

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35. Vi. XXVII, 12; Yâ. I, 12; Â. *Gri.* I, 17, 1; Sâ. *Gri.* I, 28, 1-2; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 1-2; Go. *Gri.* II, 9, 1.
36. Ga. I, 5, 7, 11; Ba. I, 3, 7-9; Âp. I, 1, 18; Va. XI, 49-51; Vi. XXVII, 15-17; Yâ. I, 14; Â. *Gri.* I, 19, 1-4; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 1, 4-5; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 2, 1-3; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 1-3.
37. Ga. I, 6; Âp. I, 1, 19-20.
38. Vi. XXVII, 26*; Ga. I, 12-14; Ba. I, 3, 12; Âp. I, 1, 21; Va. XI, 71-73; Â. *Gri.* I, 19, 5-6; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 6-8; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 5, 36-38; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 4.
39. Vi. XXVII, 27*; Ga. XXI, 11; Va. XI, 74; Â. *Gri.* I, 19, 6; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 9-13; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 5, 39; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 5.
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41. Ga. I, 16-21; Ba. I, 3, 14; Âp. I, 2, 39-3, 9; Va. XI, 61-67; Vi. XXVII, 19-20; Yâ. I, 29; Â. *Gri.* I, 19, 8; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 2, 4-5; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 5, 16-19; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 8-9.
42. Ga. I, 15; Ba. I, 3, 13; Âp. I, 2, 33-37; Va. XI, 58-60; Vi. XXVII, 18; Yâ. I, 29; Â. *Gri.* I, 19, 10-11; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 1, 15-17; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 5, 21-23; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 10.
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44. Ba. I, 8, 5; Vi. XXVII, 19; Yâ. I, 29; Go. *Gri.* II, 10, 12.
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47. Ga. I, 25; Vi. XXVII, 24.
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49. Ga. II, 36; Ba. I, 3, 16-17; Âp. I, 3, 28-30; Va. XI, 68-70; Vi. XXVII, 25; Yâ. I, 30; Â. *Gri.* I, 22, 8; Pâ. *Gri.* II, 5, 2-4.
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58. Ba. I, 8, 14; Va. III, 26; Vi. LXII, 6; Yâ. I, 18.
59. Ba. I, 8, 15-16; Va. III, 26; Vi. LXII, 1-4; Yâ. I, 19.
60. Ba. I, 8, 19-21; Ga. I, 36; Âp. I, 16, 2-10; Va. III, 27-29; Vi. LXII, 6-8; Yâ. I, 20; Go. *Gri. I*, 2, 5-9.
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 136. Vi. XXXII, 16*; Ga. VI, 20; Va. XIII, 56-57; Yâ. I, 116.
 137. Ga. VI, 10; Yâ. I, 116.
 138. Ga. VI, 24; Ba. II, 6, 30; Âp. II, 11, 7; Va. XIII, 58, 60; Vi. LXIII, 51; Yâ. I, 117.
 139. Ga. VI, 25; Âp. II, 11, 5-6; Va. XIII, 59; Yâ. I, 117.
 140. Ga. I, 9-10; Âp. I, 1, 13; Va. III, 21; Vi. XXIX, 1; Yâ. I, 34.
 141. Va. III, 22-23; Vi. XXIX, 2; Yâ. I, 35.
 142. Yâ. I, 34.
 143. Vi. XXIX, 3; Yâ. I, 35.
 144. Sa. Up. III* (p. 32, Bur.); Nir. II, 4*; Va. II, 10*; Vi. XXX, 47*; Âp. I, 1, 14.
 145. Va. XIII, 48*; Ga. VI, 51; Yâ. I, 35.
 146. Vi. XXX, 44*; Ga. VI, 50; Va. II, 3-5.
 147. Vi. XXX, 45*; Âp. I, 1, 17.
 148. Vi. XXX, 46*; Ga. I, 8; Âp. I, 1, 16.

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 151. Ba. I, 3, 47.
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 154. Mah. III, 133, 12.
 155. Vi. XXXII, 18*.
 156. Ga. VI, 21-23.
 157. Mah. XII, 36, 46; Va. III, 11*; Ba. I, 1, 10*; Par. VIII, 23*.
 158. Mah. XII, 36, 47; Par. VIII, 24*.
 159. Ga. II, 42; Âp. I, 8, 25-30.
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 166. Âp. I, 12, 1-2; Yâ. I, 40.
 167. Ba. II, 11, 8.
 168. Va. III, 2*; Vi. XXVIII, 36.
 169. Va. II, 3*; Vi. XXVIII, 37; Yâ. I, 39.
 170. Mah. III, 180, 34^b; Va. II, 3*; Vi. XXVIII, 38.
 171. Va. II, 6^a*; Ga. I, 10; Va. II, 4-5; Ba. I, 3, 6^a; Âp. II, 15, 19.
 172. Mah. III, 180, 35^a; Va. II, 6^b*; Ba. I, 3, 6^b*; Ga. II, 4-5.
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 174. Vi. XXVII, 28*.
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 176. Ga. II, 8; Va. VII, 17; Vi. XXVIII, 4-5; Yâ. I, 22.
 177. Ga. II, 13; Ba. I, 3, 23-24; Âp. I, 2, 23, 25-26; Yâ. I, 33; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 12; Go. Gri. III, 1, 17, 19, 23.
 178. Ga. II, 13; Ba. I, 3, 24; Âp. I, 3, 11, 17-24; 7, 5; Va. VII, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 11; Yâ. I, 33; Go. Gri. III, 1, 16, 19, 25-26.
 179. Ga. II, 13, 16, 17; Ba. I, 3, 20; Âp. I, 3, 12-13; 7, 3, 8-10; Vi. XXVIII, 11; Yâ. I, 33; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 12; Go. Gri. III, 1, 16.
 180. Vi. XXVIII, 48.
 181. Vi. XXVIII, 51*.
 182. Ba. I, 3, 19; Âp. I, 4, 13-14; Â. Gri. I, 22, 5; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 27.
 183. Ga. II, 35; Ba. I, 3, 18; Âp. I, 3, 25; Vi. XXVIII, 9; Yâ. I, 29.
 184. Ga. II, 37-38.
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 186. Ba. I, 3, 19; Âp. I, 4, 16; Vi. XXVIII, 4; Â. Gri. I, 22, 6; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 9, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 27.
 187. Vi. XXVIII, 52*; Yâ. III, 281.
 188. Yâ. I, 32.
 189. Yâ. I, 32.
 190. Yâ. I, 32.
 191. Ga. II, 29-30; Âp. I, 5, 24-27; Va. VII, 13; Vi. XXVIII, 6-7; Yâ. I, 27; Sâ. Gri. II, 6, 8; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 11; Go. Gri. III, 1, 15.
 192. Ga. II, 22; Âp. I, 5, 17.
 193. Âp. I, 6, 18-20.
 194. Ga. II, 21; Ba. I, 3, 21; Âp. I, 4, 22, 28; Vi. XXVIII, 13.
 195. Ga. II, 25; Âp. I, 6, 5; Vi. XXVIII, 18.

196. Vi. XXVIII, 19 *; Ga. II, 28; Ba. I, 3, 38; Va. VII, 12; Âp. I, 6, 6-9; Pâ. Gri. II, 5, 30.
197. Vi. XXVIII, 20-22.
198. Ga. II, 14-15, 21; Âp. I, 2, 21; 3, 15; 6, 13-17; 8, 8-10; Vi. XXVIII, 23; Sâ. Gri. IV, 8, 5, 7-11.
199. Ga. II, 18, 23; Âp. I, 8, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 24-25.
200. Vi. XXVIII, 26.
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203. Âp. I, 6, 15, 23.
204. Ba. I, 3, 34; Âp. I, 8, 12-13; Vi. XXVIII, 27-28.
205. Va. XIII, 54^a*; Ga. VI, 3-4; Âp. I, 6, 29-30; 8, 19-20; Vi. XXVIII, 29-30.
206. Âp. I, 7, 28-29.
207. Ga. II, 31; Ba. I, 3, 44; Âp. I, 7, 29-30; Va. XIII, 54; Vi. XXXII, 1.
208. Vi. XXVIII, 31.
209. Ga. II, 32; Ba. I, 3, 36; Âp. I, 7, 30; Vi. XXVIII, 32-33.
210. Ga. II, 31; Ba. I, 3, 37; Âp. I, 7, 27; Vi. XXXII, 2, 5.
211. Ga. II, 32; Ba. I, 3, 37; Âp. I, 7, 27; Vi. XXXII, 6.
212. Vi. XXXII, 13 *; Ga. II, 34; Ba. I, 3, 33.
213. Mah. XIII, 48, 38.
214. Mah. XIII, 48, 37.
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216. Vi. XXXII, 14 *.
217. Vi. XXXII, 15 *; Ga. VI, 2; Âp. I, 14, 8.
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219. Ga. I, 27; II, 10; Âp. I, 2, 31-32; 30, 8; Va. VII, 11; Vi. XXVIII, 41.
220. Vi. XXVIII, 53 *; Ga. XXIII, 21; Ba. II, 7, 16; Âp. II, 12, 13-14; Va. XX, 4.
221. Va. I, 18; Âp. II, 12, 22.
222. Ga. II, 11; Ba. II, 7, 2; Vi. XXVIII, 2.
223. Mah. XIII, 105, 13; Âp. II, 29, 11.
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225. Ga. XXI, 15; Âp. I, 14, 6; Vi. XXXI, 1-3.
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228. Vi. XXXI, 5.
229. Mah. XII, 108, 5^b.
230. Mah. XII, 108, 6; Vi. XXXI, 7 *.
231. Mah. XII, 108, 7; Vi. XXXI, 8; Âp. I, 3, 44.
232. Mah. XII, 108, 8^a.
233. Mah. XII, 108, 8^b-9; Vi. XXXI, 10 *.
234. Mah. XII, 108, 12; Vi. XXXI, 9 *.
235. Vi. XXXI, 6.
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238. Mah. XII, 165, 31^a, 32^a; Âp. II, 29, 11.
239. Mah. XII, 165, 31^b, 32^a.
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241. Ga. VII, 1-3; Ba. I, 3, 41-43; Âp. II, 4, 25.
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243. Ga. III, 5, 6; Ba. II, 11, 13; Âp. II, 21, 6; Va. VII, 4; Vi. XXVIII, 43; Yâ. I, 49.
244. Ga. III, 9; Yâ. I, 50.
245. Ga. II, 48-49; Âp. I, 7, 19; Vi. XXVIII, 42; Yâ. I, 51; Â. Gri. III, 9, 4; Go. Gri. III, 4, 1-2.

246. *Sâ. Gri.* III, 1, 18.

247. *Ga.* III, 7; *Vi.* XXVIII,
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248. *Ga.* III, 8; *Va.* VII, 5-6;
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1. *Ga.* II, 45-47; *Ba. I.* 3, 1-4;
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2. *Va.* VIII, 1; *Yâ. I.* 52.

3. *Sâ. Gri.* III, 1, 5, 17; *Go.*
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4. *Ga.* IV, 1; *Va.* VIII, 1; *Yâ.*
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5. *Ga.* IV, 2-5; *Va.* VIII, 1-2;
Ba. II. 1, 37-38; *Vi.* XXIV,
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6. *Â. Gri. I.* 5, 1.

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8. *Vi.* XXIV, 12-16; *Yâ. I.* 53.

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11. *Yâ. I.* 53.

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13. *Ba. I.* 16, 2-5; *Va. I.* 24-25;
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Pâ. Gri. I. 4, 8-11.

14. *Va. I.* 26; *Yâ. I.* 56.

15. *Vi.* XXVI, 6*; *Va. I.* 27.

16. *Ba. II.* 2, 7.

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18. *Vi.* XXVI, 7*; *Va. XIV.* 11.

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20. *Mah. I.* 73, 8.

21. *Mah. I.* 73, 8-9; *Ba. I.* 20,
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23. *Mah. I.* 73, 10; *Ga.* IV, 15.

24. *Mah. I.* 73, 10-11; *Ga.* IV,
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25. *Mah. I.* 73, 11-12.

26. *Mah. I.* 73, 13; *Ba. I.* 20,
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27. *Ga.* IV, 6; *Ba. I.* 20, 2;
Âp. II. 11, 17; *Va. I.* 30; *Vi.*
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28. *Ga.* IV, 9; *Ba. I.* 20, 5;
Âp. II. 11, 19; *Va. I.* 31; *Vi.*
XXIV, 20; *Yâ. I.* 59; *Â. Gri.*
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29. *Ga.* IV, 8; *Ba. I.* 20, 4; *Âp.*
II. 11, 18; *Va. I.* 32; *Vi.*
XXIV, 21; *Yâ. I.* 59; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

30. *Ga.* IV, 7; *Ba. I.* 20, 3; *Vi.*
XXIV, 22; *Yâ. I.* 60; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

31. *Ga.* IV, 11; *Ba. I.* 20, 6¹;
Âp. II. 12, 1; *Va. I.* 35; *Vi.*
XXIV, 24; *Yâ. I.* 61; *Â. Gri.*
I, 6.

32. *Ga.* IV, 10; *Ba. I.* 20, 7¹;
Âp. II. 11, 20; *Va. I.* 33; *Vi.*
XXIV, 23; *Yâ. I.* 61; *Â. Gri.*
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¹ The order of the Sûtras followed here is that adopted by Dr. Hultzsach in his edition of the text.

33. Ga. IV, 12; Ba. I, 20, 8; Âp. II, 12, 2; Va. I, 34; Vi. XXIV, 25; Yâ. I, 61; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 34. Ga. IV, 13; Ba. I, 20, 9; Vi. XXIV, 26; Yâ. I, 61; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 35.
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 37. Ga. IV, 33; Vi. XXIV, 29; Yâ. I, 58; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 38. Ga. IV, 29-32; Vi. XXIV, 30-32; Yâ. I, 59-60; Â. *Gri.* I, 6.
 39.
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 42. Ba. I, 21, 1; Âp. II, 12, 4.
 43. Vi. XXIV, 5; Yâ. I, 62.
 44. Vi. XXIV, 6-8; Yâ. I, 62.
 45. Ga. V, 1-2; Ba. IV, 1, 18-19; Âp. II, 1, 17-18; Va. XII, 21-24; Vi. LXIX, 1; Yâ. I, 79-81; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 11, 16; Pâ. *Gri.* I, 11, 7-8.
 46. Yâ. I, 79.
 47. Yâ. I, 79.
 48. Yâ. I, 79.
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 50. Yâ. I, 79.
 51. Ba. I, 21, 2-3; II, 2, 27; Âp. II, 13, 11; Va. I, 37-38.
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 53. Mah. XIII, 45, 20; Âp. II, 13, 12; Va. I, 36.
 54. Mah. XIII, 46, 1^{b-2^a}.
 55. Mah. XIII, 46, 3; Yâ. I, 82.
 56. Mah. XIII, 46, 5^{b-6^a}.
 57. Mah. XIII, 46, 6^b.
 58. Mah. XIII, 46, 7.
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 61. Mah. XIII, 46, 4.
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 63. Ba. I, 10, 26*.
 64. Ba. I, 10, 28*.
 65. Ba. I, 10, 28^b*.
 66. Ba. I, 10, 29.
 67. Ga. V, 7-8; Ba. II, 4, 22; Vi. LIX, 1-2; Yâ. I, 97.
 68. Par. II, 11*; Vi. LIX, 19.
 69. Vi. LIX, 20.
 70. Ga. V, 3-4, 9; Ba. II, 5, 11; II, 11, 1; Vi. LIX, 20-25; Yâ. I, 102; Â. *Gri.* III, 1, 1-4.
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 72. Vi. LIX, 26*.
 73. Sâ. *Gri.* I, 5, 1; Pâ. *Gri.* I, 4, 1.
 74. Â. *Gri.* I, 1, 3; Sâ. *Gri.* I, 10, 6.
 75. Â. *Gri.* III, 2, 2.
 76. Mah. XII, 264, 11; Mai. Up. VI, 37; Va. XI, 13.
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 78. Va. VIII, 14-16; Vi. LIX, 27-28.
 79.
 80. Vi. LIX, 29*; Sâ. *Gri.* II, 16, 6.
 81. Yâ. I, 23, 104.
 82. Mah. XIII, 97, 8^{b-9^a}; Mâ. Sr. IV*; Vi. LXVII, 23-25.
 83. { Ga. V, 10; Ba. II, 5, 11;
 Âp. II, 3, 12, 16-17; Va.
 84. { XI, 3; Vi. LXVII, 1-3;
 85. { Â. *Gri.* I, 2, 1-2; Sâ. *Gri.*
 86. { II, 14, 1-4; Pâ. *Gri.* II,
 9, 1-12.
 87. { Ga. V, 11-17; Âp. II, 3,
 12, 15, 18-23; II, 4, 1-8;
 88. { Va. XI, 4; Vi. LXVII, 4-
 89. { 22; Â. *Gri.* I, 2, 3-10;
 90. { Sâ. *Gri.* II, 14, 5-17; Pâ.
 91. { *Gri.* II, 9, 3-10; Go.
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92. *Âp.* II, 9, 5-6; *Vi.* LXVII, 26; *Yâ.* I, 103; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 22.
93. *Âp.* II, 4, 9; *Vi.* LXVII, 28, 32, 44, 46.
94. *Ba.* II, 5, 15; *Âp.* II, 4, 10-11; *Va.* XI, 5; *Vi.* LIX, 14; LXVII, 27; *Yâ.* I, 108; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 20; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 11-12.
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96. *Ga.* V, 18; *Yâ.* I, 108; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 19.
97. *Va.* III, 8.
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99. *Ga.* V, 31-34; *Va.* VIII, 12; *Âp.* II, 4, 13, 16; II, 6, 7-14; *Vi.* LXVII, 45; *Yâ.* I, 107.
100. *Sâ. Gri.* II, 17, 1*; *Vi.* LXVII, 33.
101. *Âp.* II, 4, 14*; *Ga.* V, 35-36; *Yâ.* I, 107.
102. *Va.* VIII, 7*; *Vi.* LXVII, 34*; *Ga.* V, 40.
103. *Va.* VIII, 8a*; *Vi.* LXVII, 35*; *Par.* I, 43*; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 16, 3*; *Ga.* V, 40; *Âp.* II, 6, 5.
104. *Yâ.* I, 112.
105. *Va.* VIII, 8b*; *Ga.* V, 40; *Va.* VIII, 4-5; *Vi.* LXVII, 29-30; *Yâ.* 107.
106. *Ga.* V, 38-39; *Âp.* II, 8, 2-4; *Yâ.* I, 104.
107. *Yâ.* I, 107.
108. *Âp.* II, 6, 16-17; *Va.* XI, 12.
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110. *Ga.* V, 43.
111. *Vi.* LXVII, 36*; *Ga.* V, 44.
112. *Vi.* LXVII, 37*; *Ga.* V, 45; *Ba.* II, 5, 14; *Âp.* II, 4, 18-20.
113. *Vi.* LXVII, 38*; *Yâ.* I, 108.
114. *Vi.* LXVII, 39*; *Ga.* V, 25; *Ba.* II, 13, 5^{a-b}; *Âp.* II, 4, 12; *Yâ.* I, 105; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 14, 21; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 13.
115. *Ba.* II, 13, 5^{c-d}*; *Vi.* LXVII, 40*; *Ba.* II, 5, 18.
116. *Vi.* LXVII, 41*; *Âp.* II, 8, 2; *Yâ.* I, 105; *Pâ. Gri.* II, 9, 14.
117. *Vi.* LXVII, 42*; *Ba.* II, 13, 6.
118. *Vi.* LXVII, 43*; *Ba.* II, 13, 2.
119. *Ga.* V, 27-28; *Ba.* II, 6, 36-38; *Âp.* II, 8, 5-9; *Va.* XI, 1-2; *Yâ.* I, 109-10; *Â. Gri.* I, 24, 1-4; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 15, 1-9; *Pâ. Gri.* I, 3, 1-3; *Go. Gri.* IV, 10, 24-26.
120. *Ga.* V, 29-30; *Ba.* II, 6, 37; *Yâ.* I, 110; *Sâ. Gri.* II, 15, 10.
121. *Go. Gri.* I, 4, 19.
122. *Ga.* XV, 2; *Yâ.* I, 217.
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125. *Ba.* II, 15, 10*; *Va.* XI, 27*; *Mâ. Sr.* IV*; *Ga.* XV, 21; *Vi.* LXXIII, 3-4; *Yâ.* I, 228; *Â. Gri.* IV, 7, 2; *Sâ. Gri.* IV, 1, 2.
126. *Ba.* II, 15, 11*; *Va.* XI, 28*; *Mâ. Sr.* IV*.
127.
128. *Va.* III, 8a*; *Â. Gri.* IV, 7, 2.
129. *Ga.* XV, 21; *Va.* XI, 29.
130. *Vi.* LXXXII, 2.
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 134. Mah. XIII, 90, 50; Va. VI, 26; Vi. LXXXIII, 9-13; Yâ. I, 221.
 135. Mah. XIII, 90, 51^a.
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 138. Ga. XV, 12; Ba. II, 14, 6; Âp. II, 17, 4; Va. XI, 17.
 139. Âp. II, 17, 9.
 140. Mah. XIII, 90, 42.
 141. Mah. XIII, 90, 46; Âp. II, 17, 8^{*}.
 142. Mah. XIII, 90, 44.
 143.
 144. Ba. II, 14, 4; Âp. II, 17, 5-6; Va. XI, 18.
 145. Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ba. II, 14, 4.
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 148. Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ga. XV, 20; Vi. LXXXIII, 17-18; Yâ. I, 220.
 149. Vi. LXXXII, 1-2.
 150. Ga. XV, 16; Va. XI, 19; Yâ. I, 223-224.
 151. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 13.
 152. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 8-9.
 153. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Va. XI, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 26; Yâ. I, 222.
 154. Ga. XV, 16, 18; Va. XI, 19; Yâ. I, 223.
 155. Ga. XV, 17-18; Yâ. I, 222.
 156. Vi. LXXXII, 20-21; Yâ. I, 222, 223.
 157. Vi. LXXXII, 23, 29; Yâ. I, 224.
 158. Mah. XIII, 90, 7; Ga. XV, 18; Yâ. I, 223-224.
 159. Mah. XIII, 90, 8; Ga. XV, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 5, 28; Yâ. I, 222, 223.
 160. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 18; Yâ. I, 223.
 161. Ga. XV, 18; Âp. II, 17, 21; Va. XI, 19; Vi. LXXXII, 19; Yâ. I, 222.
 162. Âp. II, 17, 21; Vi. LXXXII, 7.
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 164. Ga. XV, 18; Vi. LXXXII, 22; Yâ. I, 223.
 165. Yâ. I, 223.
 166. Ga. XV, 16; Yâ. I, 224.
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 170. Mah. XIII, 90, 11^b-12^a.
 171. Par. IV, 20.
 172. Mah. XII, 165, 68^a; Ba. II, 1, 39^{*}; Par. IV, 19^{*}.
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 174. Par. IV, 17^{*}.
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 180. Mah. XIII, 90, 13^b-14^a.
 181. Mah. XIII, 90, 14^b-15^a.
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 184. Mah. XIII, 90, 36; Ga. XV, 9, 28; Âp. II, 17, 22; Vi. LXXXIII, 5; Yâ. I, 219.
 185. Mah. XIII, 90, 26^b-27^a; Mâ. Sr. IV^{*}; Ga. XV, 28; Ba. II, 14, 2; Âp. II, 17, 22; Vi.

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186. Mâ. Sr. IV*; Yâ. I, 219.
187. Ba. II, 14, 6; Âp. II, 17, 11-15; Va. XI, 17; Vi. LXXXIII, 2; Yâ. I, 225.
188. Ga. XV, 23; Yâ. I, 225.
189. Mâ. Sr. IV.
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191. Ga. XV, 22.
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202. Mâ. Sr. II; Âp. II, 19, 3-5; Vi. LXXIX, 24; Yâ. I, 236.
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205. Vi. LXXXIII, 27; Yâ. I, 244.
206. Ga. XV, 25; Âp. II, 18, 6; Yâ. I, 227; Vi. LXXXV, 62.
207. Vi. LXXXV, 54-61.
208. Vi. LXXXIII, 2; Yâ. I, 226; Â. *Gri.* IV, 7, 2.
209. Ba. II, 14, 7; Vi. LXXXIII, 12; Yâ. I, 231; Â. *Gri.* IV, 8, 1; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 1, 5.
210. Ba. II, 14, 7; Âp. II, 17, 17-19; Vi. LXXXIII, 12; Yâ. I, 235; Â. *Gri.* IV, 7, 5-7; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 1, 2-3.
211. Ba. II, 14, 7; Â. *Gri.* IV, 8, 4; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 1, 6.
212. Â. *Gri.* IV, 8, 5-6.
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214. Â. *Gri.* IV, 7, 9.
215. Vi. LXXXIII, 17-19; Yâ. I, 241; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 1, 10.
216. Vi. LXXXIII, 22.
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218. Vi. LXXXIII, 23.
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220. Vi. LXXXV, 1.
221. Vi. LXXXV, 4.
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224. Âp. II, 19, 9; Va. XI, 26.
225. Ba. II, 15, 3*; Va. XI, 25*.
226. { Âp. II, 16, 23-24; II, 19,
227. { 19-22; Vi. LXXXIII, 21,
227. { 23-24.
228. Âp. II, 17, 4.
229. Âp. II, 18, 3; Vi. LXXIX, 19-21; LXXXI, 2.
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231. Ba. II, 14, 5; Vi. LXXIX, 5-15; Yâ. I, 239.
232. Vi. LXXXIII, 16; Â. *Gri.* IV, 8, 10; Sâ. *Gri.* IV, 1, 8.
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234. Vi. LXXIX, 16; LXXXIII, 18.
235. Va. XI, 35*, 36; Yâ. I, 235.
236. Vi. LXXXI, 11, 19.
237. Va. XI, 32*; Vi. LXXXI, 20*.
238. Mah. XIII, 90, 19; Vi. LXXXI, 12-13.
239. Ga. XV, 24; Âp. II, 17, 20; Vi. LXXXI, 6-9.
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242. Vi. LXXXI, 15.
243. Vi. LXXXI, 18.
244. Vi. LXXXI, 21*; Yâ. I, 240; Â. *Gri.* IV, 8, 14.

245. Vi. LXXXI, 22^{*}; Va. XI, 23^{*}.
 246. Vi. LXXXI, 23^{*}; Va. XI, 24^{*}.
 247. Vi. XXI, 2-3; Yâ. II, 250; Sâ. Gri. IV, 2, 1-4.
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 250. Mah. XIII, 90, 12^b-13^a; Va. XI, 37^{*}.
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- son of, excluded from Śrāddha, III, 156, 174-175. See Appointment of widow; Marriage, second; Son begotten on widow; Son of remarried woman.
- Wife, acquires qualities of husband, IX, 22-24.
- and husband indissolubly united, IX, 45-46.
- dines separately, IV, 43.
- duties and position of, V, 148-151, 153-156; IX, 2-7, 10-11, 26-30, 96, 101-102; of wife of emigrant, IX, 74-76.
- explanation of term, IX, 8.
- fine for drinking spirituous liquor, &c., IX, 84.
- has no property, VIII, 416; exceptions. See Woman, property of.
- inherits, IX, 187 note.
- manner of burning dead, V, 167-168.
- may be beaten, VIII, 299-300.
- not to make hoard from husband's property, IX, 199.
- penance for unfaithful, XI, 177-178.
- punishment for defaming, VIII, 275; for forsaking, VIII, 389.
- Wife, qualifications required for, III, 4-11; exceptions, II, 238-240.
- repudiation and supersession, IX, 46, 77-85, 95.
- sale of, IX, 46; an Upapātaka, XI, 62.
- Wind. See Vāyu.
- Witnesses, conflict of, VIII, 73.
- duty of speaking the truth, VIII, 74, 76.
- exhortation of, VIII, 79-86, 89-101.
- manner of examination, VIII, 87-88.
- moral guilt of perjured, VIII, 75, 82, 89, 93-101; exceptions, VIII, 103-106, 112.
- number of, required, VIII, 60, 66, 77.
- persons disqualified to be, VIII, 64-67.
- persons qualified to be, VIII, 62-63; in special cases, VIII, 68-72, 254, 256, 258-262.
- punishment of, for refusal of evidence, VIII, 107; for perjury, see Perjury.
- suffer for others, VIII, 169.
- to whom misfortune happen, pay debt, VIII, 108. See Evidence.
- Wives, all mothers through one son, IX, 183.
- of several castes, III, 12-13; IX, 85-87.
- seniority among, of equal caste, IX, 124-125. See Adultery, Connubial intercourse, Husband, Marriage, Son begotten on widow or wife.
- Woman, adhering to heretical sect, receives no libation, V, 90.
- always dependent, V, 147-149; IX, 2-3.
- causing abortion, receives no libation, V, 90.
- impure on birth of child, IV, 212; V, 85.
- impurity on death of, V, 72.
- killing a, an Upapātaka, XI, 67; disqualifies for readmission into caste, XI, 191. See Penance for killing.
- killing husband, receives no libation, V, 90.
- menstruating, III, 45-46; IV, 40-41, 57, 208; V, 66, 85, 108; XI, 174.

- Woman, mouth of a, always pure, v, 130.
- naked, not to be looked at, iv, 53.
 - names of, II, 33; III, 9.
 - naturally wicked nature of, II, 213-215; IX, 17-20.
 - not allowed to recite Veda, IX, 18; nor to sacrifice, IV, 205-206; XI, 36-37.
 - pregnant, committing a nuisance, IX, 283; pays no toll at a ferry, VIII, 407.
 - property of, appropriation by males punishable, VIII, 29; definition of, IX, 194; succession to, IX, 104, 131, 192-193, 195-198.
 - punishment of wicked, in next life, XII, 69.
 - remarried, husband of, excluded from *Śrāddha*, III, 166. See Marriage, second; Son of remarried woman.
 - rights to, not lost by law of limitation, VIII, 149.
 - rule of sipping water for, v, 139.
 - sacraments for, performed without Mantras, II, 66.
- Woman, six causes of the ruin of, IX, 13.
- special punishment for a, IX, 230.
 - unchaste, food of, forbidden to *Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 211, 220; receives no libation, v, 90.
 - without guardian, protected by king, VIII, 28.
 - without male relative, food of, forbidden, IV, 213.
- Women, treatment of, III, 55-62; witnesses for women, VIII, 68. See Betrothal, Bride, Daughter, Marriage, Mother, Sister, Widow, Wife.
- Writing, pp. xcix-ci; VIII, 154 note, 168. See Documents, Edicts.
- Yâg#avalkya-smṛiti, pp. xlviii, xlix, lv, lxxiii, xcix, ci-civ, cvii, cxii.
- Yâg#ikas, pp. xlviii, l.
- Yagur-veda, pp. xvi, lx; I, 23; IV, 124; XI, 263, 265; XII, 112.
- quoted, VIII, 106; XI, 251, 257.
- Yakshas, I, 37; III, 196; XI, 96.
- Yama, III, 87, 211; v, 96; VI, 61; VII, 4, 7; VIII, 86, 92; IX, 303, 307; XII, 17, 21-22.
- Yavana race, pp. cxiv, cxvii; x, 44.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page xx, ll. 26-33. The tradition which asserts that the Gautamiya and Vāsishṭha Dharmaśāstras originally were the property of Vedic schools, studying the Sāma-veda and the Rig-veda, has already been mentioned by Colebrooke in his Essay on the Mīmāṃsā. It goes back to Kumārila, who adduces it in his Vārttika on Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, I, 3, 11 (Tantra-vārttika, p. 179, Benares Sanskrit Series). The same author states there that the Dharmaśāstra of Saṅkha and Likhita belonged to the Vāgasaneyins.
- P. xxxix, *add at the end of note 3*: 'It is, however, found in some other Grīhya-sūtras.'
- P. lvii, *add at the end of note 4*: 'The copy of the Munich MS. No. 83 has मन्ः.'
- P. cxii, l. 1. More important is the fact that Kumārila, who, as I hold with Professor Max Müller, cannot be placed later than 700 A.D., knew our Manu-smṛiti. In the portions of the Tantra-vārttika, published in the Benares Sanskrit Series, I find the following verses quoted, i, 21^b (p. 203, l. 14); ii, 140 (p. 178, l. 8); iv, 178 (p. 138, l. 17); v, 56 (p. 111, l. 11); viii, 57 (p. 199, l. 23); ix, 182 (p. 135, l. 2); xi, 30 (p. 110, l. 19); xi, 93 (p. 136, l. 19); xi, 94 (p. 136, l. 24); xi, 96^b (p. 137, l. 7); xii, 95 (p. 117, l. 20); xii, 105, 106^b (p. 80, l. 18). Most of these quotations show some variae lectiones, which, however, are not very important, and possibly, nay probably, are due to inaccuracy on Kumārila's part. One verse, quoted p. 241, l. 22, is not traceable in our Manu. Kumārila names Manu throughout as the first and most venerable authority on the sacred law. His predecessor, the author of the metrical Tīkā, on the Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, which he quotes at great length, holds the same opinion, and clearly and frequently alludes to our Manu-smṛiti.
- P. 11, ch. I, ver. 19, *add at the end of the note*: 'The idea that seven Purushas make up man, occurs Satapatha-brāhmaṇa VI, 1, 1, 3, and 6.'
- P. 32, ch. II, v. 15, *add at the end of the note*: 'The passages referred to in the text are quoted in the Sabarabhāṣya on Mīmāṃsā-sūtra, II, 4, 8.'
- P. 33, ch. II, v. 21, *for* 'to the east of Prayāga and to the west of Vināṣana' *read* 'to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vināṣana.'
- P. 39, ch. II, v. 52, *for* 'truthfulness, if he faces the east' *read* 'truthfulness, if he faces the north.'
- P. 58, ch. II, v. 151, *for* 'old enough to be) fathers' *read* 'old enough to be his) fathers.'

- P. 94, ch. III, v. 103 note, *read at the end*: 'âgatam apy atithim na vidyât.'
- P. 101, ch. III, v. 141 note, *for* 'paisakî' *read* 'Paiśākî.'
- P. 105, ch. III, v. 159, *for* 'substances used for flavouring' *read* 'condiments.'
- P. 112, ch. III, v. 202 note, *for* 'akshayâyakalpate' *read* 'akshayâyopak.'
- P. 121, ch. III, v. 251, *for* 'Rest either (here or at home)' *read* 'Take rest.'
- P. 126, ch. III, v. 274 note. The passage quoted by Vigñānēśvara on Yâgñ. I, 217, is to the following effect: 'When the moon stands in the (asterism) sacred to the manes (Maghâb) and the sun in the (asterism) Hasta, that lunar day is sacred to Yama; it is called the elephant's shadow.' Another explanation of the same term from the Malamāsātattva, quoted in the Petersburg Dictionary, asserts that it means an eclipse of the sun.
- P. 137, ch. IV, v. 55, *after* 'let him not take off his garland' *add* '(with his own hands).'
- P. 141, ch. IV, v. 80 note, *add* 'Regarding the consequences of giving spiritual advice to a Sûdra, see also Mah. XIII, 10, 55.'
- P. 144, ch. IV, note to vv. 95-97, *for* 'The Pushya-day is the sixth lunar day of each month' *read* 'The Pushya-day of the month of Pausha is the day of the full moon; see Bâpudeva Sâstrî, note on Sûryasiddhânta, p. 94, s. 16.'
- P. 147, ch. IV, v. 113 note, *add* 'Some parallel passages make the latter meaning more probable.'
- P. 172, ch. V, v. 16 note, *add* 'For Sasalkas on all (occasions,' Medh., Gov.) Ku. proposes 'Sasalkas of all (kinds).'
- P. 182, ch. V, v. 82 note, *for* 'such a one who is mentioned' *read* 'such a one as is mentioned.'
- P. 189, ch. V, v. 115, *for* 'for solid things' *read* 'for things piled up.' The commentators give as examples 'couches, beds, and the like,' and apparently refer to the cushions and mattresses used for such purposes.
- P. 199, ch. VI, v. 6. The translation 'a dress made of bark or grass' ought to be placed in the text, instead of 'a tattered garment.'
- P. 206, ch. VI, v. 43 note, *for the first* 'asamkasukab' *read* 'asamkusukab.'
- P. 222, ch. VII, v. 43. In accordance with the explanation of Medh., 'the science of dialectics, (which gives) self-knowledge' ought to be inserted in the text, instead of 'the science of dialectics and the knowledge of the (supreme) Soul;' see Introduction, p. xxxvii.
- P. 234, ch. VII, v. 118 note, *insert* 'or Mahattara' *after* 'Grâmakûta,' *and* 'are' *before* 'the so-called haks.'
- P. 241, ch. VII, v. 157, *for* 'consists)' *read* '(consists).'
- Pages 253, 255, superscription, *for* 'ceremonial' *read* 'criminal.'
- P. 253, ch. VIII, v. 4 note, *insert at beginning* 'Rinasyâdânām.'
- P. 257, ch. VIII, v. 25 note, *for* 'âkâra' *read* 'âkâra' (twice).

- P. 263, ch. VIII, v. 53 note, *for* 'apadesam' *read* 'adesam.'
- P. 265, ch. VIII, v. 65 note, *for* 'includes according to Nâr., Gov., Nand., Medh. also ascetics,' *read* 'includes according to Nâr., Gov., Medh. also ascetics, or, refers to the latter alone, Nand.'
- P. 288, ch. VIII, v. 192 note, *for* 'Nâr. takes' *read* 'Nâr. and Nand. take.'
- P. 292, ch. VIII, v. 210 note. Add after the quotation from Âsv. Srauta-sûtra, 'Âp. Srauta-sûtra XIII, 5, 12.'
- P. 295, ch. VIII, v. 227 note, *dele* 'Nand. omits this verse and the next.'
- P. 295, ch. VIII, v. 228 note, *add* 'Nand. omits this verse.'
- P. 296, ch. VIII, v. 237 note, *add after* 'The samyâ is,' 'either the wedge at the yoke, or.'
- P. 308, ch. VIII, v. 309 note, *for* 'who takes the goods of Brâhmanas or injures them' *read* 'who takes the goods of Brâhmanas, injures, or abandons them.'
- P. 331, ch. IX, v. 20 note, *add* 'The Pratîka of this verse is quoted by Vi. LXXIII, 12; see also Âp. Srauta-sûtra I, 9, 9, where a somewhat different version occurs.'
- P. 339, ch. IX, vv. 64-68 note, *for* 'Aupagandhani' *read* 'Aupagaṅghani,' which latter is the correct form of the name.
- P. 352, ch. IX, v. 128 note, *add* 'The story agrees exactly with Mah. XII, 343, 57; see also Vishṇu-purâṇa, vol. ii, p. 10 (ed. Hall).'
- P. 362, ch. IX, v. 170, *for* 'Gûdhotpanna' *read* 'Gûdhotpanna.'
- P. 398, ch. IX, v. 315 note, *add at end*, 'see also Mah. XIII, 33, 17.'
- P. 399, ch. IX, v. 323. Mah. XII, 65, 1 seq. recommend âhave deha-tyâgam, 'death in battle,' for a king.
- P. 405, ch. X, v. 19 note, *for* 'the name of caste' *read* 'the name of the caste.'
- P. 406, ch. X, v. 22. The form Likkbivi for Likkbavi actually occurs.
- P. 407, *ibid.*, *for* 'waters' *read* 'water.'
- P. 416, ch. X, v. 64 note, *for* 'Sacred Books of the East, II,' *read* 'S. B. E. XIV.'
- P. 425, ch. X, v. 111, *for* 'offering sacrifices for teaching' *read* 'offering sacrifices for, or, teaching.'
- P. 443, ch. XI, v. 64 note, *add* 'Yâ. III, 240 favours Nâr.'s explanation of mahâyāntṛapṛavartana.'
- P. 457, ch. XI, v. 134, *for* 'a spade of black iron' *read* 'a mattock of black iron.'
- P. 479, ch. XI, v. 242, *for* 'penance' *read* 'austerity' (twice).
- P. 480, ch. XI, v. 250, *for* '(that seen) by Vasishṭha' *read* 'the three verses (seen) by Vasishṭha.' *Make the same correction in the note, and add*, 'the correct reading in the text is prati tryikam.'
- P. 481, ch. XI, v. 253, *add at the end*, or, 'Thus, verily thus.'
- P. 512, ch. XII, v. 120 note, *add* 'Compare for this verse and the next, Rig-veda X, 90, 13-14.'

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.		III Class.								
	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	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	𐬙	
6 Nasalis	h (ng)	. . . . .	. . . . .	ङ	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	𐬚	
7 Spiritus asper	h	. . . . .	. . . . .	ह	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	𐬛	h, hs
8 " lenis . . . . .	,	. . . . .	. . . . .							. . . . .
9 " asper faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .							. . . . .
10 " lenis faucalis	'h	. . . . .	. . . . .							. . . . .
11 " asper fricatus . . . . .	. . . . .	'h	. . . . .							. . . . .
12 " lenis fricatus . . . . .	. . . . .	'h	. . . . .							. . . . .
Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.)											
13 Tenuis . . . . .	. . . . .	k	. . . . .	क	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	𐬜	k
14 " aspirata . . . . .	. . . . .	kh	. . . . .	ख	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	𐬝	kh
15 Media . . . . .	. . . . .	g	. . . . .	ग	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	𐬞	
16 " aspirata . . . . .	. . . . .	gh	. . . . .	घ	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	𐬟	
17 " Nasalis . . . . .	. . . . .	ñ	. . . . .	ङ	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	𐬠	

CONSONANTS (continued).	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlevi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	III Class.									
	I Class.	II Class.	III Class.							
18 Semivocalis	y	. . .	. . . . .	य	𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀	𐬨	𐬨	ي	י	y
19 Spiritus asper . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
20 " lenis . . . . .	. . .	(y)	. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
21 " asper assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	s	. . . . .	श	𐬱𐬀	𐬱	𐬱	ش	ש	. . .
22 " lenis assibilatus . . . . .	. . .	z	. . . . .	. . .	𐬱𐬀	𐬱	𐬱	ز	ז	z
Dentales.										
23 Tenuis	t	. . .	. . . . .	त	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	ت	ת	t
24 " aspirata	th	. . .	. . . . .	थ	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	ת	ת	th
25 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	TH	द	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	ד	ד	. . .
26 Media	d	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
27 " aspirata	dh	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
28 " assibilata . . . . .	. . .	. . .	DH	न	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
29 Nasalis	n	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	n
30 Semivocalis	l	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	l
31 " mollis 1 . . . . .	. . .	l	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
32 " mollis 2 . . . . .	. . .	. . .	L	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
33 Spiritus asper 1	s	. . .	. . . . .	स	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	س	ס	s
34 " asper 2 . . . . .	. . .	s (ʃ)	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
35 " lenis	z	. . .	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	ز	ז	z
36 " asperimus 1 . . . . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .
37 " asperimus 2 . . . . .	. . .	z (ʒ)	. . . . .	. . .	𐬢𐬀	𐬢	𐬢	. . .	. . .	. . .

VOWELS.	MISSIONARY ALPHABET.			Sanskrit.	Zend.	Pehlvi.	Persian.	Arabic.	Hebrew.	Chinese.
	I Class.		III Class.							
	I Class.	II Class.								
1 Neutralis	0			ॐ					—	ā
2 Laryngo-palatalis	ē								—	ā
3 " labialis	ō								—	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	ی	י	ī
8 Dentalis brevis	u			उ						
9 " longa	ū			ऊ						
10 Lingualis brevis	ri			रि						
11 " longa	rī			री						
12 Labialis brevis	u			उ						u
13 " longa	ū	(u)		ऊ						ū
14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis	e			ए	𐬄	𐬄	𐬄			e
15 " longa	ē	(ai)		ऐ	𐬅	𐬅	𐬅			ē
16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis	ai	(ai)		आ	𐬆	𐬆	𐬆			āi
17 " "	ei	(ēi)		ई	𐬇	𐬇	𐬇			ei, ēi
18 " "	oi	(ōu)		औ	𐬈	𐬈	𐬈			oi, ōi
19 Gutturo-labialis brevis	o			ओ	𐬉	𐬉	𐬉			o
20 " longa	ō	(au)		औ	𐬊	𐬊	𐬊			āu
21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis	au	(au)		औ	𐬋	𐬋	𐬋			āu
22 " "	eu	(ēu)		ऐ	𐬌	𐬌	𐬌			
23 " "	ou	(ōu)		औ	𐬍	𐬍	𐬍			
24 Gutturalis fracta	ä			अ						
25 Palatalis fracta	i			इ						
26 Labialis fracta	ū			उ						ū
27 Gutturo-labialis fracta	ö			ओ						

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